

A VVORKE CON-

cerning the Trewnesse of Christian
Religion, written in French:

*Against Atheists, Epicures, Paynims, Iewes, Mahumetists,
and other Infidels. By Philip of Mornay
Lord of Plessie Marlie.*

• Begunne to be translated into English by Sir Philip Sidney
Knight, and at his request finished by
Arthur Golding.



AT LONDON

Printed by Robert Robinson for I. B. dwelling
at the great North doore of *S. Pauls* Church at the
signe of the Bible. 1592.

WV ORKE GOV

Revised version of the

Attest: _____
Notary Public for the State of _____
My Comm. Expires _____



To the right Honorable
his singuler good Lord Robert Earle of Ley-
cester, Baron of Denbigh, Knight of the order of
the Garter, and of S. Michaell, one of the Lords of the most Honorable
privie Counsaile, and Maister of the Horse to the Queenes Maiestie:
Lord Generall of her Maiesties Forces in the Lowe Countries, and
Gouverneur Generall of the united Prouinces, & of their Associates:
Arthur Golding wisheth long continuance of health,
much increase of Honour, and in the life to
come endlesse felicitie.



Any causes do fullie perswade me (right Honorable) that this present worke which I presume to offer vnto you, will in diuers respectes be vnto you verie acceptable. For vnto such as are of greatest wisdom, vertue and Nobilitie, the wisest best and weightiest matters are alwaies most agreeable. And whereas al men are naturally desirous of the soueraigne welfare, highest felicitie, or cheefe good, howbeit that verie few do knowe what it is, or wherein it consisteth, or which is the right waie that leadeth thereunto: And yet not withstanding, without the knowledge of that truth, all their wisdom is but meere ignorāce blindnesse and follie, all their goodnes is but meere corruption and wickednesse

A. 2.

The Epistle

kednesse, and all their brauerie triumphe iollitie and pompe is but
utter miserie and wretchednes: This present worke treateth of
the Trewnes, that is to say of the perpetuall and inuaria-
ble constancie and stedfastnesse of the Christian Religion, the onely
band that linketh God vnto man, and men one to another, and
all vnto God; the onely Lampe that enlighteneth mans wit with
true wisdom, the onely waterspring that replenisheth his will
with true goodnesse, and the onely mightie power that giueth
strength and courage to mans spirite, whereby he is enabled both
perfectlie to discerne and behold his soueraigne welfare or felici-
tie, which is God the Verie founder furtherer and finisher of
trueth or rather the Verie trueth it selfe; and constantly to hold
on with ioy to the obtainement of the same; than the which no
greater thing can by anie meanes bee imagined. And in the dis-
course of this most graue & weightie matter, many deepe points
of humayne Philosophie, and many high misteries of heauenlie
Diuinitie, be learnedly breeflic and plainelic discussed and layd
open, to the vnderstanding euen of the meaneest capacities, that
will vouchsafe to read aduisedly, and to conferre the partes toge-
ther with diligence. For the Author of this worke beeing a man
of great reading, iudgement, learning and skill, and therewith
addicted or rather vowed (as appeareth by this and diuers other
of his excellent writings) to the furthering of Gods glorie by his
most faithfull and painefull imploing of himselfe in the seruice of
his Church; hath conueyed into this worke, what soeuer he found
either in common reason of all Nations, or in the peculiar prin-
ciples of the cheefe Philosophers, or in the mysticall doctrine of
the Jewish Rabbines, or in the writings of the Historiogra-
phers and Poets: that might conuenientlie make to the manife-
station

Dedicatorie.

station of that trueth which he taketh in hande to proue. Where-
by he hath so effectuellie brought his purpose to passe; that if anie
Atheist Infidel or Iew hauing read this his worke with aduise-
ment, shall yet denie the Christian Religion to be the true & one-
lie pathway to eternall felicitie, and all other Religions to bee
meere vanitie and wickednesse; must needes shewe himselfe to be
either vtterly voide euen of humane sence, or else obstinatelie
and wilfully bent to impugne the manifest trueth against the con-
tinuall testimonie of his owne conscience. Not without iust cause
therefore hath so great loue and liking of this worke of his beene
generallie conceiued; that manie not onelie of Gentlemen in the
Court and Countrie, but also of Students in both the Vniuersi-
ties, haue purposed and attempted the translation thereof into
our English tongue, as an increase of comfort and gladnesse to such
as are already rooted & grounded in the truth, as a stablishment
to such as any way either by their owne infirmitie or through the
wilines of wicked persons are made to wauer & hang in suspence,
& as a meane to reuoke such as of theselues or by sinister perswa-
sions are gone away into error, & also (if it possible bee) to reforme
the malicious & stubbornhearted. Among which number of wel-
disposed and rightly zealous Gentlemen, I may not without iust
desert of blame omit to say somewhat (though farre lesse than is
meete) of that right worthie and valiant Knight, your good
Lordships noble kinsman Sir Philip Sidney, whose rare vertue,
valour, and courtesie matched with equall loue and care of the
true Christian Religion, being disappointed of their purposed end
by ouerhastie death in the verie enterance of his owne honorable
race, haue left iust cause to his louing Countrie to bewaile the vn-
timely forgoing of so great an Ornament, & the sodeine bereauing

of

The Epistle

of so hopefull a stay & defence. Whereof notwithstanding this comfort remaineth, That he dying not languishing in idlenes, ryot & excesse, nor as ouercome with nice pleasures & fond vanities; but of manly woundes receiued in seruice of his Prince, in defence of persons oppressed, in maintenance of the onely true Catholike and Christiā religion, amōg the noble valiant & wise, in the open field, in Martiall maner, the honorablest death that could be desired, & best be seeming a Christian Knight, whereby he hath worthely wun to himselfe immortall fame among the godly, & left exāple worthy of imitation to others of his calling. This honourable gentlemā being delighted with the excellencie of this present work, began to put the same into our Language for the benefit of this his natiue Countrie, and had proceeded certaine chapters therein, vntil that intending a higher kinde of seruice towards God and his Prince, not drawne thereto by subtile deuice of a wily Uliſſes frō companie of Courtly Ladies himselfe being disguised in Ladies attire after the maner of Achilles; nor discouered against his will by the wisdom of a Palamedes after the manner of Vlyſſes; but aduanced through the hardinesse of his owne kinghtlie courage like to Proſilaus, he willinglie passed for a time from the companie of the Muses to the Campe of Mars, there to make triall as well of the Pike as hee had done of his penne, after the example of the valiant Julius Caesar, whose excellencie in all kinde of knowledge and learning, could not holde him backe from seeking to inlarge his renowme by hazarding his noble person among the weapons of armed Souldiers. Beeing thus determined to follow the affaires of Chiuallrie; it was his pleasure to commit the performance of this peece of seruice which he had intended to the Muses

Dedicatorie.

or rather to Christes Church and his native Countrie, vnto my charge; declaring vnto mee howe it was his meaning, that the same beeing accomplished should be dedicated vnto your Honor; a matter so acceptable vnto me, both in respect of the charge it selfe, and of the partie that imposed it vpon me, and of the person to whom it was intended: that although in respect of the toilesome and tedious troubles wherewith I was then pressed and am yet still in manner oppressed, I coulde haue found in my heart to haue forborne the vndertaking of so great a taske at that time, yet notwithstanding I gladlie tooke it vpon me, and (by the goodnesse of God) haue faithfullie performed it to the uttermost of my skill. In his name therefore and as an executor of his will in that behalfe, I humbly offer this excellent worke vnto your good Lordship, as his and not mine. Wherein if anie words or phrases shall seeme strange, (as in some places perchaunce they maie) I doubt not but your good Lordship will impute it to the rarenesse & profoundnesse of the matters there handled, not accustomed heretofore to be treated of in our language. For the auoiding of which inconuenience as much as might be, great care hath beene taken, by forming and deriuing of fit names and tearmes, out of the fountaines of our owne tongue, though not altogether most vsuall, yet alwaies conceivable and easie to be vnderstoode; rather than by vsurping the Latin termes, or by borrowing the wordes of anie forraine language, least the matters which in some cases are mysticall enough of themselues by reason of their owne profoundnesse, might haue ben made more obscure to the vnlerned, by setting them downe in termes vtterlie vnkowne vnto the.

Wherefore

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

*Wherefore forbearing to withhold your Honor with anie further
processe of wordes from reading the matter it selfe, which
maie much more delight you: I referre both my
selfe and it to your fauourable accep-
tation. Written the 13 daie
of Maie. 1587.*

*Your good Lordships most humble alwayes
at your commaundement.*

Arthur Golding.





To the Right High and
mightie Prince, Henrie king of Navarre,
Souereigne of Bearne, and a Peere and chiefe Prince
of the bloud royall of Fraunce.



IN this wretched time Sir, wherein vngodlinesse
(which was wont but to whisper men in the eare,
and to mumble betweene the teeth) hath beene so
bold as to step into the pulpit, & to belke out blas-
phemies against God and his Gospell: I take vpon
mee (through a new kind of hardnesse, as in re-
spect of the small abilitie that God hath put into
mee) to conuince hir, euen by hir owne principles
and peculiar records, that if I cannot make hir
to come backe againe to a better mind, I may at
leastwise yet make hir hold hir peace for shame,
and keepe close hir venom in heart: A right great enterprise, and (in the iudge-
ment of most men) ouerhard, but yet such as wherein I see great helpe to imbolden
mee, namely the World, Man, the open examples of all ages, and (at one worde)
God himselfe (who neuer faileth those which seeke his glorie) and all that euer
he hath uttered concerning himselfe, as wel in the creating as in the gouerning
of all thinges. The world, for that it is as a shadow of Gods brightnesse: and Man,
for that he is his image and likenesse: And both of them, for that if it appeare e-
uen by the Philosophers themselves, that the world was made for man, how great-
lie then are we bound vnto the Creator thereof? How great is the dignitie of this
creature? and what else is his shootanker and his welfare, but to sticke wholly
vnto God? Soothly he for whom the world was made, must needs bee made for
more than the world. Hee for whome so durable and substantiall a thing was
made, must needs be made for another than this fraile and wretched life, that
is to wit for the euermourning life, with him that is the euermourning. And that is
the foundation of all Religion. For Religion (to speake properly) is nothing else
but the schoole wherein we learne mans duetie towards God, and the way to be
linked most straightlie vnto him. Again, in the world we see a steddie and fast-
settled

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

settled order, and every creature to do seruice in his sort. Onely man with-
draweth his duetie, shrinking from God, and wandring away in himselfe. He
that is most indebted, is lothest to pray and least able to pray. He for whom
the highest thinges are made, is become a bondslaueto the basest and vilest
thinges: And the Records of all ages are as inditements against all man-
kinde, prouing him to be vnthankfull to God, a murderer of his neighbors, a vi-
olater of nature, an enemy to himselfe. Shal not he then, which in steade of doo-
ing his duetie, is not ashamed to offend God, stand in dread of the death which
waiteth vpon him for his offence? Yes: for what is God, but Iustice? What is
Iustice, but a iudgement of dusty? And before that iudgement who dareth ap-
peare? What remedy than is there, both for Gods glorie and for mans welfare:
but that the debt be discharged by release, & the iustice satisfied with free fauour?
The duty therefore of true Religion, is to conuict vs by the lawe, and to iustifie
vs by grace to make vs feeble our disease, and there withall to offer vs remedie.
But who shall purchase vs this grace so necessarie for mans welfare? Either the
world (as we thinke) or else man. Nay, what is there in man (I say euen in the best
man) which burneth not before Gods iustice, and which setteth it not on fire? And
what shall become of the world then, if man for whome it is created be vnable to
stand? Soothly it is the welbeloued Sonne of God that must stande for all: the
righteous for the vnrighteous, the mightie for the vnmightie, the rich for the
poore, the darling and the welbeloued for them that are in the displeasure and
curse of God his Father, and the same (say I) is our Lord Iesus Christ. The foole
(saith the Psalmist) hath said in his heart, There is no God. And a heathen
man hath passed yet further, saying: He that denieth the one God & his pro-
vidence in al things, is not onely witleffe, bnt also senselesse. And his so say-
ing is, because the world which offereth it selfe continually vnto vs, replenisheth
our wittes with the knowledge of God: euen in this respect, that with one view
of the eye, we see this vniuersall masse furnished with so many and so diuerse
things, linked one to another, and tending all to one marke. Truly I dare say, &
by Gods grace I dare undertake to prooue, that whosoener will lay before him
wholy in one table (so as he may see them together with one view) the promises &
prophecies concerning Christ, the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ and the pro-
ceeding of his Gospel, he shal not be able to deny, euen by the very rules of Philoso-
phie, but that he was sent of God, yea and that he was God himselfe. Howbeit, in
this lyeth our fault, that (whether it be through ignorance or through negligēce)
we consider not the incōparable worke of our Creator & Recreator, but by piece-
meale without laying the one of them to the other: like as if a man would iudge
of the whole space of time by the night, or by some one season of the yeare, or by
some one of the Elementes: or as if he would iudge of a building by some one quar-
ter: or of an Oration by some syllables thereof: where as notwithstanding, Gods
wisdome in creating thinges cannot be considered, but in the vnion of the partes
with the whole, and of themselues among themselues: nor his goodnesse in re-
creating or renewing them, and in regenerating of mankind for whom he made

Psalme 14
Auicent the
Arabian.

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

the world, but by the headfull conferring of all times from the first birth of Man vnto the second birth, and repairing of him againe, which it hath pleased God to ordaine and make for him.

As for the world, it is sufficiently conuersant before our eies, & would God it were lesse grauen in our hearts: and therefore let vs leaue the worlde, and busie our selues in the vniuersall table of mans saluation & reparation. When man had by his sinne drawne Gods wrath and the decay of the world vpon his owne heade: Gods euerlasting wisdom, euen the same whereby God had created him, stepped in and procured his fauour, so as it was promised vnto the first man, that Christ should come and breake the Serpents head, and make attonement betweene God and man. That was the foundation-stone of the wonderful building of the Church and the seede whereof men were to be regenerate newe againe, whom God did as it were create, beget, and adopt new againe in his sonne, which is his euerlasting wisdom. This promise was deliuered ouer from hande to hande, and conueied from Father to Sonne, solemnly declared to Abraham, Isaac, & Iacob committed as a pawne by Moses to the people of Israell, celebrated by David in his Songs, and renewed from time to time by many excellent Prophets, which pointed out the time, place, and manner of his comming, and set downe plainly and expresse his stock, his parents & his birth, many hundred yeares, yea & some thousand yeares aforehand: which are such things as no man could know, nor any creature teach or conceiue. What were they else therefore but Herauldes that foreshewed the comming of the king of the world into the world: and certes by another spirit than the spirit of the world: After a long successe of these Herauldes, came the Saviour in the selfe same manner which they had foretold & painted out. Whatsoever they had saide of him, agreed vnto him, and which more is, could agree to none but him. Who then can doubt that the promise is not performed, and that he is not the bringer of the promised grace to the world? And seeing that the Prophets could not tell any tidings of him but from God, from whence can he be sent but from God? I know well that this one thing is a stumbling blocke vnto vs, namely that after the sounding of so many clarions and trumpets, we see a man in outward show base, and to the sight of our fleshly eies contemptible, come into the world; whereas notwithstanding if we opened the eies of our minde, we shoulde contrariwise espie in that wretchednesse, the very Godhead, and in that humane weaknesse, the selfesame infinite almightines which made both the world and man. He was borne say you: but of a virgin. He was weake: but yet with his onely voice he healed all infirmities. He died: but yet he raised the dead, and rose himselfe from the dead too. If thou beleue that, thou beleuest that he was both sent and sustained by God. Or if thou wilt doubt thereof, tell mee then how he did the things after his death, which are witnessed by thine owne histories? As soone as he was borne (say I,) he by and by chaunged the outward shape of the world, making it to spring newe againe all after another sort. When he was once crucified, he turned the reproch of his crosse into glorie, and the curse therof into a blessing. He was crowned with thornes, and now Kings and Emperors doo cast downe

*the first
promise of the
messiah*

*the first
promise of the
messiah*

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

their crownes and Diademes at his feete, What a death was that, which did such things as all the liuing could not doo? By ignorance he subdued learning, by folly wisdom, by weakenesse power, by miserie victorie, by reproch triumphs, by that which seemed not to be, the things which seemed verily and chieflie for to be. Twelve Fisher-men in effect, did in short space subdue the whole worlde vnto him, by suffering and by teaching to suffer, yea and by dying, and by teaching to die. And the great Christian kingdomes which we now gaze at, and which we exalt so much, are but small remnants of their exploitcs, and little pieces of their conquests. If his birth offend thee, looke vpon the Heraulds that went afore him, and vpon the Trumpeters that told tidings of him, both in the beginning and in the chiefe state of the world, from whom, but from him that made the worlde? And wherefore in all ages, but for the welfare of the worlde? If his crosse offend thee, see how the Emperours and their Emphyres, the Idols whom they worshiped, and the deuils whom they serued, lie altogether ouerthrowne, broken in pieces, fast bound and stricken dumbe at the feete of this crucified man. And how, but by a power passing the power of man, passing the power of Kinges, passing the power of Angels, yea, passing the power of al creatures together? If the little show of the Apostles moue thee: consider how the silie netts of those Fishermen, drew the pride of the world, namely the wise men, the Philosophers, & the Orators by ignorance (as thou tearmest it) to belecue, and by folly to die for beleueing. And for beleueing of what? euen of things contrary to the law of the world, and to the witte of man: namely, that this Iesus Christ crucified is God, and that it is a blessedfull thing to indure all missefortune for his sake. Behold also how one of them drawes mee into his nette the lesser Asia, another Italie, the third Egypt. And some other of them extend vnto the Scythians, the Ethiopians, and the Indians and vnto other places, whither the power of the most renowned Emphyres did neuer attaine, and which haue hardly come to our knowledge now within these hundred yeares, and yet haue we enen there found very great conquests of theirs, & like renowned tokens of their victories, as are here among our selues. Nay, which more is, see how these conquerors enriched wth so many triumphs, do die for a dead man, & are crucified for a crucified man, & their Disciples also by heaps as wel as they. And what moueth them thereto, but that they be sure that their power commeth from him, and that they be nothing, further forth than they are in him and for him? that is to say, that he liueth and maketh them to liue, yea euen for euer, which die in him & for him. Surely vpon the considering of this table, we become as men vanished, distraught, and besides our selues, and haue nothing to say, but that he which created man and the world of nothing, and none other was able to make & regenerate mā & the world again of nothing, euen in despite of man & the world. This inuisible God which hath made him selfe visible by creating the visible world and hath showed him selfe almightie, in clothing him selfe with the infirmitie of a contemptible man, is the Redeemer, very God, and very Man, the Sonne of God, and is come in the flesh euen Iesus Christ our Lord.

Heere Sir you haue in fewe wordes the shoot-anker of this booke, wherein I declare

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

clare the trewnesse of the Christian Religion, and that (as I hope) with such Reasons, that the despisers of God, if they wil not beleene, shall at leastwise finde themselves graued to gaine say it. Moreover to offer this to your Maiestie, I haue chiefly two causes, the one is, that God hath made you to be borne, not onely a Christian, but also a Christian Prince, to whom it belongeth chiefly both for himselfe and for others, to knowe what the Christian Religion is. For ye shalbe the more inflamed to aduance it, when you be thoroughly perswaded that it is not a deuise of man as other Religions are, but the Law and trueth of God, which maketh boih kings and kingdomes, and hath made you a man, yea, and set you ouer men. To be short, that it is both your prosperitie in this life which dependeth vpon Gods gracious goodnes, & your welfare in the other life, which is of farre greater importance, than all that euer we can endure or attaine vnto here.

The other reason is, that forasmuch as God hath called me to be about your Maiestie (as I hope) to do you seruice in that notable worke which he is about to do in our daies to his glory, and wherein he hath put into your hart to employ your person without sparing of your life: reason would that the fruits both of my labours and of my leisure should be yours, as well as the field is yours, without that it should be in my power to dispose otherwise thereof. And I pray the almightie to increase his grace in you from day to day, and to giue vnto you his spirit to go forward with his worke, and vnto me to do you seruice to the uttermost of my small power, as long as I liue. Amen.

Your most humble, obedient,
and faithfull Seruant,
Dn. Plessie.

The

The Preface to the Reader.



It is the ordinarie matter of Prefaces, to declare first of all the apparant profit, or rather necessitie that moueth them to vnder- take any worke. But I to my great grieve, do thinke my selfe discharged of that paine, in this case. For he that shal but reade the title of this booke, *Of the trewnesse of the Christian Religion*, if he list to call to remembrance how manie blasphemies he heareth how- erly against God and his word, how manie despisers of Religion he meeteth with at e-

uery step, & how great either coldnesse in the things which they ought to follow most wholly, or doubting in things which they ought to beleue most stedfastly, he findeth euen in those which professe the Christiā god- lineffe: shal by & by answer & yeeld the reason of himselfe, why I haue taken this worke in hand, more needfull now a daies (yea euen (which I am ashamed to say) among those which beare the name of Christians) than euer it was among the very Heathen & Infidels. Some busie themselves so much about their pleasures that they can neuer finde anie leasure, not to mount vp vnto God, but onely so much as to enter into themselves: in somuch that they be more strangers to their owne nature, to their owne Soules, & to the things which concerne them most neerely and peculiar- ly, than they bee either to the deserts of Indie, or to the Seas that are worst to be haunted & least knowen. That is the very wellspring of the A- thiest, who (to speake rightly of them) offend not tthrough reasoning, but for want of reasoning, nor by abusing of reason, but by drowning of reason or rather by bemiring it in the filthy & beastly pleasures of the world. O- ther some match their pleasures with malice, & to make short way to the attainment of goods or honour, do ouerreach & betraie othermen, selling their friends, their kinsfolke, yea & their owne soules, and not sticking to do any euil, that may serue their turne, neuer alledging or pretending ho- nestie or conscience, bur to their owne profit. Of such kind of stuffe are the Epicures made, who bicause they feeble their mindes guilty of so many crimes, do thinke themselves to haue escaped the Iustice & prouidence of God by denying it. And of these we may say, that their reason is caried a- waie & ouermaistered by the course of the world, whereunto it is wholly tied, so as they can haue none other course or discourse than his.

Some go yet a little further, both in respect of God & of themselves: They thinke there is a God, & that of him man hath receiued an immor- tall soule: that God gouerneth all things, and that man ought to serue him. But forasmuch as they see both Gentiles and Iewes, Turkes & Chris-
tians

The Preface to the Reader.

stians in the world, and in diuerse nations diuerse Religions, whereof e-
uery one thinketh he serueth God, and that he shal finde saluation in his
owne Religion: These (like men at the stop where manie waies meete,
in steade of choosing the right way by the iudgement of reason, do stand
still amazed, and in that amazement conclude that all comes to one, as
who would say, that South & North leade both to one place, But soothlie
if they applied their wit as aduisedlie to iudge betweene trueth and fal-
shood, godlinesse & worldiinesse, as euerie man in his trade doth to iudge
betweene profit & losse: they should forthwith by principles bred with-
in themselves, and by conclusions, following ypon the same, discern the
true Religion from the false: and the waie which God hath ordeined to
welfare, from the deceitfull bywaies and from the crosse and crooked in-
uentions of men. What shall I saie of the most part of vs? Of vs I meane
which beleue the Gospell and professe the Christian Religion, and yet
liue as though we beleued it not? Which preach the kingdome of hea-
uen, and haue our groines euer wrooting in the ground? Which wil needs
seeme & be taken to be Gods children and coheires with Christ, children
of so rich a father & heires of so goodlie an inheritance, and yet do scarcely
thinke earnestlie vpon it once in a whole yeare, but are readie to forsake
it euerie houre, for lesse than a messe of greuel and a bit of bread? Surelie
we maie well say then, that if euer it were needful, it is needefull at this
time to waken such as are a sleepe, to bring backe such as are gone astray,
to lift vp such as are sunke downe, and to chase them a heat which are
waxed cold. And that is to be done by painting out the true Religion liue-
lie before their eies, with the ioy, happines, and glorie which insue there-
upon, to the intent that the voluptuous maie seeke their ioie, the coue-
tous their gaine, and the ambitions their glorie there, bending themselves
with their whole hearts vnto that alone, which all onelie can fill their
harts, and satisfie their desires.

That is the thing which I indeuour to doo in this worke, and God of
his gracious goodnesse vouchsafe to guide my hand, to his owne glorie &
to the welfare of those that are his. But afore I enter into the matter I haue
to answere vnto two sortes of people. The one are such as saie that Religi-
on cannot be declared vnto infidels or vnbeleeuers by reason. The other
sorte are those which vphold, that although reason do somewhat inlighten
it, yet it is neither lawfull nor expedient to do it. But let vs see what reason
they can haue, to exclude reason from this discourse. The first sorte saie,
It is to no purpose to dispute against such as denie grounded principles.
And by this meanes, because one grouded principle is denied them, they
breake of quite & cleane, as though all meane of conference were taken
away. Surely this principle of theirs is verie true, but yet (in my iudge-
ment) it is verie ill vnderstood. I graunt it is to no purpose to dispute a-
gainst such as deny grouded principles, by the same principles which they

The Preface to the Reader.

denie: That is very true. But there may be some other principles common to both sides, by the which a man may profitably dispute with them, and by those common principles oftentimes prooue & verifie his owne principles. And that is the thing which I intend to doo in this worke. As for example, The Christian groundeth himselfe vpon the Gospell, the Iew denieth it: and therefore it were to no purpose to alledge it vnto him. But both the Iew and the Christian haue one common principle and ground, which is the old Testament: By this may the Christian profitably dispute against the Iew, yea euen to the verifying of the Gospell, as if ye should make one to cal some man to his knowledge, by the draughts or discriptions of his portraiture. Likewise the Iew is grounded vpon the old Testament, which the Gentile would mocke as if he should alledge it vnto him. But both the Gentile and the Iew haue one common nature, which furnisheth them both with one common Philosophie, and with one common sort of principles, as that there is one God which gouerneth all things, that he is good, and no author of euill, That he is wise, and doth not anie thing in vaine. Also that man is borne to be immortal, that to be happy he ought to serue God and continue in his fauoure. And there withall, that he is subiect to passions, inclined to euill, weake vnto good and so forth. Of these common principles, the Iew may draw necessarie conclusions, which the Gentile shal not perceiue at the first, like as when a man vnderstandeth a proposition, but conceiue not yet the drift and consequence thereof. He that marketh that the Adamant or Loadstone pointeth to the North, perceiue not forthwith that by the same a man may go about the world, although he was of capacitie to conceiue it. After the same maner, by this principle: *He that fro equall things taketh equal things, leaueth the remainder equall;* and by a few other propositions which children learne in playing, the Mathematician leadeth vs gentlie (and ere we be aware of any mouing) vnto this so greatly renowned proposition & experiment, of Pythagoras, *that in a Triangle, the side that beareth up the right Angle, yeeldeth a square equal to the other twaine* which at the first sight seemeth vnpossible, & yet by degrees is found to be so of necessitie. Thus shall the Iew by common principles and conclusions, verifie his owne ground which is the old Testament. For he shall proue vnto the Gentiles by their owne Philosophers, that vnto God alone, things to come are present, and that vnto Spirits they be knowen but onelie by coniecture, and so farre forth as they can reade them in the starres. And he shal proue by their Astrologers, that the names of men and the circumstances of their doings cannot be betokened nor red in the starres. And he shall proue by their Historiographers, that the bookes of the old Testament, which containe so manie and so particular prophecies, were written manie hundred yeares afore the thinges came to passe. Now what will reasonable inue hereof, but the proofe of the principle which is in controwersie, by the princi-

Euclid. lib. 1.
prop. 45.

The Preface to the Reader.

principles which are agreed vpon betweene them both: namelie that the old Testament is of God, seeing it cannot be from anie other. And what else is all this, than that which is commonlie done in Geometrie and Logicke, which by two lines or by two propositions that are comonly known and certaine, do gather a third proposition that was vnknown or a third proposition (that is to say a conclusion) that was erst either doubted of or hidden, and by meanes of the other two is euidentlie found out, and necessarilie prooued. Such are these proofes against the Atheists: nothing hath mouing of it selfe. It is nature that saith so. The world turneth about, and the heauenlie bodies haue a moeuing: and that doth man himselfe see. Therefore they must needs be moued by some other power and that is the Godhead, which our eie seeth not, & yet by means of the eie, our reason conceiueth and perceiueth it in all things. Against them which denie Christes Godhead, (we alledge this principle of their owne.) That naturallie of nothing, nothing is made. It is the saying of Aristotle, and the schooles would haue him by the eares that should denie it. Iesus Christ hath of nothing made verie great things, yea euen contraries. The Heathen wonder at it, all ages crie it out, our eies do stil behold it. He that will denie this, must denie the world, he must denie all things, he must denie himselfe. It followeth then that Christ wrought by a powre, that is mistresse of Nature. Aristotle himselfe saw it not and yet Aristotle maketh vs to see it. The writers of histories tooke no heede of it; and yet they themselues make vs to belecue it. The Philosopher thought but onelie vpon nature, and the Historiographer but onely vpon his owne writing. And yet from both twaine of them, wee drawe both the Godhead of Christ, and the trueth of our Scriptures: Certesse in like manner as by Arithmetike, out of two and sixe wee draw out one continuall proportionable line hidden after a sort in either of them, and yet greater than both of them together, which is Eighteene: and as out of two sticks chafed one against an other, we drawe out fire which is not seene in the two, the consuming of them both out of hand. To be short, the marke that our faith looketh at, is the Author of Nature & principle of all principles. The rules therefore and the principles of Nature which he hath made cannot be contrarie vnto himselfe. And he is also the very reason & trueth it selfe. All other reason then, & al other trueth dependeth vpon him, and relieth vpon him, neither is there, or can there be anie reason or trueth but in him: So farre off is it, that the thing which is true and reasonable in nature, is or can be false in Diuinity, which (to speake properly) is not against nature, but against the corruption of nature, & in verie deed aboue nature.

Now come I consequently to the other sort, which say, that although it bee possible in some sorte; yet the faith (that is to say, the Christian doctrine) ought not to be proued or declared by reason: And their reason is, because it consisteth in manie things which exceede the capacity of man, and

3d 15
How farre matters of faith are to be dealt with by reason.

The Preface to the Reader.

and therefore that he which should measure them by reason, should diminish the dignitie and greatnes of them. Surely I will saie more for them than they require: namely, that mans reason is so farre off from being the measurer of faith, which very farre exceedeth nature, that it is not so much as the measurer of nature, & of the least creatures which lie farre vnderneath man, because of the ignorance & vntowardnes which is in vs & reigneth in vs. But in this they deceiue themselves, that they imagine vs to vphold, that we should belecue no further than reason can measure & comprehend. For what a great way doth the trueth of things extend further than mans reason? But we say that mans reason is able to leade vs to that point namely, that we ought to belecue euen beyond reason, I meane the things whereunto al the capacitie of man cannot attaine. And likewise that when things are reuealed vnto vs, which reason could neuer haue entered into nor once imagined, no not euen when it was at the soundest, the same reason (which neuer could haue found them out) maketh vs to allow of them: the reason I say (whereunto those misteries were inuisible afore) maketh them credible vnto vs: surely euen after the same maner that our eie maketh vs to se that in the visible things which we ought to beleue of the inuisible, without the which the visible haue no beeing: that is to wit, the inuisible God, by the visible Sunne, & also to se many things when the Sun is vp, which wer hidden afore in darknesse: not that the eie-sight was of lesse force, or the thing it selfe lesse visible afore: but because the Sun is now vp, which lighteneth the aire with his brightnes, which is the meane both wherby the eie seeth, & wherby the thing is scene. As for example, we beleue that there is one God, the Father, the Son, & the holie Ghost. This is the article which they oppose against vs, & therefore do I take the verie same. This article cannot in any wise fall within the copasse of vnderstanding, & much lesse be comprehended by mans reason. But yet doth reason lead vs to the said point, that there is a God: & he hath created man to liue for euer: that whereas man hath stepped out of the way, to follow his owne sway, he reformeth him againe by his word: that this word (as I haue said already heretofore) is the old & new Testament, which containe things that cannot proceed fro creatures. Heere Reason staieth, & holdeth it selfe contented. For seeing that God speaketh, it becometh man to holde his peace: and seeing that he vouchsafeth to teach vs, it becommeth vs to beleue. Now we read this doctrine in Gods foresaid bookes, yea oftentimes repeated. Lo how Reason teacheth vs that which she her selfe neither knewe nor beleued, namely by leading vs to the teacher, who we ought to heare & beleue, and to the booke wherein he vouchsafeth to open himselfe vnto vs, in giuing vs infallible markes & tokens, whereby to discern what cometh of God, and what cometh not of him. But when Reason cometh to the reading of the doctrine, and is perswaded thereof, then she awaketh, and if the Gentile refuse it as impossible and repugnant to reason & trueth, then steppeth she forth stoutly

The Preface to the Reader.

ly, and marketh the likenesse thereof in nature, the images thereof in her selfe to set it forth, & the Records of the gentiles themselues to incounter them withall. Also she findeth out solutions of their arguments, & answers to their absurdities. For surely all trueth cannot be sufficiently proued by reason, considering that many things exceede reason & nature. But yet cannot anie vntrueth preuaile by reason against trueth, nor any trueth be banished by the iudgement of reason. For vntrueth is contrarie to nature, nature helpeth reason, reason is seruant to trueth; and one trueth is not contrarie to another, that is to say, to it selfe. For trueth cannot be but trueth, and Reason, reason.

The like may we saie of the incarnation of the Sonne of God that no man could of himselfe haue imagined it, nor as now also conceiue it: & yet notwithstanding, that reason is able both to teach it vs, and to defend it. What will she saie then to vs in this behalfe? That the workes which Iesus wrought could not proceede, neither from a man, nor from a deuill, nor from an Angel considered in their seuerall kindes, but onely from God the maker of heauē & earth. And this wil she proue vnto vs, both in the respect of the historie, and in respect of the kindes of his workes, as wel by the Historiographers and Philosophers who were enemies to Christ and his doctrine, as by conclusions of necessitie conueied from the principles which remaine in the natures of euery of them. And what wil ensue thereof, but that Iesus working by the power of God, was sent of God, and therefore ought to be heard and beleueed? Beleueed (say I) to be God the sonne of God, because he saith it, & to be man borne of a womā, because the world saw him to be so, & that otherwise he should be an enemy to God, and God an enemy to mankind, God (I say) too good to assist him with his power to our ouerthrow, & too wise to lend him his spirit, to the defasing of his owne glory? But if vngodlines stirre coales, Reason will open her mouth & shew, that it was agreeable to Gods Iustice, & necessarie for mā's welfare; possible to the power of the creator, & agreeable to his will and promises, behooueful for our basenes, & besteming his glorie. And euen in vngodlines it selfe she wil find wherewith to put vngodlines to silence, howbeit that euen in all godlines, she findeth not wherewith to speake thereof sufficiently. The same is to be vnderstood of other like misteries, which shalbe treated of in their due places. And this bringeth vs backe againe to the said point, that the trueth being reuealed, enlighteneth reason, & that reason rowseth vp her selfe to rest vpon trueth. And so farre of is Reason from abasing faith, to make vs attaine thereto, that contrariwise she lifteth vs vp as it were vpon her shoulders, to make vs to see it, and to take it for our guide; as the onely thing that can bring vs to God, and the onely schoolemistresse of whom we ought to learne our sauation. To be short, we say not that because Reason cōprehendeth not this or that, therefore let vs not beleue it: for that wer a measuring of faith by reason, as they say. But we say that Reason & Nature haue such a Rule, & that that is the
common

The Preface to the Reader.

common way, and yet notwithstanding, that this thing or that thing is done or spoken beyond reason and beyond nature. I say then that the worke and word of God are an extraordinarie case, and that forasmuch as they are of God, it behooueth vs to beleeeue them; and to beleeeue is to submit our reason and vnderstanding to him. And so it is a making of reason seruant to faith by reason, and making of reason to stoope to the highnesse of faith: and not an abasing of faith to the measure of reason.

Now for asmuch as we take reason to our helpe against the Infidels, the proofes which she shall yeeld vnto vs to guide vs to the doctrine and schoole of faith, shalbe chiefly of two sorts; namely, Arguments and Records. The Arguments which we will vse against the Iewes, we will take out of the grounds of the Iewish Religion, the maiestie of God, the nature and state of man, and the most euident and best authorised principles or conclusions among them. Against the gentiles, wee will take the out of their substantiallest Rules, out of the most renowned Authors of Philosophie, and out of the expositions of their owne most approued Interpreters; one while abiding vpon their principles, and another while standing vpon the conclusions which they themselues do gather of them, sometimes drawing such necessarie consequents & sequels out of the my selfe, as they oftentimes perceiued not, as though they had not vnderstood what they themselues spake. Also against either of them, we will iudge of the cause by his effects, and of the effects by their cause, of the end, by the instrument or moouer thereto, & of the mouer, by the end, and so forth of other things: which are the strongest arguments that can be, as which are either demonstratiue, or verie neere demonstratiue. At a word, we wil not alledge any argument which shal not be substantiall, or at leastwise which we shall not thinke to be so, neither will we vrge any thing whereof we be not thoroughly perswaded in our selues: choosing alwaie the euidentest & easiest that we can, to apply our selues to al mens capacities. Notwithstanding, let not any man looke here for arguments that may be felt, as I should proue fire to be hote by touching it, or the misteries of God & Religion by the outward sence: but let it suffice him that mine arguments shall bee fully as apparant, and commonly more apparant, than the Arguments which the Philosophers alleadge in naturall things: Howbeit that Aristotle would haue men to looke for arguments of lesse force at his hande in his first Philosophie, then in his discourses of naturall things, & for reasons of lesse force in his morales (so they be likely,) thā in his first & highest Philosophie: which thing we may with much better right require in the things that surmount both nature & man, that is to wit, in diuinity. Moreouer, oftentimes here shal be questions propounded to vnfold, or objections made to be confuted, which might trouble the reader if he were not satisfied in the, or else breake of the continuance of our proofes. And in them I shal be compelled now & then to be obscure, either by Reason

THE EPISTLE DEDICATORIE.

that the nature of the thing depending in controuersie, may perchance be of some old forworne opinion, or else in respect of the tearmes peculiar to the case, which may hap to be lesse vnderstood of the common sorte, and more diffuze, and lesse pithie in our language, wherein such things haue not hitherto bene treated of. Neuerthelesse, I hope to take such paines in the opening of them, that the Reader whosoever he be, if he take anie heede at all, shall easily attaine to the vnderstanding of them.

As touching the Recordes, they shalbe (in my iudgement) of the worthiest sort, and such as are least to be suspected or refused, as neere as I can choose. Wee be to declare our doctrine vnto men, themselves are a part of the doctrine which wee set forth. And what more clearenesse can there bee, than to make themselves parties in the prooffe, Iudges in their owne case, and witnesses against themselves? Vnto men therefore we wil bring the witnessings of men, euen the things that euerie man readeth in his owne nature, and in his owne heart, from whence hee vttereth them either wittinglie or vnwittinglie, as things that are so written there, that he cannot wipe them out though he would neuer so faine. These are common insights, or insets (as a man may tearme them) namelie the perswasion of the Godhead, the conscience of euil, the desire of immortalitie, the longing for felicitie, and such other thinges, which in this neather world are incident vnto man alone, and in all men, without the which a man is no more a man, insomuch that hee cannot denie them except he be out of his wittes, nor call them in question without belying of himself wrongfullie. And hereof proceedeth the agreeable consent of all mankind in certaine beleefes which depend immediatly vpon the said Principles, which consent we ought to holde for certaine and vndoubted. For the vniuersalnesse of this consent sheweth that it is nature, and not instruction, imitation, or bringing vp, that speaketh, & the voice or nature is the voice of truth. As for lying or vntruth, it is a foundling, & not a thing bred, a meere corruption, and not a fruit of nature. Neuerthelesse, whether it were thorough ignorance which hath as good as choked them, or through frowardnesse which hath turned reason a wrong way and made man as a stranger to himselfe: those common and generall Insets haue remained barren in the most part of men. Yet notwithstanding some men in sundrie nations haue mounted aboue the common rate, and indeuored to cherish and aduaunce the said Insights, and drawen some small sparkes of truth and wisdom out of them, as out of some little fire raked vp vnder a great heape of ashes: the which they haue afterward taught vnto others, and for so doing haue bene called Sophies and Philosophers, that is to say, Wise men and louers of wisdom. These also doo we take for witnesses of our doctrine, and amongst them, the notablest and such as the world hath esteemed to be wisest. And wheresoeuer they shall disagree, either one with another, or with themselves, there shall common
reason

The Preface to the Reader.

reason be Iudge. And like as they haue caught some sparks from the fire, so wil we kindle a fire of their sparkes: howbeit (in verie deed) not to lead vs to saluation the hauen of our life; for in that behalfe we haue neede of God himselfe to be our Pilote: but to shewe vs as it were from a Tower; which way it standeth in the darke wherein we now be, to the end we may call to God for helpe, and euer after make thitherward with all our whole hart. Particularlie against the Athiests and Epicures, we wil bring themselues, the world, and the creatures therein for witnesses. For those are the Recordes which they best loue and most beleue, and from the which they be lothest to departe. Against the false naturalists (that is to say professors of the knowledge of nature & naturall things) I wil alledge nature it selfe, the sectes that haue sought out nature, & such writers in euery Sect, as they hold for euery chiefe Disciples, Interpreters, & Anatomists or Decipherers of nature; as *Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, the Academicke & Peripatetikes* both old and new, & specially such as haue most stoutly defended their owne Philosophie, and impugned our doctrine; as *Iamblich, Plotin, Porphirie, Procle, Simplicie*, and such others: whose depositions or rather oppositions against vs, I thinke men wil wonder at.

Against the Iewes I will produce the old Testament, for that is the Scripture whereto their fathers trusted, and for the which they haue suffered death, & whereby they assure themselues of life. And for the interpreting thereof, I wil alledge their Paraphrasts, and those which translated it into the Greeke and Chaldey tongues afore the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ. For they were Iewes borne, of the notablest men among them, chosen by publike authoritie to translate it, and at that time reason was not so intangled with passions, as it hath bene since. Also I wil alledge their ancient doctors, dispersed as well in their Cabales as in their Talmud, which are their bookes of greatest authoritie and most credit. And diuers times I wil interlace the Commentaries of their late writers which generally haue beene most contrarie to the Christian doctrine, whom (notwithstanding) the trueth hath compelled seuerally to agree, in expounding the Texts whereon the same is chiefly grounded.

Now in these allegations I shall sometimes be long, and peraduenture tedious to the Reader, whom manifest reason shall haue satisfied already, so as (to his seeming) there needed not so manie testimonies. But I pray him to beleue, that in this longnesse of mine, I straine my nature to apply my selfe to all men; knowing that some like better of Reasons, and other some of Testimonies, and that all men (notwithstanding that they make more account of the one thā of the other) are best satisfied by both, when they see, both reason authorised by witnesses, (for that is as much to say, as that many men had one selfe same reason) and also Recordes declared by reason, for that is as much to say, as that credit is not giuen to the outward person, but to the diuine thing which the person hath within him

The Preface to the Reader.

him, that is to wit, to Reason. Herewithall I thought also, that all men haue not either the meane to come by all bookes, or the leysure to read them, whose labour I haue by that meane eased. And oftentimes I am driuen to doo that in one Chapter, whereof others haue made whole volumes.

To conclude, I pray the Reader, first to reade this booke throughout, for without mounting by degrees, a man cannot attaine to high thinges, and the breaking of a ladders steale casteth a man backe, and maketh the thing wearisome which was easie. Secondly I desire him to bring his wit rather than his will, to the reading thereof. For foredeemings and fore-setled opinions doo bring in bondage the reason of them that haue best wits, whereas notwithstanding, it belongeth not to the will to ouerrule the wit, but to the wit to guide the will. Thirdly and most of all I beseech him beare alwaie in minde that I am a man, and among men, one of the least, that is to say, that if I satisfie him not in all points, my reason attaineth not euerie where so far as truth doth, to the end that mine ignorāce and weakenesse preiudice not the case, mine vndertaking whereof, in good sooth is not vpon trust of mine owne wit, or of mine owne abilitie, but vpon assured trust of the cleerenesse, soundnesse, substantialnesse, and soothnesse thereof.

Now God vouchsafe to shead out his blessing vpon this worke, and by the furtherance therof to glad them that belecue, to confirme them that wauer, and to confute them which go about to shake downe his doctrine. This is the onely pleasure that I desire, the onely fruite which I seeke of my labour. And (to say the trueth) I fe ele alreadie some effect and contentment thereof in my heart. But let vs praie him also to vouchsafe in our daies, to touch our stonie harts with the force of his spirit, and with his owne finger to plant his doctrine so deeply in them, as it may take roore and bring forth fruite. For certesse it is Gods worke to perswade and winne men, albeit that
to counsell them, yea and to
moue them, seemeth
in some sort to lie
in man.

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The Summes of the Chapters.

- 1 That there is a God, and that all men agree in the Godhead.
- 2 That there is but onely one God.
- 3 That the wisdom of the world acknowledgeth one onely God.
- 4 What it is that man is able to comprehend concerning God.
- 5 That in the one substance of God there are three persons, which we call the trinitie.
- 6 That the Philosophie of olde time agreed to the doctrine of the Trinitie.
- 7 That the world had a beginning.
- 8 When the world had his beginning.
- 9 That the wisdom of the world acknowledgeth the creation of the world.
- 10 That God created the world of nothing, that is to say, without any matter, substance, or stuffe whereof to make it.
- 11 That God by his providence governeth the world, and all things therein.
- 12 That all the euill which is or which seemeth to bee in the worlde is subiect to Gods providence.
- 13 That mans wisdom hath acknowledged Gods providence, and how the same wadeth betwene destinie and fortune.
- 14 That mans soule is immortall.
- 15 That the immortalitie of the soule hath bene taught by the ancient Philosophers and beleued by all nations.
- 16 That mans nature is corrupted, and hee himselfe fallen from his first originall, and by what meanes.
- 17 That the men of olde time are of accord with vs concerning mans corruption and the cause thereof.
- 18 That God is the souereigne welfare of man, & therefore that the chief shootanker of man ought to be to returne vnto God.
- 19 That the wisest of all ages are of accorde that God is the chiefe shooteanker, and, souereigne welfare of man.
- 20 That true Religion is the way to attaine to the shootanker and souereigne welfare, and what are the markes thereof.
- 21 That the true God was worshiped in Israel, which is the 1. mark of true religion.
- 22 That the Gods which were worshiped by the heathen, were men consecrated or canonized to posteritie.
- 23 That the Spirites which made men to worship them vnder the names of those men, were wicked spiritus, that is to saye, feedes or diuels.
- 24 That in Israel Gods worde was the Rule of his seruice: which is the second marke of true Religion.
- 25 That throughout the whole processe of the Bible or olde Testament, there are things which cannot proceede but from God.
- 26 That the things which seeme most wonderfull in our scriptures, are confirmed by the heathen themselues. Also the solutions of their obiections.
- 27 That the meane which God hath ordeyned for mans saluatiō, hath bene reuealed from time to time to the people of Israell, which is the 3. mark of the true religion.
- 28 That the mediator or Messias is promised in the Scriptures to be both God and man, that is to wit, the eternall Sonne of God taking mans flesh vnto him.
- 29 That the time whereat the mediator was promised to come, is ouerpast: & therefore that he must needs bee come alreadie, as wel according to the Scriptures, as according to the traditions of the Iewes.
- 30 That Iesus the Son of Mary came at the time promised by the Scriptures, & that he is the mediator and Messias.
- 31 A solution of the Obiections which the Iewes alledge against Iesus, that he might not bee receiued for the true Christ or Messias.
- 32 That Iesus Christ was & is God the son of God contrary to the opinion of the Gentiles.
- 33 A solution of the obiections of the Gentiles against the Sonne of God.
- 34 That the Gospell doth in very deepe containe the historie and doctrine of Iesus Christ the Sonne of God.
- 35 The conclusion of the whole booke.



OF the Trewnes of the *Christian Religion.*

The first Chapter.

That there is a God, and that all men agree in the Godhead.



Wh as make profession to teach vs, doe say they neuer finde lesse what to say, then when the thing which they treat of, is moze manifest and moze knowne of it selfe, then al that can bee alledged for the setting forth therof. And such are the principles of al the Sciences, and specially of the certeynest, as which consist in Demonstration. The whole (wil Euclyde say) is greater then his part. And if from equall things ye take equal things, the Remainder shall be equall. This is rather

perceiued of enery man by common sence, then proued by sharpnesse of Reason. And like as they that would go about to proue it, doe shewe themselves woorthie to bee laughed at, as which should take vpon them to enlighten the Sunne w a Candle: so ythey that denie it, doe shew themselves to bee wzanglers and vnwoorthie of all conference, as contenders against theirowne mother wit, yea and against their owne confession, according to this common saying of the Schooles, That there is no reasoning against those which deny the Principles. Now, if there bee any matter wherein this Rule is found trew, it is most peculiarly in this, that there is a God. For it is so many waies and so linely painted forth in all things, & so peculiarly ingrauen in mans hart, that all that ever can bee denized, said, and wzitten therof, is much lesse then that which is sene therof euery where, & which men feelee thereof in themselves. If ye loke vpwrd, ye see there infinite bodies and infinite mouings, diuers, and yet not troubling one another. If ye loke downe ward, ye see the Sea continually threatening the Earth, and yet not passing his bounds: and

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likewise

likewise the Earth altogether beanie and massie, and yet not withstanding settled or rather hanged in y^e Aire, so as it stirreth not a whit. These bodies direct vs incontinently to a Spirit, and this orderliness to a certaine Gouverner; for so much as it is certaine in nature, that bodies haue of themselves no mouing, and that euen those bodies which are quickned could not agree stedfastly either with other bodies or with themselves, but by the ordering and gouerning of a Superiour. But when wee enter after ward into our selues, and finde there an abridgement of the whole vniuersall; a bodie fit for all sorts of mouings, a Soule which (without remouing) maketh the bodies to mooue which way it listeth; a Reason therein which guideth them euerychone in their dwings; & yet notwithstanding, this Soule to bee such as wee can neither see it nor conceine it: It ought in all reason to make vs all to vnderstand, that in this great vniuersall masse, there is a soueraine Spirit which maketh, moueth, and gouerneth all that wee see there; by whom we liue, moue, and bee; who in our bodies hath framed a Counterfet of the whole world, and in our Soules hath ingrauen an image of himselfe. This is it that caused one auncient Philosopher to say, that whereas our eies cannot pearce vnto God; he suffereth himselfe to be felt with our hands: And another to say, that the very first vse of Reason, is imployed in conceining the Godhead; not properly by knowing it, but as it were by feeling it, which is more certaine: yea, and y^e the being of our Soule is nothing else, but the knowing of God vpon whom it dependeth. And Auicen speaketh yet more boldly, saying that he which acknowledgeth not the Godhead, is void, not of Reason, but euen of sense. Now, if these Sences from whence our first knowledge proceedeth, do witnesse the thing vnto vs; & wee do firmly beleene a thing when we feele it, and that (as they teach vs) we may feele God as well in the world as in our selues: Surely vnto him that treateth of Religion, it ought to be graunted as an vnioulable Principle, That there is a God; and all men ought to bee forbidden to call it into question, vpon paine of not being men any more. For if every Science haue his Principles, which it is not lawfull to remoue, be it neuer so little: much more reason is it that it should be so, with that thing which hath the ground of all Principles for his Principle. Præter thelesse, let vs with the leaue all good men, bestowe this Chapter vpon the wickednesse of this our age: and if there bee any which by forgetting God, haue in very trée forgotten their owne shape, and mistaken their owne nature: let them learne hereby to reknowledge themselves againe.

It is a strange case, that these men which ordinarilie speake of nothing but the worlde, will not see in the world, the thing which the world sheweth and teacheth in all parts. For, let vs begin at the lowest, and mount vp to the highest; and let vs consider it whole together or in his parts; and wee shall not finde any thing therein, either so

great

Trimegistus
in Poertandro.
Iambliches,
concerning
Misteries.
Chapt. 8.

The World
leadeth vs
vnto God.

great or so small, which leadeth vs not step by step into a Godhead. In this worlde (to consider it first in the whole,) we haue fower degrees of things : to wit, which haue Being, which haue Life, which haue Sence, and which haue Reason : Some are indued with all these giftes, and some but with some of them. The Ayre, the Sea, and the Earth are great, and haue a great scope. They beare vp and susteine all things that haue Life, all things that haue Sence, & all things that haue Reason. And yet notwithstanding, they themselues haue not any more then onely bare Being, without Life, without Sence, without Reason : that is to say, the nearest to nothing. The Plants, besides being, haue also life, and they draw their nourishment from the Earth, and their refreshing from the Ayre. The Beastes haue both Being, Life, and Sence, and take their foode both from the Elements and from the Plants. Man hath Being, and Life, and Sence, and Reason ; and he intoyeth the Elements, liueth of the Plants, commaundeth the Beastes, and discouerseth of all things both aboue him and beneath him. Lo here an order, such from degree to degree, that whosoever conceiueth not by and by some Author thereof, hath neither Reason nor sence, no nor is worthie to haue either life or being. I pray you from whence commeth this godly proportion, and this orderly proceeding of things by degrees ? Whence commeth the difference in their partitions ? Whence commeth it that the hugest and widest things are vnderlings to the least and weakest things ? Whereof commeth it that some things haue but a deade being, and next vnto nothing ; and that other some haue a being that is mouing, sensible, and reasonable, howbeit some more, & some lesse ? Commeth it of the things themselues ? How can that be ? For seeing that nothing doth willingly become an vnderling vnto others : why bee not the heauiest masses allotted to the best shares ? Whereof commeth it that the liuing things which in respect of the whole sea are but as a drop, & in respect of the whole earth are but as a graine of dust, are in degree of preheminance aboue the. And whereof commeth it, that man being the frailest thing of all liuing wightes, is serued by the Elements, by the Plants, & by the Beastes, yea eue by the wildest of them ? When is there a deuider or distributor of these things who hauing imparted them to others, had them first himselfe, and the most abundantly ; & who moreouer is of necessitie, almightie, seeing that in so vnequall partition, he holdeth them neuerthelesse in concord. I say further, that all things are comprized vnder these fower : that is to wit, vnder Being, Life, Sence, and Reason, according to his diuers imparting of them vnto all things. Now I demaund, whether was first, of Being or Notbeing, of Liuing or Notliuing of Sensible, or Not sensible, of Reasonable or Notreasonable ? Surely it was neither Reasonable, or Sensible, nor liuing ; for the time haue bene that wee were not. But

wee knowe that wee had fathers, and that our fathers had forefathers: and the ende of them maketh vs to beleue that they had a beginning. In like case is it with beasts and plants, for wee knowe the breeding, growing, decaying & fading of them. Much more then may wee say the same of Being. For the things here beneath which haue but onely bare beeing, are farre inferiour to the other things, & therefore cannot bring forth themselves, & consequently much lesse bring forth the other things. It remaineth then that Notbeeing, Notliuing, Not sensible, and Notreasonable, were afore Beeing, Liuing, Sensible, and Reasonable. And yet notwithstanding we haue both Beeing, Life, Sence, and Reason. It followeth therefore that it is a power from without vs, which hath brought vs out of Notbeeing into being, and hath parted the said gifts among vs diuersly according to his good pleasure. For otherwise, from out of that nothing which we were (If I may so fearme it,) we shoulde neuer haue come to be any thing at all. Powe betweene nothing and something, (how little so euer that something can be) there is an infinite space. Besides therefore must it be that the cause thereof was infinite (at leastwise if it may be called a cause,) & that is the very same which we call God.

Let vs come to the nature of the Elements whereof the whole is compacted. The fyre is contrary to the Water, and the dry to the moyst, and of these contraries are infinite other things produced vnder them. Now the nature of contraries is to destroy one another, and no two things, euen of the least, can be coupled together, but by the working of a higher power that is able to compell them. But wee see that these things do not inchoke or vsurpe one vpon another, but contrariwise that they match together in the composing of many things: and yet notwithstanding that not so much as two strings beeing of one selfesame nature, can agree in one tune, without the wit of a man that can skil to streine them and to slacke them as he seeth it good. It followeth therefore that the bea- uenly harmonie wherein so many contraries are made to accord both vniuersally and particularly, are set together and guided by a spirit. In- somuch that if we wil say, that according to the comon opinion, the aire is spread forth as a stickler betweene the fyre and the Water, & is ioy- ned to the one by his moysture, and to the other by his heate: We must needs say also, that there is a great and sonereigne Iudge about them, which hath made them to abide that stickler.

Let vs mount by higher. Wee see the Heauen how it moueth round with a continuall mouing. Also wee see there the Planets one vnder another, which (notwithstanding the violence of the first moueable) haue euery one his seuerall course and mouing by himselfe. And shall wee say that these mouings happen by aduenture? But the same aduenture which
made

made them to moue, should also make them to stand still. Againe, as for aduenture or chaunce, it is nothing els but disorder and confusion: but in all these diuersities, there is one vniformitie of mouing, which is neuer interrupted. How then? Do they moue of themselves? Nay; for nothing moueth it selfe, and where things moue one another, there is no possibilitie of infinite holding on; but in the end men must be faine to mount vp to a first beginning, and that is a rest. As for example, from the hammer of a Clocke we come to a wheele, and from that wheele to another, and finally to the wit of the Clockemaker, who by his cunning hath so ordered them, that notwithstanding that he maketh them al to moue, yet he himselfe remoueth not. It remaineth then that of al these mouings, we must imagine one (Mouer) vnmoueable: and of al these so constant diuersities, one (vnuariable) alwaies like it selfe: and of all these bodies, one spirit. And like as from the Earth we haue flyed vp to the aire, from the Aire to the Skye, & from the Skye to the Heauen of Heauens, til mounting vp from greater to greater, from light to light, and from subtile to subtile: so let vs aduance our selues yet one degree higher, namely to the infinite, to the light which is not to be conceined but in vnderstanding, and to the quickening spirit, in respect whereof, the thing that we wonder at here beneath, is lesse then a point, our light is but a shadowe, and our spirit is but a vapour. And yet notwithstanding he hath so painted out his glozie and infinitenesse, euen in the things which we most despise as that euen the grossest wits may easily comprehend it.

Let vs come downe againe to do the like heere belowe. Wee shall see the Earth replenished with Herbes, Trees, and Fruites: both Sea and Land furnished with Beastes, Fishes, Wormes, and Birds of all sorts; euery of them so perfect in his kinde, as mans vnderstanding cannot spie anie want or superfluitie in them. Whence is all this? Is it of the Elements? Nay, how shall the thing which hath neither life nor sence, giue life and sence to other things? Or cometh it of the Sunne? Nay, when did we euer see him bring forth any such like thing? Whence then is this varietie, but of a most fruitfull and vnconsumable might? Whence cometh this perfection, but of a singular wisdom? Of Plants some are hot, and some cold; some sweet, & some bitter; some nourishing and some healing. And of the most dangerous, the remedie is found either in themselves or in the next vnto them. Also as touching Beastes, the wildest and such as liue by praise, keepe by themselves alone, because the flocking of them together would bee noysome. But the tame and such as are most for our profit, do naturally liue in flockes and herdes, because the great numbers of them are for our commoditie. Is this also a worke of fortune? Nay, I say further: The Sunne heateih the earth, the Starres do limit her seasons, the Ayre moysteneth her drought; the earth

serueth the Grasse, the Grasse serueth for Beasts, and the Beasts serue Man. Each thing serueth other, and all serue one alone. Whence may this bonde come? If things bee euerlastingly, and of themselves, how haue they thus put themselves in subiection? By what meanes or when began they first to do so? Also how can one of them be for another, seeing that the ende wherefore things are, is euer afoze the things themselves, either in nature, or els in consideration, and that the eternitie hath not any thing either afoze or after it: So that they haue had their beginning of themselves in seede, in flower, or in kernell: in Egge, or in full life: small or great, and so forth: Again, seeing that the one cannot bee without the other, neither Beast without Grasse, nor Grasse without the Earth, nor the Earth bzing forth any thing without the Heauen: which of them came afoze, and which of them came after? Or if they were all bzed together: whence commeth this agreement among so many diuers things; but of the same minde which made all still gouerneth all things? Seeing then that these things are so linked together, and y they tend al to one: let vs conclude also that that cannot come to passe but through one, who brought them forth altogether at one instant & one burthen, when he thought good. But now let vs see whence commeth this other one whereunto they tend, that is to wit Man; and whether he also bee not for and by that one which hath made them, that is to wit, for and by God.

Man leadeth
vs to God.

He that seeth but onely the portraiture of a man, falleth by and by to thinke vpon a Painter; and the first speach that he uttereth, is to aske who made it. Now, if a dead worke do make vs to conceiue a liuing worker: much more reason it is, that a liuing worke as man is, should make vs to bethinke vs of a quickening workemaister: yea euen of such a one as may bee (at leastwise) as farre aboue man, as man is aboue the portraiture of his owne making, (forasmuch as there is an infinite distance betwixt being and notbeing, liuing and notliuing;) and the same againe is God. The proportion in mans bodie, which is so well obserued, that all our Artes doe borrowe from thence, doth witnesse vnto vs a singuler Cunning: and the partes also in that they all serue each others vse, and euery of them serue the whole; betoken a great wisdom. Now, where Cunning and wisdom bee, there chaunce hath no place. For when a man loseth an eye, an arme, or a legge, wee following the common error do commonly say, it is a mischaunce. But when a member that was out of ioynt is set in againe, or a member that was lost is supplied though it be but a botched one: none of vs will say it was chaunce; because that in the iudgement euen of the grossest sort, the propertie of chaunce is to bindoe and to marre things, and not to make or mende any thing at all. Again, by our Sences which conceiue all Colours, Sounds, Smells, Tastes, and feelings, we may see, heare, smell, tast, and feelee, that one selfesame

selfesame workeman made both the Sences, and the things that are subiect to the Sences. For to what purpose were the Sences without the sensible things: or the insensible things, without the Sences? And seeing that they relie one vpon another, which of them was bred first in the world? If man made them for his Sences; why maketh he not the like still? If he made himselfe to be borne for them; why suffereth he himselfe to be bereft of his Sences one after another? Then is it to be sought for elsewhere than in man. But when in the same man we yet further consider Speech: must we not needes say that he was made to communicate himselfe to many? And how are they borne one for another? Againe, when we come to his Minde, which in discoursing reacheth farre beyond all sensible things, shall we not say that there are things merely to be comprehended by vnderstanding, for the which the Minde was made? And on the other side, if we finde a Minde in our selues which are but a little graine of the whole world, dare we say that there is no Minde elsewhere than in our selues? Moreover, seeing that by this Minde of ours we vnderstand al other things, which Minde yet for all that vnderstandeth not ne knoweth not it selfe, neither perceiue we what or whence this Minde is which so vnderstandeth in vs: ought we not to acknowledge that there is a Minde aboue vs, whereby we haue vnderstanding of other things, and which vnderstandeth and knoweth in vs the things which we our selues knowe not there?

Now then, seeing we vnderstand not ne knowe not our selues, (my meaning is that we be ignorant what we be, & what it is from whence our noblest actions proceede:) can we be the authours of our selues? And from whence then ought we to acknowledge our selues to haue our originall? A man, it may be that thou lookest but to thy father. But from father to father, we shall come at length to be a beginning. And soothlie thou art very dulheaded to thinke thy selfe to be the authour of a man, considering that neither thou in begetting him, nor his Mother in breeding him, did once thinke vpon the fashioning of him in hir wombe: No more (say I) that the Nuttree doth when a Nut falleth from it to the ground, which neuertheless without the Nuttrees thinking thereof, groweth into Rote, Sprig, Barke, & boughes; and in the end whetsoeuer into Leanes, Flowers and fruite: And yet notwithstanding, in painting of an Image thou lookest vpon it a hundred times, and diuers daies; thou amendest it, and thou buiest all thy wits about it. If thou be the doer of this worke in the making of man, tell me why thou hast not children when thou wouldest, and why thou hast them sometime when thou wouldest not? Why hast thou a Daughter, when thou wouldest haue a Sonne, or a Sonne when thou wouldest haue a Daughter? In painting thy Pictures thou doest not so disappoint thy selfe. Also, if thou beest this good

woꝝkemaister in making of thy childe, tell me how thou hast fashioned it? Whence is the hardnesse of his bones? the liquoz of his veines, the spirit of his Heartstrings, & the beating of his Pulses? Seest thou this, which is also as smally in thy power, as if it were none of thine? Tell me what is hidden in his bzeast, & the whole woꝝkemanſhip that is couched with in him. If thou hast not seene it in the opening of thy like, thou knowest nothing thereof. Tel mee yet further the imaginationes of his bzaine, and the thoughts of his heart: nay, tell me thine owne, which oftentimes thou wouldest faine alter oꝝ stay, and canst not. It is a bottomlesse Pit, the which thou canst not gage: and therefore it followeth that thou madest it not. Knowe thou therefore O man, that all this commeth to thee foꝝ some cause that is aboue thy selfe. And seeing that thou hast vnderstanding, needes must that cause haue vnderstanding too; and seeing that thou vnderstandest not thy selfe, needes must that vnderstand thee: and seeing that thou after a foꝝt art infinite in number, but much moze infinite in thy thoughts and deedes: needes must that be infinite too. And that is it the which we call God. What shall I say moze? oꝝ rather what remaineth not foꝝ mee to say? I say with the auncient Trismegist, Lord, shall I looke vpon thee in the things that are here beneath, oꝝ in the things that are aboue? Thou madest all things, and whole nature is nothing els but an image of thee. And I will conclude with Dauid, Blesse ye the Lord all ye woꝝkes of his, yee Heauens, yee waters, yee windes, yee Lightenings, yee Showers, yee Seas, yee Riuers, and all that euer is, blesse ye the Lord: yea and thou my soule also blesse thou the Lord foꝝ euer. Foꝝ, to lay foꝝth the pꝛofes which are both in the great woꝝld and in the little woꝝld, it would stand me in hand to ransacke the whole woꝝld, as the which (with all that euer is therein,) is a plaine booke laide open to all men, yea euen vnto Childzen to reade, and (as yee would say) euen to spell God therein.

Vniuersall
Consent.

Nowe like as all men may reade in this booke as well of the woꝝlde as of theselues; so was there neither yet any Nation vnder heauen, which haue not thereby learned and perceined a certaine Godhead, notwithstanding that they haue conceiued it diuersly, according to the diuersitie of their owne imaginationes. Let a man runne from East to West, and from South to North: let him ransacke all ages one after another: and wheresoeuer he findeth any men, there shall he finde also a kinde of Religion and seruing of God, with pꝛaiers and sacrifices. The diuersitie whereof is verie great, but yet they haue alwaies consented all in this point. That there is a G O D. And as touching the diuersitie which is in that behalfe, it beareth witnesse that it is a doctrine not deliuered alonely from people to people; but also bred and brought vp with euery of them in their owne Climate, yea and euen in their owne selues

of Christian Religion,

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selues. Within these hundred yeares many Nations haue bene discovered, and many are daily discovered still, which were vnknownen in former ages. Among them, some haue bene founde to liue without Lawe, without King, without House, going starke naked, and wandring abroad in the fieldes: but yet none without some knowledge of God, none without some spice of Religion: to shew vnto vs, that it is not so natural a thing in man to loue company, and to clad himselfe against hurts of the wether, (which things wee esteeme to be verie kindlie:) as it is naturall vnto him to knowe the author of his life, that is to say, God. Or if wee yeld more to the iudgement of those which were counted wise among the Heathen nations, (whome afterward by a more modest name men called Philosophers:) The Brachmanes among the Indians, and the Magies among the Persians, neuer began any thing without praying vnto God. The lessons of Pythagoras and Plato, and of their Disciples, began with praier and ended with praier. The auncient Poets (who were all Philosophers,) as Orpheus, Homer, Hesiodus, Pherecydes, and Theognis, speake of none other thing. The Schooles of the Stoikes, Academikes, and Peripatetikes, and all other schooles that flourished in old time, rong of that. The very Epicures themselues who were shamelesse in all other things, were ashamed to denie God. To be short, the men of old time (as witnesseth Plato) chose their Priests (which were to haue regard of the seruice that was to be yeldd vnto God,) from among the Philosophers, as from among those which by their consideration of nature, had attained to knowe God. And so (which seldome hapeneth but in an apparant trueth) the opinion of the common people and the opinion of the wise, haue met both iump together in this point.

Well may there bee found in all ages some wretched kaitifes, which haue not the knowledg of God, as there be some euen at this day. But if we looke into them, either thy were some yong soles giuen ouer to their pleasures, which neuer had leasure to bethinke them of the matter, and yet when yeares came vpon them, came backe againe to the knowing of themselues, and consequently of God: or else they were some persons growen quite out of kinde, saped in wickednesse, and such as had defaced their owne nature in them selues, who to the intent they might practise all manner of wickednes with the lesse remoyse haue strived to perswade themselues by sothing their owne sinnes, that they haue no soule at all, & that there is no iudge to make inquirie of their sinnes. And yet notwithstanding, if these fall into ueuer so little daunger, or be but taken vpon the hip, they fall to quaking, they crie out vnto heauen, they call vpon God. And if they approach, but a farre of, vnto death, they fall to fretting and gnashing of their teeth. And when they be well beaten, there is not anie shadow of the Godhead so sone offered.

Suetonius in
the life of Ca-
ligula,

Seneca in his
first booke
concerning
Wrath.

Obiections
concerning
such as were
counted A-
theists.

fered vnto them, but they imbrace it : so ready are nature and conscience (which they would haue restrained & imprisoned) to put them in minde thereof at all holwers. They be loath to confesse God, for feare to stande in awe of him, and yet the feare of the least things maketh them to confesse him. Nay, because they feare not him that made all things, therefore they stand in awe of all things, as we see in the Emperour Caligula, who threatned the Ayre if it rained vpon his Gameplayers, and yet notwithstanding he wrapped his Cap about his head, or hid himselfe vnder his bed, at euery flash of lightening. I beleue (saith Seneca concerning the same matter) that this threatning of his did greatly hasten his death, for so much as folke saue that they were to beare such a one, as could not beare, euen with the Goddes.

Among the learned, although the libertie of Sects was lawlesse : yet the chiefe that men counted for Atheists, where one Diagoras a Melian Poet, one Theodore a Cyrenian, one Ewhemere a Tegean, and a verie fewe others. But to say truely, these rather scorned the Idolles and false Goddes of their times, then denyed the true God. Accordingly as we see many of them yet still among vs, which hold themselves contented with the knowing of vntrueth, without seeking after the trueth; & with mocking of Superstitions, without seeking the pure and true Religion. Of the said Diagoras it is reported, that as he was burning an Image of Hercules in his fire; he said, Thou must now do me seruice in this thirteenth incounter, as well as thou hast done to Euristheus in the other twelue. This was but a scorning of Idolles. For notwithstanding this: his Verses began thus, that all things are gouerned by a Godhead, Also it is reported of the other, that he should say to the Egyptians, If they be Gods, why bewaile ye them? and if they be dead folkes, why worship ye them? This also was a disprouing of the false Gods. And as for Ewhemere of Tegea, men are of accorde that the cause why he was called an Atheist, was for that he wrote the true Historie and Genealogie of the Heathen Gods, shewing that they were Kinges, Princes, and greate Personages, whose Images being kept for a remembrance of them were turned into Idolles, their worthie doings into yearely Gamings, & their honorings into worshipings. And which of vs at this day beleueth not as much? There was in daede a kinde of Philosophers called Scepticks (that is to say Doubters) which did rather suspend their Iudgement concerning the Godhead, then call it in question. But yet it ought to suffice vs, that they be the selfesame which deny all Sciences, yea euen those which consist in Demonstration, and which professe themselves to doubt of the things which they see and feele; in so much that they doubt whether they themselves haue anie being or no. But yet for all that, let vs see after what manner these kinde of people do reason. Against
the

the thing which the world preacheth, which pious worship, and which wise men wonder at; these folke say at a wrdde for all, how shall we beleue that there is a God, sith we se him not? A foole, and (which worse is) A foole by being wise in thine owne conceit: Thou be- leuest that there is a Sunne, euen when thou art in a Dungeon or in the bottome of a Prison, because his beames are shed in at thy windows: and doubtst thou yet still whether there be a God or no, when he shew- eth himselfe to thee through the Sunne, the Moone, and the Starres, in the Ayre, the Earth, the Sea; in all things that they conteine, yea and euen in thy selfe? If thou haddest neuer seene Tre^e afoze, thy wit at the very first sight if it, would leade thee to the roote which is vnder the Tree: and the sight of a Riuer would leade thee to the wellspring thereof, which may peraduenture be two hundred Leagues of. And whosoener shoulde tell thee the contrary, thou wouldest stand at defiance against him. A man, like as the Tre^e leadeth thee to the roote by his braunches, doth not the roote leade thee likewise to the kernell, and the kernell to him that made it: And as the Riuer leadeth thee to his head; shal not the heade lead thee to the originall spring thereof, seeing thou canst not doubt but it hath a beginning, sith thou seest that it runneth with a streame? If thou shouldest arrive among the Indians, and finde but some silly Cottage in the desolatest Countrey thereof; Thou wouldest by and by conclude, this Ile is inhabited, some man hath passed hère. And why? Because thou seest there some tokens of mans wit, & knowest well that the Coates which thou hast seene raunging or skipping vpon the Rockes, can builde no such thing. Now, when thou being borne beneath, seest here a hundred and a hundred thousand things which are not possible to be made by man: nay (which more is,) which it is not possible for him to know nor to vn- derstand: oughtest thou not to say immediatly, Gods spirit hath passed this way, needes must here haue bene some higher thing then man?

Mention is made of certeine precise persons, which beleued nothing but that which they sawe, and the Wizards made them to see Demills: Whereupon they came to beleue also that there is a God. It was a mad kinde of conuersion, to beleue in God by the ministerie of the De- uill. But what a number of other things beleuest thou which thou seest not? Thou beleuest that the Plants haue a kinde of Soule, that is to say, a certeine inward power or vertue which maketh them to shewe forth in their season. Thou seest them, but thou seest not it; neither knowest thou whence it cometh, or where it lieth. Thou beleuest that the Beastes also haue one other kinde of Soule, which maketh them to moue, and yet thou seest it as little as the other. Also thou be- leuest that thou thy selfe (besides these) hast an ability of reasoning both vpon them, & vpon thy selfe, and vpon such as are like thy selfe. And yet as

touching,

Plutarchin his treatise of the ceasing of Oracles, reporteth that a Ruler of Cicilia which was an Atheist, came to the beleefe of a God, by an answer giuen from the Oracle of Mopsus, to a demand of his which was deliuered sealed.

touching the bodie, thou seest not anie thing altered in the partes thereof after death, neither within nor without. Where is that Soule then, or where hast thou euer seene it? If thou beleue thereof because of the effects which thou seest, which cannot come from any thing els: I assure thee euen by the same effects, that if thou beleue nothing therof but that which thou seest with thine eyes, thine eyes see not by thy soule and thine eyes themselues see not thy soule. To be short, thou beleuest that thou hast a face, which without a looking Glasse thou seest not: And wilt thou not beleue there is a God, whose face shineth forth in all things?

Other some to shew themselues more fineheaded, haue argued thus. If there be a God, he must needs be a bodily living wight, or els he should be sencelesse. And if he haue senses, then is he changeable: and if he be changeable, then may he perish: that is to say, he is no longer God. Beasts are they in verie deede, which can conceiue no better then that which is common to Beasts.

Others haue said thus: If he be without bodie, he is also without soule, and consequently without action. Or if he be a body, he is subiect to the changes thereof. Alas that they should not be able to conceiue a spirit without a body, nor to see that euen in our selues it is the onely Soule that worketh, and that the body stirreth not but as it is moued by the Soule.

Others againe do reason, that if there be a God, he must needs be perfectly happy: and if he be perfectly happy, he is vertuous: if vertuous, he ouermastereth his affections: and if he ouermaster his affections, he is tempted of his lustes, a thing altogether vnseeming the Godhead. And by these inconueniences they conclude, that there is no God at all: not perceiuing, or rather wilfully refusing to perceiue that which Plutarke sayeth verie well: namely, that the person which ouermastereth his affections, is but halfe vertuous, but the stayed person is wholly vertuous, because the one doth but bridle his passions by force of reason, whereas the other hath them already settled according to reason. But there is yet more in God: for he is reason it selfe and there is nothing in him but reason. Soothly this kinde of reasoning of theirs agreeth in effect with this saying of Xenophanes, that if Beasts were able to paint, they woulde portray God like to themselues, because they could not naturally conceiue any further. Such and other like are the arguments of these godly Philosophers, which euen litle babes might laugh to skorne: but els they could not haue seene against so manifest & euident a trueth. And yet dare I also wel assure you, that they themselues knew the fallenesse of those arguments, but that they were as it were sworne to doubt of all things, and to gainsay all things. Let vs then conclude with the learned and the ignorant, the Greekes and the Barbarians, Men and Beastes, things sensible

and

Plutarke in
his treatise of
morall vertue

Xenophanes
as he is alled-
ged by Cle-
ment of Ale-
xandria in his
Stromata.

and sencelesse, the whole and euery part thereof: That there is a God. And if there bee yet any folke that cast doubts thereof, indenuering to race out not onely God, but also man himselfe out of their hearts: let vs boldly appeale even vnto themselues; not doubting at all, but that their owne Conscience which cannot be defeated, will one day make them to vnderstand it.



The second Chapter.

That there is but onely one God.



Et vs studie further in the booke of nature, and see whether that as it hath taught vs a Godhead, it teach vs not also that the same consisteth in onely one God. I haue told you alreadie, that of things, some haue being, some haue being and life, some haue being, life and sence, and other some haue being, life, sence, and reason. These folwer sorts fall into three, and from three into two, and from two into one, and that one is Beeing; afoze the which (as I haue proued already)

The worlde
leadeth to
one onely
God.

there went a Norbeeing. The residue therefore how diuers so euer they be, are all conuied in the one Beeing, and this one Beeing must needs rest in the power of the first Beeing, whereof the being which we see, is but a shadowe. Againe, in all the things which we see, we reduce the particulars to an vnderkinde, the vnderkinde to an vpperkinde, & the vpperkinde to a most general. As for example, we reduce all particuler humane persons vnder the tearme of man: Al men vnder the tearme of Allight, al lighths vnder the tearme of liuing things, and all liuing things vnder the tearme of things that are or be, alwaies referring euery diuersitie to some vnitie, and the same vnitie to another vnitie which is more vniuersall. It remaineth then that when we can mount no higher, we must distinguish the things that are, into the thing which is of it selfe, and the thing which is not of it selfe. That which is not of it selfe, is the worlde and all that euer is therein, as I haue proued afoze. That which is of it selfe, is the thing which we call God, beyond whome nothing can bee
ima

magined, and by whom all things both are and haue beene, as which could haue no being of themselves. Now to produce from nothing into being, requireth an infinite power. For betwene nothing and something is an infinite distance, and two infinites cannot be abidden, no nor imagined together. For the infinitenesse of the one doth inclose and binde the power of the other, and loke whatsoeuer is given to the one, is taken away from all others. Wherefore like as there must needs be one Infinite, so must there be but onely one, yea and most simply one: from whose vnitie neuerthelesse flowe all the diuersities which we see in the whole world, like as from a Picke, proceedeth a Line, an outside, and all substantiall bodies. And of vnitie or one in numbering, proceedeth even and odde, round and square, and all the multiplicities, proportions, and harmonies which we see: sauing that the Picke and the vnitie of number are intermingled and interlaced with all things, whereas the foresaid most single and onely One, abiding still one in it selfe, bringeth forth all the other vnities, and containeth them all.

Let vs examine every sort of things severally by them selues, and we shall learne the like still in them. In the Elements wee see contrary qualities and operations. And where contraries are, there neede but two heads to set them at warre. For they cannot dwell together neither can they match together, and much lesse can they reigne together. The further that any of them extendeth his power, the lesse can he away with any fellowe. Now then if one reigned over the Heate, and another over the Colde, one over the Dryth, & another over the Moysture: so as there were diuers makers or gouerners of the worlde: wee should also see diuersities of factions, Element against Element in the whole worlde and in euery thing that is compounded, and continuall warre in the middes of their Bowels. But now see we no such thing, but euery of them imbraceth other, both in the whole and in euery seuerall thing, notwithstanding that naturally they displace and destroy one another.

Furthermore they stand not at defiance alone by themselves, but the Sea becleapeth the Earth, the Sea and Earth together are lapped by in the Ayre, the Ayre is compassed about with the Skie, and euery of them stoppeth vnder other, insomuch that of their contrarieties ye see there proceedeth a goodlie vniformitie. Seeing then that there are not two factions, there is but one maker, and seeing they yeeld all into one, it cannot be but also by one. In the Earth we see Riuers, which ranne a verie long race, but yet from one head: and againe manie streames, which yeelde themselves all into one, which one is the Sea, and the Sea also being vniuersall passeth through the whole inferiour world. Like as they come out of one vnitie, so doe they yeeld themselves vp into one another vnitie. In the Heauen we obserue infinite diuers mouings, but yet

yet all obeying vnto one. There is one light which sheweth it selfe thorough out all places, but yet it proceedeth from one onely, which sameth to multiplie it selfe infinitely, and yet cannot by any meanes be parted: I meane one Sunne, whose beames spreading out on all sides, do reach from the Skye vnto the Earth, and yet neuer thelesse continue still fast knit together in one bond by one vnitie. Now al these partes, which proceede from one and tend to one, doe make vs to beleue that all proceede from one most single one.

Againe, in the things that haue life, as in Hearbes and Trees, wee see a barked, a stalke or frunke, manie boughes or bzaunches, and an infinite number of leaues. The bodie hath no likenesse to the leaues, nor the leaues to the fruite, nor the fruite to the blossomes: and yet do all these come from one roote, which hath his seyce vnited to it selfe, and the roote springing of a kernell or of a graine, (which cannot be the worke of any mo then one workeman) containeth all the said diuersities in his vniformitie, and of it selfe alone yeldeth forth infinite of the same kinde, and of one beginning of life which is not multiplied in it selfe, maketh it selfe a beginning of life (as well wth in it selfe as without it selfe) vnto many things that haue life.

Likewise as touching wights, wee see in euerie of them a thousand diuers parts. Outwardly, Head, Eyes, Nose, Eares, Teeth, Tongue, Fete, Tayle, and so forth: and inwardlie the Heart, the Lungs, the Stomacke, the Liuer, the Bowelles, the Kidneys, the Bones, the Sinewes, the Heartstrings, the Veines, and such other things. The beginning of this whole Masse & of all those so manifold parts, is next couen vnto nothing, a very small drop, of one shape, but onely one. Yet notwithstanding, it hath the beginning of life and sence vnited in it selfe, which multiplieth it selfe into many abilities, senses, actions, and moings: and that not inwardlie onely, but also outwardly in infinite numbers of the same kinde, which in processe of time do fill whole Countries. So certelie is this principle in nature, that all multitudes come from an vnitie or One, and that there cannot bee any multitude, vlesse the same haue first bene no multitude. But we take no heede of it, because wee see it euery day: and yet it is giuen vs to looke vpon, to the ende we shoulde haue regard of it. Howbeit, sozasmuch as man is both the image of God, and the Counterpaine of the world together: wee cannot see this vnitie so apparantly in any thing, as in man himselfe. If we looke vpon his body, all the parts thereof are made one for another and minister one to another with mutuall dueties: and without so doing, he could not continue nor liue. The Eyes guide the fete, the fete beare the Eyes, by one part the things that are needfull are taken in, & by another the things that are superfluous are voydd out: and all and euerie of them referrs their

Man lea-
vnto one God

their doings to the benefite of the whole bodie. This vnion of diuers operations tending all to one point, shewes that the framing of man was made by one onely workmanship. And as the workmanship is but one, so must the workmaister also needes bee but one. For, like as by a building that is made by peeces and of diuers proportions, we deeme the diuersitie of the maisterbuilders; so by the vniformitie thereof we iudge it to be the deuise & workmanship of one alone. The Veines are spread forth throughout the whole bodie, howbeit from one welhead, that is to say from the Liuer: so be the Sinewes, howbeit from the Braine; So likewise are the Heartstrings, howbeit from the Heart. By these three sorts of Conduittypes, are life, sence, and breath shed forth euen to the least and vttermost parts, and the bzaunches thereof are without number, but the originall of all is onely one. But yet doth this shine forth more clearly in the Soule of man. It hath life, sence, & mouing. All these are dealt forth, maintained, and guided by the onely one Soule. Hærs ye see already one vnitie. The soule which hath his powers so diuers and so farre spread, is whole throughout all the whole bodie, and whole in euery parte thereof, as much in the least as in the greatest, & as much in the least as in the whole. Therefore ye see yet a straighter vnitie. Again, the Soule is yet more straightly shut vp into Minde, which is y^e Soule of the Soule, as the Apple of the Cie is the Cie of the Cie; and yet notwithstanding, this Minde (as entirely one as it is,) conceiveth and doth infinite things, entereth in a thousand places without remouing, passeth ouer the Seas, mounteth vp to the Heauens, and reacheth towne to the depth of the Earth. Lo here an vnitie most streight in it selfe, and yet extended to the vtmost parts of the world.

Hermes saith that the Sunnebeames of God are his Actions, the Sunbeames of the World are the Natures of things, and the Sunnebeames of Man are Artes and Sciences. Therefore let vs see whether the Artes and sciences will guide vs to the same vnitie, wherunto those Actions and the natures of things haueled vs already, beginning at the lower, & mounting vp to the higher. Grammer teacheth vs to bring the diuers parts of speach into one congruitie, and the end thereof is to speake; and the end of speaking is societie. Rhetorike teacheth to drawe mennes mindes to one selfesame opinion. Logike teacheth to sift out the trueth from a number of falshoods, which trueth can be but one. Their endes then are congruitie, societie, vnitie of minde and trueth, which are but sundrie sortes of vnitie. Arithmetick proceedeth from vnitie, Geometry from a picke; and Musick from agreement of soundes; and the end of them is to reduce things to one common reason, to one proportion, and to one harmonie, all which are kindes of vnitie, and their bzaunches are bzaunches of the same. For Perspective draweth al his lines to one point:

Palourie

Maſonrie and Carpentrie tend to vniſormitie. The handicraft indeno-
rath to bying many powers and many monings vnder one, to ouerrule
them all: All which againe are but ſundrie ſortes of vnitie. Whiſick ten-
deth to the preſeruation or reſtitution of health; and health is nothing
els but a welpropoꝛtioned vniõ of diuers humoꝛs together. The ſkill
of Lawe tendeth to Right, and there is but one Right, though there be
infinite wrongs. Then ſerues it but to mainteine, reſtoꝛe, & bying men
backe againe vnto vnitie. Let vs proceede further; Howall Philoſophie
ſubdueth many diuers paſſions and affections vnto one reaſon, in one
man. Houſhold gouernement byingeth many men to the obeying of one
houſholder: Ciuil gouernement reduceth many houſholds into one Com-
monweale, which is nothing but an vnitie of many people, whether it
be vnder one Lawe or vnder one magiſtrate; in ſo much that euen the
moſt popular Commonweales haue (in their extremities) taken a Dic-
tator, and in their ordinarie courſe of gouernment a Conſull, the one af-
ter the other. Now then, all that euer man conceiueth, inuenteth and
diſpoſeth, doth lead vs alwayes to an vnitie. Where vnitie is loſt, theſe
things go to wrecke. Artes are confounded, & Commonweales are diſ-
ſolued. Then like as in vniuersited diuerſitie we finde waſte and ſubuer-
ſion; ſo muſt we looke in vnitie for the increaſe and preſeruation of all
things. Now if man, and all that is within man and without him do
leade vs to one alone: ſhall he ſuffer himſelfe to raunge out vnto manye
And if all the Sunbeames of man, I meane his Artes and Sciences,
tend to one vnitie: ſhall onely diuinitie turne vs aſide to a pluralitie of
Goddess? Nay, rather by ſo many vnities, he will make vs ſtye vp to the
true and perfect vnitie, and that vnitie is the onely one God.

But let vs ſee now how all things being ſo diuers in the whole world,
are referred one to another. The water moyſtneſh the Earth, the Ayre
maketh it ſatte with his howers, the Sunne inlighteneth it and hea-
teth it according to his ſeaſons. The Earth nourisheth the Plants, the
Plants feede the Beaſtes, the Beaſtes ſerue man. Again, nothing is
ſene here to be made for it ſelfe. The Sunne ſhineth and heateth; but
not for it ſelfe: the Earth beareth and yet hath no benefite thereby: the
Windeſ blowe, and yet they ſayle not: but all theſe things redound to
the glorie of the maker, to the accompliſhment of the whole, and to the
benefite of man. To be ſhort, the nobleſt creatures haue neede of the ba-
leſt, and the baſeſt are ſerued by the nobleſt; and all are ſo linked toge-
ther from the higheſt to the loweſt, that the ring thereof cannot be bro-
ken without confuſion. The Sunne cannot be Eclipſed, the Planets
withered, or the Raine want; but all things feele the hurt thereof. Now
then, can we imagine that this worke which conſiſteth of ſo manie and
ſo diuers peeces, tending all to one end, ſo cuppled one to another, making

The linking
in of things
together.

one body, and full of so apparant consents of affections; procédeyth from elsewhere than from the power of one alone? When in a fælde we see many Battels, diuers Standerds, sundrie Liueries, and yet all turning head with one swaye; wee conceiue that there is one Generall of the field, who commaundeth them all. Also when in a Citie or a Realme we see an equalitie of good behauiour in an vnequalitie of degrés of people, infinite trades which serue one another, the smaller reuerencing the greater, the greater seruing to the benefite of the smaller, both of them made equall in Justice, and all tending in this diuersitie to the common seruice of their Countrie: wee doubt not but there is one Lawe, and a Magistrate which by that lawe holdeth the said diuersitie in vnion. And if any man tell of many Magistrates; wee will by and by inquire for the soueraigne. Yet notwithstanding, all this is but an order set among diuers men, who ought euen naturally to be vnited, by the communitie of their kind. But when things, as wel light as heauie, hot as cold, moyst as dry, liuing as vnliving, endewd with sence as sencelesse, and eche of infinite sortes, doe so close in one composition, as one of them cannot forbear another; nay rather to our seeming, the wortheiest do seruice to the basest, the greatest to the smallest, the strongest to the weakest, and all of them together are disposed to the accomplishment of the worlde, and to the contentment of man who alonely is able to consider it: ought wee not soorthwith to perceiue, that the whole worlde and all things contained therein, do by their tending vnto vs, teach vs to tend vnto one alone? And seeing that so many things tend vnto man; shall man scatter his doings vnto diuers endes? Or shall he be so wretched as to serue manye maisters? Say further, to knit vp this poynt withall, seeing that all things the nobler they be, the moze they do close into one vnitie, (as for example, we see that the things which haue but méere being are of infinite kindes, the things that haue life are of infinite sortes, the things that haue sence are of many sortes, howbeit not of so many; and the thinges that haue reason are many, onely in particulars:) doth it not follow also that the Godhead from whence they haue their reason (as nobler than they) is also much moze one than they, that is to say, onely one as well in particularitie and number, as also in kinde?

The objections
of such as
maintaine mo
Gods than
one.

Julian the A-
postata, in
Iulius.

Howbeit, notwithstanding all these considerations, forasmuch as there is diuersitie, yea and contrarietie in worldey things; some haue gathered vpon this diuersitie, that there be diuers Gods, acknowledging neuerthelesse one Almightye aboue them all. And othersome, in respect of the contrarietie, haue set downe but two Gods onely. The first saye, If onely one God had made all things, there should haue been no difference in things; but there is difference; and therefore it must needs be that there are many Gods. Surely, had these men well considered the things
also

afore alledged by mee; they should haue sene that nature is wholly and
 altogether against this consequence. There is great diuersitie in one
 Plant, in one Wight, in one Man: and yet notwithstanding the ground
 thereof is vniforme. Pea and it is so true that onely vnitie is frutefull,
 that we see how the diuersitie it selfe and that which commeth thereof, is
 bitterly barreine, both in Wights, (as in Bees) and in Plants, as in
 the Stergon, and also in all other like things. If they consider the Sunne,
 he maketh Plants to growe all at one time, diuers one from another, &
 as diuers in themselves. He maketh some of them to shote forth, some
 to ripen, and some to wither. At one instant he both worketh brought in
 the Earth, and draweth by Cloudes out of it to moisten it: he giueth
 Summer, daylight, & faire weather to some, and Winter, night, & foule
 weather vnto othersome: He maketh some folkes white, some blacke,
 some read, and some Tawny; and yet is he but one selfesame Sunne, &
 one selfesame Creature, which at one selfesame instant, by one selfesame
 course, and with one selfesame qualitie of heate, doth all the said things,
 not onely diuers, but also contrarie. And he that should say that it is any
 other than one selfesame Sunne that maketh the Ethiopian black, and
 the Scotte yellowish, were not worthy to be answered. Now if a Crea-
 ture doth by heat (which is but a qualitie) breede so diuers effectes; what
 shall we say of the Creator, I meane the infinite Being of God, who im-
 parteth himselfe to all things?

Stergon is an
 herbe which
 groweth of an
 Onyon stuf-
 fed with Lin-
 seed or seede
 of Flax.

Again, if man consider himselfe, he seeth, he saith, he speaketh, he vn-
 derstandeth a thousand diuers things, without any alteration in him-
 selfe. Nay which moze is, he conceiueth, he inuenteth, and he performeth
 so diuers works, that Nations do wonder one at another. One man por-
 trayeth out the whole worlde in a little peece of Paper, painting out all
 the Images of the Heauens, and all the Climates of the Earth. Some
 one other counterfeitheth all liuing wights, which Creape, which Go, &
 which flye, which swimme. And all this commeth but of one minde which
 conceiueth and breedeth all these formes, because it hath no forme of it
 owne; for had it any of it owne, it could not breede them, because it owne
 would occupie it to the full. What haue we then to thinke of him, whose
 willings are powers, and whose thoughts are deeds? Who is an infinite
 minde; in comparison of the brightnesse whereof our mindes are but a
 shadowe? If we, who (to speake properly) are but in outward shewe, doe
 things in outward shewe so diuers: do we doubt that he which is in ve-
 rie trueth, cannot doe them also in verie trueth? Moreover, if the di-
 uersitie make vs to imagine diuers Gods, howbeit all proceeding of one
 alone: Shall we say that he which in his vnitie, bred the rest of the Gods
 with their so diuers powers, had not the same powers in his vnitie? Again
 seeing the said diuersitie was once included within the said vnitie; is it

to be said, that he was faine to hatch by diuers Gods, for the bringing of that diuersitie to light? Nay, like as nature doth all things the choicest way: so also God made all things immediatly. And if they say it was his pleasure to make the high things himselfe, and to leaue the lowe things to be done by the pettie Gods: we must consider that High and Lowe, Noble and Annoble, are but considerations of man. For to make the one or the other, is all one vnto God; who of his infinite goodnes and power, hath drawne both twaine of them out of nothing, which was no more the one than the other, as we shall see hereafter.

Against two
beginnings.

Plutark in the
life of Osyris
and Isis.

Let vs come to such as haue bpholden two beginnings, the one god, whome they call Oromases; and the other euill whome they call Arimanius; which opinion men say proceeded first from Zoroastres, and afterward from the Persians and Manichies; but we shall finde no foundation thereof in nature. Their meaning is, that the Elements, the Plants, Beastes, Men, yea and Spirits, were, as ye would say, parted betwixt these two Gods, so as the one should be the Creator of the one, and the other the other; the good God, of the good; and the euill, of the euill. If it be so, then is there a Ciuill warre fully furnished, of forces set in battel ray on both sides: so as there remaineth nothing but fighting: and yet after so long time we see no such fight at all. And therefore let vs conclude, that this contrarietie of beginnings is not. Vnto the one, they allotted Light: and vnto the other, Darknesse: vnto the one, Sommer: and vnto the other Winter: vnto the one, Heate: and vnto the other, Colde. In verie deede these are Contraries, but yet is one selfesame Sunne the doer of them all, after as he goeth further from vs or cometh nêrer to vs. And his going from vs is not to forgoe his light, but to shine therewith the nêrelyer vnto others; not to cole himselfe, but to heat other folkes. Then if these contraries come of one selfesame one, that is to witte, of the Sunne: Much more likely is it in reason, that the Sunne himselfe should not come of two. Again, why should the one of these contraries be good, and the other bad? Whosoener shall haue tryed the extremitie both of the heate and of the colde, shall not be able to discerne which is the worser. Likewise, he that shall haue obserued the benefite that cometh of either of them in their seasons, shall not be able to discerne which of them to take for the better. The Heate ripeneth fruites; but it also seareth and parcheth them. The Colde starueth them; but it also maketh them to bud. Take away either of them both, and you take away all fruites. And like as both of them are nêdefull to one selfesame thing, that is to wit, to the bringing forth of fruites: so be they also procured by the course of one selfesame might, which is the Sunne. The same Sunne is the lightner of our eyes to our behoofe; and he is also the blinder of them if we gaze vpon him at the height of the day. Yet not
with

withstanding, both in the Sunne and in our eyes is the selfesame light which they call god, and which by his reckoning should be to them both good & bad: and if it be so, on which side shall they turne themselves?

They adde further: Among Plants there are so many poysons, and among living wights, so many noysome Beastes: that how should a good God be author of them? Illie man that thou art! The poysons thou occupiest in Tryacles for thy health, even against the Plague. And of those Beasts thou canst skill to vse the skinnes to clothe thee against the Colde. And if thou hast an euill opinion of some of them, because thou canst not serue thy turne with them; as much wouldest thou haue saide sometime of the Horse, which as now doth thee serue so many waies: and as much might the Satyre haue saide of Fire when it burned him, notwithstanding that as now, it be so many waies necessarie. Powe then they might benefite thee, if thou wilst how to vse them: and whereas they annoy thee, it is not of their nature, but through thine owne weaknesse or rather ignorance. But if they be good so farre forth as thou hast skill of them: shall they not be good to him which knoweth them thoroughly? In the Closet of a Surgeon, who is but a man as thou art, thou shalt finde a thousand toles; and thou wilt perchaunce esteem him so wise, that thou wilt not thinke there is any one of them, which serueth not to some purpose. Yea, and if any of them do cut thee or raze thee; thou wilt not blame the tole nor the maister thereof, but thy self which tookest it by the blade, whereas thou shouldest haue taken it by the handle. And as little canst thou saye, that the tole which did cut thee, as that the tole wherewith thou diddest cut what thou wouldest, had another maister or maker. Now then, wilt thou bring lesse regard with thee in this great Shop of the Creator? It is his will that some things shall serue other living wights which serue thee, and other some shall serue thee alone. Yea, and he will haue euen the harmes which thou receiuest by them, to serue thee to some purpose: and he serueth his owne turne better by thee, than thou canst serue thine owne. And if thou which art nothing, hast yet so much wit as to draue some peculiar good to thy selfe, out of another bodys woakes, yea, euen out of such as thou accountest euil; as out of Poyson, health; from the Wolfe, his skinne to couer thee; from the night, rest; and so forth: Shall not the almightie and infinite Spirit much better dispose them for the benefite of all men, yea & of all the whole world which comprehendeth so many things together?

They say yet againe; But why should a good God take pleasure in so many needlesse things? For to what purpose serueth the Fly, and such other things? Tell me, wouldest thou like well that thine owne children should speake such reproach of thy woakes? Nay rather wherein doth the Flye annoy thee? And wherfore serued the Flye that zeuxis painted in his

Table : It serued to make his greatest disdainers, (euen those which would haue had that rather than all the rest wyped out of the Table) to confesse his arte and excellent skill. And this serueth to conuict the of blockishnes, the (I say) which hadst rather to finde fault with God and with the Flye, than to wonder at the excellencie of him, who hath inclosed so lively a life, so quicke a mouing, and so great an excellencie in so little a thing. So then, it is not for vs to chace her out of the table; but rather to confesse our owne ignorance, or els to chace it awaye. Whereby therefore we perceiue, that of al the things which they can alledge, there is none which is not good and behouefull in it self; and that the euilnesse thereof commeth onely through vs, and therefore that the thing hath but onely one Beginner thereof, who is god.

But behold, they vrge the matter yet moze strongly. Howsoeuer the case stand (say they) it cannot be denyed but there is euilnesse in things, seeing that they corrupt themselues, and the sinne that is in our selues is vtterly euil: and sith it is so, from whence may that be? For if God be god, he cannot be the authoꝝ of euil; and therefore there must needes be another authoꝝ thereof. This question shall be handled moze lightsomely when I come to treat of Mans fall, which is the byinger in of the two euils, namely both of paine and fault; but yet may wee asfoyle it if wee take heede. Wee say that making and creating are referred to natures or substances, and that all natures and substances are good; and therefore that God who is good, is the authoꝝ and Creatoꝝ of them. On the contrary part, wee say that euil is neither a nature nor a substance, but an income or accident which is false into natures and substances; It is (say I) a bereauing or diminishing of the good qualities which things ought naturally to haue. This euil hath not any being in it selfe; neither can haue any being but in the thing that is good. It is not an effect, but a default; nor a pꝛoduction, but a corruption. And therefore to speake properly, we must not seeke whence cometh the doing of euil, but whence commeth the vndoing of god. As for example, Wine is of Gods creating, and it is good. Now this good substance falling to decay, that is to say, to abate or diminish of his vertue, becommeth Vineger. Whereupon no man asketh who made the substance that is become sharpe, for it is the selfesame that it was afore; but they aske whence cometh the sharpnes or eagernesse, that is to saye, the alteration that is befallne to the substance. If thou say that it commeth of the foresaid euil Beginner, the authoꝝ of all euil, as the good Beginner is the authoꝝ of all goodnesse: forasmuch as euil is nothing els but a default, want or failing of god; it is the soueraigne or chiefe default or failing, as the god is the soueraigne or chiefe being. And if it be the chiefe default, then is it not any moze. For the default or failing of a thing, is a tending of the thing to notbeing any moze

more the same that it was: and the failing of all, is a tending to the better vnbeing or notbeing of the whole.

Moreover, the said euill Beginner, which worketh not but in the substance that is made or created by another, could do nothing if the good Beginner wrought not first; and so should he haue the Commencement of his power depending vpon another than himselfe, which is a thing repugnant to a Godhead. And if you aske what is then the cause thereof: I tel you it is the verie nothing it self; that is to wit, that God almightie, to shew vs that he hath made all of nothing, hath left a certeine inclination in his Creatures, whereby they tend naturally to nothing, that is to saye, to change and corruption, vnlesse they be vphild by his power, who hauing all in himselfe, abideth alonely vnchangeable and free from all passions. As in respect then that things be, they be of God: but as in respect that they corrupt and tend to not being; that which they were afore; that commeth of the said notbeing, whereof they were created. And so they be good, as in respect of their bare being; and euill as in respect that they forgo their forme being, that is to say, their goodnesse: Good on the behalf of ϕ (soveraigne) Good, the Father of al substances: Euill as on the behalfe of the Nothing: And soothly, neither by nature nor by iustice ought they to be made equall with the vnchangeable Being of their Creator. And this is to be seene alike in all things. An Apple rotteth, and a man dyeth. The Apple and the man, that is to saye, the natures of them are Gods Creatures. As for the rottennesse and the sicknesse, they be but abatements and defaultes of the good nature that was in either of them from the good Creator. Man againe becommeth a Sinner, and hereunto he needeth no newe creation. It is a vanishing away of the good nature, which loseth her taste. And therefore S. Austine saith, that the Latins terme an euill man Nequam, and an euilnesse Nequitiam, that is to saye, Naughtie and Naughtinesse. Powe, like as of right nought there needeth no beginner; so also is there none to be sought of naughtinesse or euill. And by that meanes there remaineth vnto vs but onely one God the beginner and authoz of all things, as we haue defined him already afore. Plato, Plotin, and other great Philosophers of all Sects, are of opinion that Euill is not a thing of it selfe, nor can be imagined but in the absence of all goodnes, as a deprivation of the good which ought to be naturally in euery thing: That euil is a kind of notbeing, and hath no abiding but in the good, whereof it is a default or diminishing. That the cause thereof is in the verie matter whereof God created things, which matter they termed the verie vnbeing, that is to saye, in verie troth no being at all, whereof the creatures retaine still a certeine inclination, whereby they may fall away from their goodnesse: And that in the verie Soule of man, the euil that is there

Nothing being a negative causeth nothing which is the priuatiue.

Plato in his Timæus, Plotin, in En. 1, lib. 8. Trismegist. in Asclepio. Simplicius vpon Epictetus.

is a kinde of darknesse, for want of looking vp to that light of the soueraigne minde which should inlighten it; and through suffering it selfe to be carried too much away to the materiall things which are nothing. But now that we haue done with nature, it is good time to see what the wisest men will teach vs concerning the onely one God.



The third Chapter.

That the Wisedome of the worlde hath acknowledged one onely God.



One man will say vnto mee, if in t world, if in the things contained in the world, if in man himselfe, it be so lively painted out, that there is but onely one God; whereof then commeth the multitude of Gods among men, yea, and among those whome the world counted wisest: I wil not prooue here that all those Gods were either dead men or Diuels: for that shalbe handled moze materially in another place. But it shall suffice for this present, to shewe the vniuersalitie of consent in this point, and that euen those which through custome did celebrate the pluralitie of Gods, did yet notwithstanding beleeue that there is but onely one true God: Which thing I will first maintaine by the wise men which liued from age to age. Mercurius Trismegistus, who (if the booke which are fathered vpon him be his in deede, as in trueth they be verie auncient) is the founder of them all, teacheth euerywhere, that there is but one God: that one is the roote of all things, & that without that one, nothing hath been of all things that are: That the same one is called the onely god and the goodnes it selfe, which hath vniuersall power of creating all things: That it is impossible that there should be many makers: That in heaven he hath planted immortallitie, in earth, interchange, & vniuersally, life & mouing: That vnto him alone belongeth the name of Father & of Good; and that without blasphemie those titles cannot be attributed either to Angels, to Ffendes, or to men,

or to any of al those whome men do call Gods as in respect of honoꝝ and not of nature. He calleth him father of the woꝝld, the Creatoꝝ, the beginning, the gloꝝie, the nature, the ende, the Preſentitie, the renewer of all things, the woꝝker of all powers, and the power of all woꝝkes, the onely holy, the onely vnbegotten, the only euerlaſting, the Lord of euerlaſtingneſſe, & the euerlaſtingneſſe it ſelfe; the only one, & by whom there is but only one woꝝld; alone, & himſelf alonly all; nameleſſe, & moꝝe excellēt than al names. Vnto him alone will he haue vs to offer by our pꝛayers, our Pꝛaiſes, & our Sacrifices, & neuer to call vpon any other than him.

I would ſaine know whether it be poſſible foꝝ vs to ſay any thing, either moꝝe, or better foꝝ the ſetting foꝝth of the ſaide vnitie? In deede in ſome places he ſpeaketh of Gods in the plural number, as when he calleth the woꝝld a God, and the Heauen with the Planets which rule the Heauen, Gods: but that is after the ſame manner which he ſometimes calleth man himſelfe a God, notwithstanding that no man can doubt of his birth and death, which are things cleane contrarie to the true God-head. The Starres (ſaith he, ſpeaking of the Creation) were numbred according to the Gods that dwell in them. And in another place he ſaith, There are two ſortes of Gods, the one wandring, and the other fixed. But in the times going befoꝝe, he had ſaid that God is the beginner of them, That he made them, That he is the Father and onely god, vnto whome nothing is to be compared, either of the things beneath, or the things aboue. Alſo he ſaith further, That the woꝝld is a ſecond God, and a ſenſible God: and that Pan is a third God, by reaſon of the immoꝝtal Soule which is in him: but yet he calleth the Childꝛen, Impes & Creatures of the onely one God, and moſt commonly Shadowes and Images of him; neither is it his meaning to attribute ſo much vnto them, as onely one ſparke of godneſſe, or power to make the leaſt thing that is. To be ſhoꝝt, he ſetteth beſoꝝne ſome Gods as pꝛincipall, ſome as meane, and othersome as vndergonernours: But the concluſion of his matter is, that the ſoueraigne dominion belongeth to God the ſoueraigne Lord of them all, vpon whome alonly they depend, and from whome they proceede, who alonly is called Father and Loyde, and whatſoeuer holper name can be giuen, who made both men and Gods, yea, and men (ſaith hee) much better and moꝝe excellent than all the Gods. And as at the beginning of his woꝝke he had pꝛayed vnto him alone; ſo thanketh and pꝛaiſeth he him alone in the ende: which thing I thought good to ſet out at length, becauſe many Philoſophers haue beſoꝝne their ſkill and knowledge out of his fountaine.

Pythagoras ſpeaketh of God in theſe termes: God is but one; not as ſome thinke, without gouernement of the worlde, but all in all. Hee is the orderer of all Ages, the light of all powers, the Original of all things,

the

Mercurius
Trimegiſtus
in his Poeman
der. Chap. 38
10. 11. 12. And
in his Aſcle-
pius. Cha. 2.
68. 9.

Alledged by
Cicero. Plu-
tark, Clemens
of Alexandria
and Cyrillus.

Philo the Jew:
and Iamblichus
of the
Sect of Py-
thagoras.

Hierocles a-
gainst the A-
theists.

Simplicius in
his Phil.
Numenius
concerning
the Good.
Arist. 14. Me-
taph. Cap. 4.

Aristotle al-
ledgeth them
in his first
Philosophie
& in his book
of the world.

Arist. 1. Phil.
cap. 10. lib. 3.
Simplic. li. 1.
Phil.

Academicks.

the Cresset of Heauen, the Father, Minde, Quickener, and Mōouer of all. **Moze** ouer, he calleth him The infinite power from whence all other powers flowe; which cannot be verified but of him alone. Philolaus a disciple of his saith, That there is but onely one God, the Prince and Guide of all things, who is alwaies singular, vnmouable, like himselfe, and vnlike all other things. Also Architas saith, that he esteemeth no man wise, but him which reduceth all things vnto one selfesame Originall, that is to wit, vnto God, who is the beginning, end, and middle of all things. And Hierocles one of the same Sect, saith, that the same is hee whome they call by the name of zena and Dia, the Father and maker of all things, because all things haue their life and being of him. Verily (by the report of Eudorus as he is alledged by Simplicius) they called him the founder of matter. And had we the booke of Numenius, we perceiue well by the things which we reade and heare there, that we should finde them manifest and plaine. Now, all these had this doctrine both from Nature and from the Schole of Pherecydes the Syrian the Maister of Pythagoras, vnto whome Aristotle attributeth it in his Metaphisicks. Empedocles the successor of Pythagoras, celebrated none other but this onely one, as appeareth by these Verses of his.

*All things that are, or euer were, or shall hereafter bee,
Both man & woman, Beast & Bird, Fish, Worme, Herb, Grasse, & Tree,
And euery other thing, yea, euen the auncient Gods each one,
Whom wee so highly honor heere, come all of one alone.*

Parmenides and Melissus taught the same; and so did their Scholemaster Xenophanes the Colophonian, as we be credibly informed by the Verses of Parmenides rehearsed by Simplicius; in the which Verses he calleth him the Vnbegotten, the whole, the onely one, not which hath beene or shalbe, but which euerlastingly is all together and all of himselfe. To be short, of the like opinion were Thales, Anaxagoras, Timeus of Locres, Acmon, Euclide, Archœuetus, and others of the auncientest Philosophers. And Aristotle witnesseth in many places, that it was the common Doctrine of the men of olde time; The which Zeno held so straightly, that to denie the Unitie of God, and to denie the Godhead it selfe, he thought to be all one. And the cause of so saying among the auncient Philosophers, was not their onely reading thereof in the writings of some that went afore them, (as we might do now;) but also their reading thereof both in the world and in themselves. But let vs come to the chiefe Sects of the Philosophers.

Socrates the Scholemaster of Plato, confessed onely one G O D, and (as Aulus Gellius and Apuleius report) was condemned to drinke Poyson, for teaching that the Gods which were worshipped in his time were but vanitie; And for that in scoyne of them he was wont to sweare

by

by an Oke, by a Goate, and by a Dogge, as who would say there was no moze Godhead in the one than in the other. Yet notwithstanding, he was the man whome Apollo by his Oracle deemed to be the wisest of all Greece; thereby confessing that he himselfe was no God. His Disciple Plato deliuereth a rule in fewe wordes, whereby to discern his meaning. When I write in good earnest (saith he) you shall knowe it hereby, that I begin my letters with onely one GOD: and when I write otherwise, I begin them with many Gods.

Plato in his
13. Epistle to
King Denis.

Verily, his ordinarie manner of speeches were not, If it please the Gods, with the helpe of the Gods, and such like. But if it please God, by the helpe and guiding of GOD, God knoweth it, Such a man is the cause thereof next vnto God, and such other like. Whereas he affirmeth all other things not to be in verie deede: He calleth God, the Father of the whole Worlde, the Beer, that is to saye, he who onely is or hath being; the selfbez, who also made the Heauen, the Earth, the Sunne, the Moone, the tymes and seasons, and all other things both heauenly and earthly, high and lowe, and whatsoeuer els is. In other places he calleth him the Beginning, the Middle, and the Ende; by whome, for whome, and about whome all things are; the Gouvernor of all that euer is and shall be; the verie Goodnesse, and the Patterne of all goodnesse; the King of all wightes indewed with reason and minde; of whome all things haue their Being; and which is of moze excellencie than the worde Being. And the names and titles which he giueth vnto the true God, are commonly given him vnder the name of Iupiter, and he thinketh that they be not to be communicated vnto any other. In deede sometimes he suffereth himselfe to be carried away to the common manner of speaking, perhaps for feare of the like ende that his Schoolemaister had, and he doeth it expressely in his booke of Lawes, which was to be published to the people. For there and in diuers other places, he calleth the heauenly *Spirites by the name of Gods: but yet he maketh God speaking to them as to his Creatures, naming them Gods begotten and made by him; and him on the contrarie parte the Father and God of Gods. Also he honoureth Heauen with the same name, because of the substantialnes thereof: and likewise the Starres by reason of the perpetuities of their course: And it may be that in that respect the Greekes called them *Dei, Gods. Howbeit, he addeth that they be visible Gods, and that the Heauen was made by (the onely one inuisible) God, That it hath none other immortallitie, than such as he hath giue vnto it, & that he hath placed the Starres in the Skye for the measuring of times, seasons and houres, appointing vnto every of them his Circuit. As touching men, he sheweth well enough what he beloued of them, by his declaring of their Genealogie: that is to say, their mortallitie; to wit, that

Plato in Timaeus, in his 10. booke of his Commonwealth, and in his Epistle to Dion, Hermias, and Coriscus.

Plato in his booke of Lawes, & in his booke intitled Epinomis.

*We call them Angels.

*Of the word Thein, which signifieth to Runne.

Plato in his
Timæus and
Laertius in
Platoes life.

Damascius.
ὁ ἐν παρρησίᾳ.

Iamblicus in
his booke of
the Sect of
Pythagoras.

Iamblichus in
his booke of
Mysteries.
Chap. 1. 3. 5.
12. 16. 17. 39.

Ἰαμβλίχου.

Ἰαμβλίχου ἀπὸ
τῆς διήγησιν τοῦ
Ἰαμβλίχου.

Proclus in
Platoes Diu-
nitie.

ὁ ἐν τῇ διήγησιν.

that he acknowledged in them some shadow of the Godhead, but that the verie essence of substance thereof was in the onely true God.

All the Platonists haue followed the same doctrine, bringing it so much the more to light, as they themselves haue drawne nearer to our tyme. Damascius saith; The one bringeth forth all things; The one ought to be honoured by silence: The one (like the Sunne) is seene dimly a farre off, and the neerer the more dimly, and hard at hande taketh away the sight of all things. Iamblichus surnamed the Diuine, acknowledged euerie where a diuine cause, which is the beginning, ende, and middle of all things: That there is one God the maister of all, at whose hande welfare is to be sought: That the ende of all Contemplation is to aime at one, and to withdraue from multitude vnto vnitie: And that the same one of vnitie is God, and the Ground of all truely, happinesse, and substance, yea and of all other Groundes themselves. Hee saith in deede, (and his booke are so full of it) That there are both Goddes & Fænds; and of them he maketh diuers degrees, as, good and bad, high and lowe, and so forth. But yet for all that, hee alwayes acknowledgeth one chiefe, whome he calleth the onely one GOD, which hath bene afore all that is, and is the Fountaine and Roote of all that first vnderstandeth of is first vnderstoode, that is to saye, of all formes, shapen of Patternes (conceiued of conceivable in minde of imagination,) Suffizing to him selfe, and Father of himselfe; the begetter of the Soules of the other Gods, according to the Patternes conceiued in his owne minde; who is not onely the chiefe Being, but also the superessential Being, (that is to say, a Being which farre surmounteth, passeth, and excelleth all Beings:) not simply Good, but the verie Good and Goodnesse it selfe: Insomuch that he calleth all the other Goddes Seuered essences, Goodnesses deriued, and myndes sparkling forth from the Godhead of the Super substantiall God, (that is to saye, of the God whose substance surpasseth and excelleth all manner of substances:) which Gods vnderstande not any thing but by beholding the sayde One, nor are any better than dealers forth of certaine giftes which they haue from him. And Theodore the Platonist addeth, that all of them pray earnestly to the first, and drawe from him which is of himselfe, & that otherwise they should goe to nought.

Proclus, (after the manner of the Platonists, which was for the most parte to be verie Superstitious) turneth himselfe oft tymes aside to many Gods: but yet his resolution is this, in expresse wordes. Who is he (saith he) that is King of all, the onely GOD separated from all, and the producer of all thing out of himselfe, which turneth all endes vnto himselfe, and is the end of endes, the first cause of operations, the author of all that euer is good and beautifull, and the inlightener of

of all things with his light? If thou beleue *Plato*, he can neither be vttered nor vnderstood. And anon after: Then is it this first simplicitie which is the King; the Soueraignetic and Superexcellencie of all things, vncomprehensible, not to be matched with any other thing, vniforme, going beyond all causes, the Creator of the substance of the Gods which hath some forme of goodnes. All things go after him & sticke vnto him: for he produceth and perfecteth all things that are subiect to vnderstanding, like as the Sunne doth to all things that are subiect to sence. To be short, it is the vnytterable cause which *Plato* teacheth vs vnder two names in his Commonweale, calling it the verie Goodnesse it selfe, and the fountaine of trueth, which vniteth the vnderstanding to the thinges that are vnderstood. And in his *Parmenides*, The One or Vnitie where vpon all the diuine Vnities are grounded, and which is the originall of all that is, and of all that as yet is not. In his booke of the Soule and of the Spirit, he teacheth vs the way to attaine from many multitudes to this supersubstantiall Vnitie, which he calleth the Nature grounded in eternitie, the life that lieth and quickeneth, the waking vnderstanding, the wellspring of all welfare, the infinite both in continuance and in power, and yet notwithstanding without quantitie, & so forth. Neuerthelesse, he attributeth much to Angels and Feends according to Art Magicke, which the Platonists did greatly affect in those dayes: howbeit in such sort, as he continually followeth this rule of his so oft repeated in his bookes. That all things are from the true God who is hidden; and that the second degre of Gods, that is to say the Angels and Feends, are from the verie selfe same: and (to be short) that to beleue any mo Gods than one, and to beleue none at all, are both one thing.

Simplicius sayth: Whatsoeuer is beautifull, commeth of the first and chiefe beautie: All trueth commeth of Gods trueth: And all beginnings must needs be reduced to one beginning; which must not be a particular beginning as the rest are, but a beginning surpassing all other beginnings, and mounting farre aboue them, and gathering them all into him selfe, yea, and giuing the dignitie of beginning to all beginnings, accordingly as is convenient for euery of their natures. Also, The Good (saith he) is the Wellspring and Originall of all things. It produceth all things of it selfe, both the first, the middlemost, and the last. The one Goodnesse, bringeth forth many Goodnesse; The one Vnitie, many Vnities; The one Beginning, many Beginnings. Now, as for Vnitie, Beginning, Good, and God; they be all but one thing. For God is the first cause of all, and all particular Beginnings or Groundes, are fast settled & grounded in him. He is the Cause of Causes, the God of Gods, and the Goodnesse of Goodnesse.

Porphyrius acknowledged the one G D D, who alone is euery where, and

Ex Sicut inquit
Proclus in his
booke of the
soule and the
spirit, cap. 32.
42. 53.

Many gods
saith Proclus,
is godlesnesse

Simplius vps
the *Epictetus*
of *Arian*.

ti. 27. 28.

Porphirius in
his 2. booke of
Abstinence, &
in his booke
of Occasions,
chap. 21.

and yet in no one place; who filleth all places, and yet is contained in no place; by whome all things are, both which are and which are not. This God doth he call the Father, which reigneth in all: and he teacheth vs to sacrifice our Soules vnto him in silence, and with chaste thoughts. On the other side, he acknowledgeth the other Gods as his Creatures and Seruants, some visible, and some vnuisible: vnto whome he alloweth a materiall seruice, farre differing from the seruing of the true God.

Porphirius in
the life of Plotin.

Plotin in his
first Enneade
lib. 8. Chap. 2.
Enneade 6. li.
4. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4.
& in the whol
6. booke, & in
the 3. Enne:
lib. 8.

As touching Plotin his Scholemaster, surnamed the Diuine, whom the Oracle of Apollo (as is reported by Porphyrius himselfe) did register in the number of the wise men of this worlde, and in the number of the Gods in the other worlde: He that would alledge the things which hee hath spoken diuinely concerning the vnitie of the one G D D , should be faine to set downe his whole treatises vndiminished. The Summe is, That there is one Beginner of all things, who hath all things and is all things, whose hauing of them is as though he had them not, because his possessing of them is not as of things that were another mans; and his being them is as though he were them not, because he is neither all things, nor any thing among things, but the power of all things. That this Beginner dwelleth in himselfe, is sufficient of himselfe, and of himselfe bringeth forth all maner of Essences, Soules, and lines, as being more than Essence, and all life. That by his Unitie he produceth multitude, which could be no multitude, vnlesse he abode One. As touching the vnder gods, he saith that they neither be nor can be happie of themselves, but onely by the same meane that men can become happie; namely by beholding the light of vnderstanding, which is G D D , through their partaking whereof they abide in blessednesse. Yea, he affirmeth that the Soule of the whole world surmized by the Platonists, is not happie but by that meanes: namely, by beholding the light which created it, like as the Moone shineth not, but by the ouershining of the Sunne vpon her. That was the verie opinion of the Platonists as well old as new, concerning the onely one God, notwithstanding that of all Philosophers, they were most giue to the seruing & seeking out of the bodilesse spirits, whom we call Angels & Devils, and whome they called Gods & friends.

Augustin: de
Ciuitate Dei.
lib. 10. cap. 2.

The Peripateticks,

Aristotle in
his Metaphy-
sics, & in the
first booke of
his Naturall
Philosophie.

Now let vs come to the Peripateticks, and begin at Aristotle, Platoes Disciple, who notwithstanding was vnreligious in many places, in not yielding vnto God his due glorie, after the maner of these superstitious folke, who are ouerliberal in bestowing it vpon others: and yet even in him shall we finde this selfesame trueth. Aristotle leadeth vs by manye mouings, vnto one first mouer, whome he declareth to be infinite, without beginning and without end. From thence a man may step further: for that which is infinite can be but one, because (as I haue said afore) the infinitenes of one restraineth the power of all others. Afterward he

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defineth him to be liuing, immortall, and euermlasting. And againe, (he nameth him) the onely possessor of wisdom, the Beginner of all causes, and such like: None of all which things can be attributed to anye more than onely one. Yet notwithstanding he setteth certeine Godheads in the Heauen, in the starres, and in the Sunne and Moone; vnto which Godheads he allotteth the gouernement of those things, & termeth them heauenly Brides, First substances, vnachangeable & vnpasible, which (in his opinion) cannot ware olde, because they be aboue the first vnpasible, and consequently aboue time. Yea, and Common custome, with the force of Rone caried him so farre, as to set vp Images vnto Iuno & Iupiter, vnder the name of Sauours, for the life of Nicanor, and to do Sacrifice to a woman whome he loued, as the Athenians did vnto Ceres. But yet in his Abridgement of Philosophie, which he dedicated in his olde age vnto Alexander, his finall doctrine is this. This world (saith he) wherein all things are orderly disposed, is mainteined by God: and the highest thing that is in it, is that it is Gods dwelling place. Nature is sufficient of it selfe to indure, if it be not assisted by his tuition. He is the Father of Gods and Men, the breeder and Maintainer of all the things whereof this worlde is composed: and yet for all that, he entreth not into them, but his power and prouidence ouersitting them from aboue, attaine vnto all things, moue the Heauen the Sunne & the Moone, Preserue the things on earth, and make all and euerie thing to do according to their nature. He likeneth him to the great King of Persia, who from out of his princie Chamber gouerned his whole Empire by his power and officers: saying (saith he) that the one is God infinite in power, and the other a verie base and feeble wight. He saith moreouer, that all the names which are attributed to the Gods, are but deuices to expresse the powers of the onely one God the Prince and Father of all. And therefore it is more behoofefull to lend the Readers to the reading of that whole treatise of his throughout, than to set in any more thereof here, because they shall there see a wonderfull eloquence matched with this godly diuinitie.

That which the first and most diuine (saith his disciple Theophrastus) will haue all things to be exceeding good: and it may be also, that he is aboue the reache of all knowledge and vnsearchable. Again, There is (saith he) One diuine beginner of all things, whereby they haue their being and continuance. But in his booke of Sauours he passeth further, and saith that God created all things of nothing. But to create of nothing, presupposeth an infinite power: and againe, that power presupposeth an vnitie.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Prouidence written to the Emperour Antonie, attributeth Prouidence ouer all things vnto one only God,

Aristotle in his booke of Heauen.

Aristotle in his booke of the world, which Iustine the Martir affirmeth to haue bin named his Abridgement of Philosophy γ. vii. cap.

Theophrastus in his Metaphisiks.

Theophrastus in his booke of Sauours.

Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of Prouidence, and Cyrill against Iulian the Apostate.

God, which can do whatsoener he listeth, as appeareth by all his whole discourse. And he was of such renowne among all the Aristotelians, that they called themselues Alexandrians after his name. To be short, the most part of Interpreters and Disciples of Aristotle, found it so needefull to acknowledge one onely Beginner, and so absurd to maintaine any mo than one; that to the intent they might not confesse any such absurditie in their Maister, they do by all meanes possible excuse whatsoeuer might in his workes be construed to the contrarie.

The Stoicks

As touching the Stoicks of auncientest time, we haue no moze than is gathered into the writings of their aduersaries; who do al attribute vnto them (the maintenance of) the vnitie and infinitenesse of God, according to this which Aristotle reporteth of zeno; namely that there must needs be but one God, for els there should be no God at all, because it behoueth him to be singularly god and also almightie, which were vtterly vnpossible, if there were any mo than one.

Also Simplicius reporteth of Cleanthes, that in his Iambick verses he praised God to vouchsafe to guide him by his cause, which guideth all things in order, the which cause he calleth Destinie, and the cause of causes. But the two chiefe among them, whose doctrine they haue in writing, will easely make vs to credit all the residue.

Epictetus in
Arrianus.

Epictetus the Stoick (whose words Proclus, Simplicius, and euen Lucian himselve held for Oracles;) speaketh of onely one God. The first thing (saith he) that is to be learned, is, that there is but one God, and that he prouideth for all things, and that from him neither deepe nor thought can be hidden. He teacheth vs to resort vnto him in our distresses, to acknowledge him for our Maister and Father, to lift vp our eyes vnto him alone, if we wil get out of the Quamyze of our sinnes, to seeke our felicitie there, and to call vpon him in all things both great & small. Of all the Goddes that were in time past, he speaketh not a worde: but surely he saith, that if we call vpon the onely one God, he will informe vs of all things by his Angels.

Seneca euery
where.

As for Seneca, he neuer speaketh othertwise. What doth God (saith he) to such as behold him? He causeth his workes not to be without witness. And againe, To serue God (saith he) is to Reigne. God exerciseth vs with afflictions to trie mans nature: and he requireth no more but that wee should pray to him. These ordinary speeches of his, shewe that he thought there was but one God. But he proceedeth yet further. From things discovered, (saith he) we must proceed to things vndiscovered, and seeke out him that is auncienter than the world, of whom the Starrs proceede. And in the ende he concludeth, that the worlde and all that is contained therein, is the worke of God. Also he calleth him the Founder, Maker, and Creator of the worlde, and the Spirit which is shed

Seneca in his
Booke of the
happie life, &
in his Treatise
of Comfort.

forth

forth vpon all things both great and small. And in his Questions: It is hee (saith he) whom the Hetruscanes or Tuscanes meane by the names of Iupiter, Gardian, Gouvernor, and Lord of the whole world. If thou call him Destinie, thou shalt not deceyue thy selfe, for all things depend vpon him, and from him comes the causes of all causes. If thou call him Prouidence, thou sayest well; for by his direction doth the World holde on his course without swaruing, and vtter forth his Actions. If thou call him Nature, thou dost not amisse: for he it is of whom all things are bred, and by whose Spirit we liue. To be short, wilt thou call him the World? In verie deede he is the whole which thou seest, and he is in all the parts thereof. By this sentence we may also shewe, that by the terme Nature the Philosophers ment none other than God himselfe, accozding as Seneca saith in an other place, that God and Nature are both one, like as Anceus and Seneca be both one man. And whereas hee saith that God may be called the World: it is all one with that which he saith in another place: namely, God is whatsoeuer thou seest, and whatsoeuer thou seest not: That is to say, whereas thou canst not see him in his proper being, thou seest him in his works. For in other places also he destineth him to be a Minde and Wisedome without bodie, which cannot be scene but in vnderstanding. Nowe, of all the former things by him repeated in manie places, none can be verified of anie moe than one. For hee that maketh all, gouerneth all, and is all, leaueth nothing for anie other to make, gouerne, or be, otherwise than from himselfe. But hee speaketh yet moze expressely, saying: Thou considerest not the authoritie and Maiestie of thy Iudge, the Gouvernor of the Worlde, the God of Heauen and of all Gods, All the Godheades which wee worship euerie man by himselfe, depend wholly vpon him. And agiane, When hee had layd the foundations of this goodly Masse, although he had spread out his power throughout the bodie thereof: yet notwithstanding hee made Gods to bee officers of his kingdome, to the end that euerie thing should haue his guide. Nowe, this is after the same manner that the holie Scripture speaketh of the Angels. So then, he is not onely God the excellentest of all Gods, but also their verie Father, Author, and Maker.

Let vs yet farther adde Cicero and Plutarch, who haue of enery Sect taken what they thought god. Both of them speake ordinarilie but of one God, the Author and gouerner of all things, vnto whom they ascribe all things, and in that ordinarie stile is their worde Nature, which summoumeth the custome of their time: but yet doth their doctrine expresse much moze here. Cicero treating of this matter in his booke intituled Of the nature of the Gods, acknowledgeth one soueraigne God, whom hee calleth the God of Gods, and that is the difference which he maketh. The Nature of the Gods (saith hee) is neyther mightie nor

Seneca in his naturall Questions, and in his bookes of Benefiting.

Aristotle calleth him τὸ πᾶν, that is to say, All the whole.

Seneca in his booke of so-deine death, & in his exhortations alledged by Lactantius lib. 1. cap. 5.

Cicero in his
booke of the
Nature of the
Gods.

excellent; for it is subiect to the selfe same (bee it Nature or Necessitie) which ruleth the Heauen, the Earth, and the Sea. But there is not anie thing so excellent as God, who ruleth the World, and is not subiect to Nature, but commaundeth Nature it selfe. And hee is full of the like sentences.

Plutarke in
his treatise of
Isis & Osiris, of
Oracles that
are ceased:
Of calmenesse
of Mynd:
Against igno-
rant Princes:
Of Platonical
Questions:
Against the
Stoicks:
Against Epi-
cures:
What is ment
by this Greke
word *αἰὲν*.

As for Plutarke, he suffereth himselfe to range oueroften into fables; but yet in good earnest he speaketh thus. Let vs not worship the Elements, the Heauen, the Sunne, the Moone, and so forth: for they be but Lookingglasses for vs, wherein to consider the cunning of him that ordeyned all things; and all the World is but his Temple. Agayne: Wherefore doth Plato call God, the Father and Maker of all? Hee calleth him the Father of the begotten Gods, and of men, like as Homer also doth; but he calleth him the Creator of the things that haue no life nor Reason. And therefore (sayth hee in an other place) he made the World as a Common house both to Men and Gods. Yea, (sayth he further) Although there were manie more such Worldes as this is; yet notwithstanding the one onely God should gouerne them all. Now this true God, whom he calleth the great God, the great Workemaster, the Sea of Beautie, the Ground of all good things, and the true Being, of whome alone it can be said: Thou art, and not thou hast bene or shalt be; is hee whom he meaneth by the name of Iupiter, saying: That of the Gods, one is called Liberall, another Gentle, and the third the Dryuer away of euill; but the great Iupiter is in Heauen, who hath care vniuersally of all things. Thus ye see then how all the Philosophers of all Sects, and of all Nations haue agreed in one God: which is the thing that the learned Varro noted verie well; namely, that although the Teachers of the Heathen named many Gods and Goddesses: yet notwithstanding they comprehended them all vnder one, which was Iupiter, of whom the residue were but powers and functions: And this Iupiter is he whom such folke worshipped vnder another name, as worshipped the onely one God without Images; and he saith that so God ought to be worshipped. And to that purpose alleadgeth he these verses of the right learned Poet Valerius Soranus.

Varro, as he is
alleged by S.
Aulin in the
Cite of God
lib. 4.
cap. 9. 11 & lib.
7. cap. 5. 9. 23.

*The lone almightie is the King of Kings and God of Gods,
One God, and all, the Father both and Mother of the Gods.*

Poets.

Iustin in his
booke of Mo-
narchie.
Iustin to the
Gentyles.
Athenagoras

But now is the time to come to the auncient Poets, which were also Philosophers, and who by their feynings opened the gap to the pluralitie of Gods. Among these the first that we meete with is Orpheus, whome Iustine calleth the first Authoꝝ of them, the first giuer of names vnto the, and the first blazer of their Bedegrees. But yet their is a Recantation of his in his Hymne vnto Musaeus, which is called his Testament, that is to say, his last doctrine, whereunto he woulde haue men to sticke. Lift

vp thine eyes (sayth he) to the onely maker of the World; He is but one bred of himselfe: and of that one are all things. He is all in all; he seeth al and is seene of none. He onely giueth both welfare and wofull teares and warre. He sitteth in Heauen gouerning all things; with his feete hee toucheth the Earth, and with his right hand the vtmost shores of the Sea. He maketh the Mountaynes, Riuers and deepe Sea to quake, & so forth. And in another place he calleth him the *Firstborne*, the *Great*, the *Apparant*, who hath created an incorruptible house for them that are immortal. Also vnder the name of Zeus or Iupiter, he saith of him as followeth.

Looke vpt o that same only King, which did the world create.

Who being only one, selfebred, all other things begate.

And being with them all, vnseene of any mortall wight,

Beholdeth all things, giuing Man now Wealth and hearts delight,

Now wofulll warre: For sure there is none other King but hee.

I see him not, because the Clowdes a conert to him bee.

And in the eye of of mortall man there is but mortall sight,

Tooweake to see the lightfull Ioue that ruleth all with right.

For siting in the brazen Heauen aloft in Throne of Golde,

Hee makes the earth his footstoole, and with either hand doth holde

The outmost of the Ocean waues: and at his presens quake

Both Mountaynes huge, and hideous Seas, and eke the Stygian Lake.

And anon after agayne.

The endlesse Skie and stately Heauens, and all things else beside,

Did once within the Thundering Ioue crosse hoorded vp abide.

The blessed Gods and Goddeses whose beeing is for aye,

And all things past or yet to come within Ioues bowels lay.

From Ioues wide wombe did all things come; Ioue is both first and last;

Beginning, Middles, and Ende is Ioue; From Ioue are all things past.

Ioue layde foundation of the Earth, and of the starrie Skie.

Ioue reigneth King; The selfesame Ioue of all things furre and nie

The Father and the Author is. One power, one God is hee,

Alonely Great, one Lord of all. This royall Masse which wee

Beholde, and all things that are conteyned in the same,

As Fire and water, Earth and Ayre, and Titans golden flame

That shines by Day, and droopie Night, and euerie other thing:

Are placed in the goodly House of Ioue the heauenly King.

Phocilides followeth him in these wordes. There is but onely one Phocylides

God, mightie, wise and happie. And agayne, Honour the onely God. Theognis,

Also, All of them are mortall men, GOD reigneth ouer their soules. Homer,

And Theognis (who is of the same tyme) speaketh not any otherwise.

Homer (whom Pythagoras reporteth to be punished in Hell for making

in his Treatise concerning the Resurrection. The Recantation of Orpheus who is called the Author of the pluralitie of Gods. Clemens in his Protrepik to the Gentiles.

Fables of the Gods) cannot make a notabler difference betwene the true GOD and al the rest of the Gods whom men worshipped in this time: than when he saith, That if they were all hanged at a Cheyne beneath, he would pull them up spite of their teeth: and also that he maketh them all to quake vnder him: and y whensoever there is any greater deepe falshed of, he speake th alwaies but of one God in the singular number. Also Hesiodus who described the pedegrees of the Gods, sheweth his belæse sufficiently in this onely one verse witten to his brother.

Hesiodus.

Both Goddes and Mortall Men from one selfe race descend.

That is to say, All the Gods are created by the onely one God. Likewise Sophocles saith thus.

Sophocles in
Cyrillus a-
gainst Iulian
the Apostata.

*Certesse of Goddes there is no mo but one,
Who made the Heauens, and ecke the earth so round
The dreadfull Sea which cleaps the same about,
And blustering Winde which rayze the Waues aloft.
But we fond men through folly gon astray,
Euen to the hurt and damning of our soules,
Haue set up Idols made of Wood and Stone,
Thinking like fooles, by meanes of honoring them,
To giue full well to God his honor due.*

Euripides Cle-
meus in his

Euripides goeth yet further, saing.

*Thou Neptune, and thou Iupiter, and all,
You other Goddes, so wicked are you all,
That if due Iustice vnto you were doone,
Both Heauen and Temples should be emptie soone.*

And yet in defacing the false Goddes, he ceaseth not to commend the onely true God in many places.

Aratus. Iouis
genus sumus.

Aratus in the same place which is alledged by S. Paule, attributeth all to one Iupitur, whom hee would haue to be honored without ceassing.

Ouid.

As touching the Latins, Ouid in his Metamorphosis attributeth the Creation of the World, and of all things therein vnto the onely one God.

Virgil in his
fourth booke
of Husbandry
& euerywhere
else.

And Virgill doth ordinarily call him the King of Goddes and Men, and he describeth hym sheding forth his power to the uttermost coastes of Heauen and Earth, and with his vertue quickening the world, and all that is therein.

Scauola, as he
is alledged by
S. Austin in
the Citie of
God lib. 3.
Cap. 27.

But sozasmuch as Scauola the Highpriest of the Romaines distinguished the Gods of old tyme into thre sortes, that is to wit, Philosophical, Poeticall, and Ciuill, and wee haue seene how the Philosophers and Poets, (notwithstanding their olone Myndes and fables, and the infinite superstitions of their tymes,) doe meete one another in the onely one GOD: let vs see consequently what the Ciuill sort will say vnto vs, that

that is to say, what hath bin beleued, not onely by the learned sort of all Nations, but also by the very Nations themselves. Sothly so incredible hath the vanitie of men bin sence their turning aside from the true way, that all Nations haue let them selues runne lose after such absurdities as we would not beleue, if we saw not the like stil at this day. Some worshipped the Heauen, the Planets, and the Starrs like silly soules which at their first coming into a Kings Court, doe thinke that the first gay apparelled man whome they meete withis the King. Some made Gods of the Goodes which God gaue them. Some worshipped the Beastes which were for there benefit. And finally they made Goddes, not onely of themselves, but also of there Speares, Shelds and Swordes, and buylded Temples to their owne Passions, as vnto fearfulness, Hardines & such others, yea and euen vnto things so filthy and lothsome, as a man may be ashamed & abashed to haue spoken off. Neuerthelese, the customable vse of such things made folk to haue no regard of them, & the most spiritual sort of them were so possessed with Ambition, that it filled al their myndes to the full. Yet notwithstanding, when they were once awaked, and fell a little to the bethinking themselves as of a thing in very deede against Nature, they were ashamed of their doings, yea and euen of themselves. Why Sir, (answered they to Saint Austin? Thinke you that our forefathers were so foolish and blinde, as to beleue that *Bacchus, Ceres, Pan, &c* such others were Goddes? It is not possible. Nay, they beleued but in the onely one God, whose giftes and functions they honored vnder diuers names, and whatsoeuer is more, is but Superstitio. Truly the Egiptians (as we reade) did honour Devils, Gen, Beasts, Serpents, and Plants: and to be short, every thing was to them a God. But as touching the true God, they described him in their holy Carets as a Pilot alone governing a ship. And all their deuinitie (as is to be sene in Iamblichus,) was referred vnto onely one God. Insomuch that the people of Thebais in Egipt, reiected all the said absurdities of many Goddes, saying that there was none other God but onely he whome they called Cnes, which was neuer boyne, nor could ener dye, that is to say the Euerlasting. Also in Say a Citie of Egipt, the Image of Pallas, that is to say of Wisdome, had his Inscription: I am al that hath bin, is, or euer shalbe, and there was neuer yet any mortal man that vncouered my face. And Proclus addeth thereto, And the fruites that I haue brought forth is the Sonne, as who would say, It is the Wisdome whereby God worketh, which is the Goodesse worker. Now if euen among the Egiptians the opinion of the one onely God was not quenched: much more reason haue we to deme, that it was not quenched among other nations.

In the Lawes of the twelue Tables were written these words: Let Men come to the Godes chastly. Let Pompe bee removed away:

The consene
of People.

In the Citie of
God lib. 4. cap.
24.

Iamblichus
concerning the
Mysteries of
the Egiptians
cap. 37. 39.

Plutarke in his
treatise of Isis
and Osiris.

Cicero in his
second booke
of Lawes.
Deos aduunto
castè:opes a-
mouento:si
secus faxint,
Deus ipse vin-
dex erit:that is
Goe to God
chastly:re-
moue away
riches: if any
do otherwise
God himselſe
will punish
him.
Tertullian in
his Defence.
Lactantius
lib.2.cap.1.

If they doe otherwise, God himselſe (that is to ſay, Iupiter to whom onely they called the moſt gracious and moſt mightie) will reuenge it. Yet notwithstanding, it is certeyne that afterward Rome became the very ſinckpan of all Idolatries of the worlde: for in winning of Nations, they wan alſo there ſuperſtitious. But could all this wype out in them the print of Nature? Nay, contrariwiſe, Tertullian ſpeaking of the hea- then of his tyme, ſaith thus: As wholly as their Soules are brought in bondage to falſe Goddes, yet when they awake as a drunken man out of his ſleepe, they name but one God, and the ſpeech of euery man is, as it pleaſeth God. They call vpon him as their Iudge, ſaying, God ſeeth it, I referre my ſelfe to God, God requite it me. O record of a Soule by nature Chriſtian. To be ſhort, in vttering thoſe wordes, they looke vp to Heauen, and not to the Capitoll: for they know that Heauen is the Seat of the li- uing god. Lactantius who came a good while after, ſaith the like. When they ſweare, (ſaith he) whē they wiſh, when they giue thanks, they name neither Iupiter, nor Gods in the plurall number, but the onely one God: ſo greatly doth Nature conſtraine them to acknowledge the trueth. If there come an Alarum, or if they be threatned with warre, they doe after the ſame manner: But as ſoone as the daunger is paſt, by and by they runne to the Temples of many Gods, whereas notwithstanding they cal- led but the one God to their ſuccour. And in verie trueth, if we conſider the natural motions which we haue in our afflictions; they part not our harts into diuers prayers at once, but do put vs in minde of onely one God, and to offer our prayers vp vnto him.

Lactantius lib.
1. Chap. 6.
Iuſtine in his
Apologie.
The Oracles
of the Sibylles

Nowe, forasmuch as Nature, Mans wiſedome, and the voyce of all people, doe in all Languages commend, worſhip, and confeſſe one onely God. It remaineth for vs to ſee whether wee may not gather the like, euen by the verie confeſſion of the falſe Goddes themſelues, which haue gone about to deface his name by all meanes. It is a caſe diſputed a- mong the learned, by what Spirit the Sybilles ſpake, becauſe it is not vni- conuenient y God ſhould compell the very deuils to ſet forth his praises. Howſoener the caſe ſtand, they ſpeake but of onely one God, ſaying.

*There is but onely one true God, right great, and euerlaſting,
Almightie, and inuiſible, which ſeeth euery thing,
But cannot bee beheld himſelfe of any fleſhly man.*

Lactan. lib.3.
cap. 6.

Alſo they cry out againſt the falſe Goddes, and exhort men to beate downe their Altars, accounting them happie which giue themſelues to the glorifying of the onely one God. But let vs heare Apollo himſelfe. Being aſked at Colophon by one Theophilus whether there was a God or no, and what he is: He answered in 21. Græke verſes rehearſed by Lactantius, whereof I will hold me contented with the latter thre, which are to be engliſhed thus.

The

*The selfebred, bred without the helpe of Moother,
Wife of him selfe, whose name no wight can tell,
Dosh dwell in fyre beyond all reach of thought:
Of whome we Angelles are the smallest part.*

The rest of these Verses commend and set forth the Greatie of the great God, but these suffice to this matter. Here the Feend doth what he can to magnifie himselfe, saying that he is an Angell and a little portion of God, but yet he acknowledgeth him as his Soueraigne. Porphyrius the great enemy of Christians, rehearseth many other like. The same Apollo being asked how God was to be worshipped, answered in 22. Verses, calling him the everlasting Father, the Walker upon the Heauen of Heauens, the Fashioner or framer of substances, the father of all things, the father of all wights both mortall and immortall. And on the other side he calleth all others his Children, his Seruants, his Messengers, and the Heraults or blazers abroad of his prayles. In another answer comprised in ten Verses, he calleth him the burning Flame, the Wellspring and Originall of all things, the authoz of life, and so forth, and afterward he concludeth,

Porphyrius in
his tenth book
of the prayles
of Philosophy.

*I am but Phœbus, more of mee ye get not at my hand,
It is as little in my mynd as I can understand.*

Being asked at another time by the * Founder of Constantinople, * Pausanias, whether he should resist an enemy of his or no, he answered thus:

*Apollo is not of that mynd, beware
How thou doest deale, he is to strong for thee.
For God it is that makes him undertake
This enterprise, and doth the same maynteyne,
Euen God I tell thee vnder whom both Heauen
And Earth and Sea and euery thing therein,
And Phœbus eke and Hell it selfe doth quake.*

Proclus sayth, that the Oracles acknowledged the great God the Wellspring of the fountaine of all things. And for an example he alledgeth this Oracle of foure Verses; From God springeth the generation of all matter; from the same ground riseth the finenesse of the fire, and the Globes of the World, and whatsoever els is bred, and so forth. That is the answer of Apollo the God so greatly renowned among the Heathen, when he was asked what God was. And being brged to tell what hee himselfe was, and howe he would be called, he said:

Proclus vpon
Timæus.

*Call me the Feend that knoweth all, and is right sage and wise.
And at another tyme he sayth thus.*

*Wee Feends which haunt both Sea and Land through all the world so wide,
Do tremble at the whip of God which all the world doth guide.*

These aforesayd Oracles are reported by Porphyrius, Proclus, and

other

Deuter. 6.
Psalmc. 85.

other Heathen men, whercof some be rehearsed also by Lactantius: which may suffice to shew how the very Devils doe beleue one God, and quake at him. But I hope I shalbe pardoned for handling this matter a little at the largest, because the consent of all men in that behalfe which I haue already proued is contrary to the opinion of many men. And therefore ye see here how the World, Men, and the Devils themselues crye out with the holy Scripture, Harken O Israell, the Lord thy God is but one God the God of Gods, who onely worketh wonders, and hath not his like among the Gods. And that is the thing which I haue gone about to proue in these last two Chapters.



The fourth Chapter.

What it is that we can comprehend concerning God.



Man cannot
comprehend
God.

Now, albeit that the least things which are in Nature and in our selues, doe sufficiently shewe vs that there is but one God: Yet notwithstanding all Nature is not able to teach vs what God is, neither is man in nature able to comprehend any thing of him: and the reason therof is euident in both twayne. In Man, because the greater can neuer be comprehended by the lesser, neither can Man haue any thing in vnderstanding, which hath not first bene in his

sences, as from whence proceedeth vnto him the beginning of al natural knowledg: & he neither seeth nor perceiueth God in himselfe, but onely by his effects. In Nature, because it is a thing wrought by God, and no worke or effect how great so euer it be, can perfectly expresse the cause or worker thereof. Man is able to discourse after a sort, of the things that are lesse than himselfe, as of Beasts, Plants, and Stones. And yet if he will enter into their substances, he must needs stop short, & is constrained to say vpon the histories of the, confessing his knowledge to be but ignorance. If he come to himselfe, to know his owne Soule by the power of his Soule: by & by he is at his wits end: For the maner of his discourse is but to proceed from kind to kind, & to passe from one reason to another. But on the contrary part, his mind seeth not it selfe, but only

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turneth into it self, leauing not any thing empty without it selfe where-
unto to extend, no more than a Circle doth. And yet notwithstanding, e-
very thing is equall to it selfe, and measurable by it selfe. What shall we
then thinke that Man can doe, if he aduance himselfe to the considering
of Gods nature, seeing that the least Creatures that are doe put him to
his trumpe? What is the very thing which hath made the ignorant sort
to ouerthow theselues so far, as to counterfaite God by a shape like them-
selues: which thing the very Beasts (saith Xenophanes) would haue
done if they had bin Paynters, as which cannot ordinarily conceyue any
greater thing than themselves. We see then how Man is of himself too far
vnable to conceyue such a Greatnesse. Againe, if we consider the effects,
a man planteth, buyldeth, paynteth, and weaneth a thousand diuers
wozkes: and we thinke it not straunge that the brute Beastes conceiue
not thereby what Man is, howbeit that there is alwaies some propo-
tion of vnderstanding betwene Creature and Creature, but betwene the
Creature and the Creator there is none at all. Nay, there is yet this
more, that a man shall see and feele the wozkes of another man, & he shall
knowe from whence he taketh his stuffe, after what maner he matcheth
things together, and what Arte he hath obserued: But shall he for al that
know what the Soule of that man is? No, no, yet his owne
Soule. For his doings come nothing nere to that which he is, no not
so nere as the heat which the sunne sheddeth into vs from aboue, appro-
cheth nere to the naturall power that is in the Sunne, the which not-
withstanding we durst not take vpon vs to describe, if we had neuer felt
it other wise than in a Prison. But if thou couldest haue entered into the
mynde of that man at the making of his wozke, thou shouldest haue scene
it farre more beautifull there: and all that euer he could doe or thou say,
is alwayes farre lesse than his Concept, and yet the same Concept of his
is but as a sparke of the mynd, whereof the same wozke is a part. Now
then, if thou being a man, canst not conceiue the mynde of a man by his
doings, though thou beare the like mynd about thee thy self, and if his do-
ings (of what sort so euer they be) come farre short of that which he him-
selfe is: darest thou be so bold as to describe God by his wozkes what he
is, and to dispute of his substance? And if thou canst not conceiue him by
his wozkes, how wilt thou then conceiue him, seeing thou canst not be-
hold him other wise? To this purpose we haue the common Historie of
Simonides, who being asked by Hiero King of Syracuse what God is
demaunded one daies respite to giue answer, and after ward two, and
then sower, and in the end confessed that the more he thought thereon, the
lesse he vnderstood thereof, and yet he was the man which taught verie
well, that God was the very wisdome it selfe. Xenophon, Plato, Plotin
and others say that he is a thing which cannot be found, no, ought to
be

Cicero in his
booke of the
Nature of the
Gods.

Plotinus Enn:
6. lib. 8. cap. 11.

Galen in his
9 booke vpon

the Decrees of
Hippocrates.

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made vs.

* *Posuit tenet
bras latibulum
suum, Defect
in atris suis
Domine.*

be sought. To be short, all the Philosophers cry in one voyce with Dauid, * Lord, thou hast made darkenesse thy couert, Lord I am wearied euen in thyne outter Courtes. Yet notwithstanding, whereas men are not able to atteyne to Gods substance, they haue gone about to betoken it by the excellentest names that they could deuise, as we haue seene in the last Chapter. They considered that for as much as all things haue their being from him, he himself was the soueraigne Being, and that to be so, it behoued him to be euer, and therefore they called him the Euerlasting. And that to haue being without life, is nothing: and that hee which giueth life to all, must needes be all life: and therefore they call him the liuing God. And againe, that life without vnderstanding is dead, and vnderstanding without power is vnperfect, and that he which giueth both of them to all, must needs haue them in himselfe for all: & therefore they call him Mind and Might, attributing vnto him the perfect knowledge and infinite power of all things. Finally, forasmuch as to Be, to Live to vnderstand, and to be mightie, the higher that they be, are so much the lesse to be esteemed, if god also abound not one al parts: because men on the other side receiue so many good turnes at his hand, they call him God, exceeding god, and the godnesse it selfe assuring themselves that no other name doth so peculiarly fit him as that. Yet notwithstanding neither that, nor any thing else that we can imagine more, can come neere him by infinite distance. Let vs attribute vnto him the highest degree of all perfections that can be, (as in very deede he must needes haue them at the highest pitch, seeing that there is not any that hath measured them vnto him:) yet doe we attribute vnto him but imperfection. For if any of them be finite, then is he not infinite, as we ought to conceiue him to be: and infinite it cannot be, because the one of them should by the infinitenesse thereof shut vp the other within bounds. Therefore it behoueth vs to conceiue a most single singlenesse, which neuerthelesse in one perfection comprehendeth al perfections, as the roote of them, which semeth a thing contrarie to mans vnderstanding: that is to wit, that his Providence is no more Providence than Justice, nor his Justice more Justice than mer- cie, nor his knowledge more knowledge than life, nor his life more life than single being: To be short, that his being is such a being as is wholly and alonely all, I meane altogether deede, altogether forme, alto- gether perfection and so forth. And that is the thing which God himselfe teacheth vs, in that being asked his name by Moyses, hee answered him I am that I am: which name the Iewes had in such reuerence, that the very Priestes themselves (as they say) named it not but at the great Feastes. And yet in the iudgement of Plotin, that name is not sufficient for him. Also we call him the god, and yet is that too little for him, for God is the god of godnesse, as heat is the heat of hotnes. But God is the

*αὐτὸς αἰὶν ὁ θεὸς
ὡς τὸ εἶναι, καὶ
ὡς αὐτὸς, ὡς αὐτὸς
εἶναι, τὸ αἰὶν ὁ θεός.*

Mercurius
Trismegistus
in his Poeman
der. cap. 2. & 6.

Elijah asher
elijah.

Plotin.
Ennead. 7. lib.
7. cap. 3. 8.

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Mercurius in
his Parmader
Prouer. 30. v. 4.

Staphylus in
his vlt. sayth.
Porph. dyonisi
apostoli vlt. 10.
v. 1. vlt. 10.
Dennis in his
booke of the
names of God.
Tibi silentium
lana.
Vvhat God is
not.

Vnmouable.

** Posuit ten-
bras latibulum
suum, Defect
in atrijs suis
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*ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ
ἐν τῇ ᾠδῇ. τοῦ
ἐκστασι, ἐκστασι
ἐκστα, τοῦ ἀγαθῶ.*

Mercurius
Trismegistus
in his Poeman
der. cap. 1. & 6.

Eljeh asher
eljah.

Plotin.
Ennead. 7. lib.
7. cap. 38.

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Now seeing we cannot knowe what God is, but by not knowing it, it standeth vs in hand to know what he is not, which is no small helpe for vs to know him after a sort. Wherein we must follow a cleane contrarie rule. For as we haue said, that of all the things that are spoken and affirmed of Gods essence or substance, none fitteth him, being taken strictly: so whatsoeuer is spoken thereof negatiuely, shalbe found true, being taken after the same maner: Insomuch that that man may bee said to be most skilfull in that behalfe, which knoweth most Negatiues or Remotions (as they terme them.) To make this point moze clearer, nature hath taught vs by the diuers mouings which we see here beneath, that there is a God which is the first mouer of the whole world. And by the same reason, we say that he himselfe is vnmouable, that is to say, remoueth not at all. For we see that the nature of him which moueth, insomuch as he moueth, is to be and to be setled in rest. Euen our Soule (as in respect of the body) is vnmouable, notwithstanding that it cause and procure al the mouings of the body: and the mothings that a man intendeth to moue, the moze it behoueth him to haue his mind setled. Forasmuch as God is euermoze doing, he is euere at rest, and he hath not his resting in another but in him selfe, or rather in his owne rest himselfe. And therefore

Mercurius in
his Pœmader
Prouer. 30. v. 4.

Stupet talis et
nescit vnde
Porph. dicitur
apud nos vnde
et dicitur
in præ-
positionibus.
Dennis in his
booke of the
names of God.
Tibi silentium
lano.
VWhat God is
not.

Vnmouable.

Philos. 3.
to almighty.

Out of the ver-
ses of Parme-
nides reported
by Simplicius.
Vnchange-
able.

Euerlasting.

Mere A.G.

therefore the auncient Philosophers called him *αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτός*, that is to say, the vnmoueable & stedfast, to put a difference betwene him and the heaven, the Planetes, and the Starres, which are subiect to mouing, and whome the ignorance of folke hath called Goddes. Hereupon wee say also that hee is vnchangeable: for the chaunge of a thing in it selfe, as a kinde of mouing which tendeth out of it selfe. As for example, He that desireth or coueteth, desireth or coueteth the thing which he hath not. But God is one, & altogether; neither is it possible for him to receiue being from any other: for nothing is changed but by some other thing, which in some respect is more mightier than it, as Wood is changed by Fire. But all things haue their power & force from God alone. Therefore by this terme Vnchangeable, we deny him to be lyke the immortall soules, which admit such passions as we perceiue or also to the very bodilesse Spirits whom we call Angels, & the Philosophers call Gods; who be not vnchangeable, sauing so farre soorth as they rest in the beholding of him which cannot be changed. And it maketh nothing against the matter, y we see so diuers changes in all things. For it is one thing to change ones selfe, & another thing to will that there should be a change; like as it is one thing to moue ones selfe, & another thing to will that there be a mouing. The Sunne maketh many diuers changes in the things which we see heere beneath, he maketh things greene, he maketh things yellow, he ripeneth things, he withereth things & so soorth: & yet notwithstanding he changeth no whit of his heate; & had also a mynd (as some suppose him to haue,) he might also will all these changes without changing himselfe. So also may God, and much better. Hee without altering his one being, willet & maketh all the changes in the beings of things: and yet it is as certaine that he is vnchangeable, & that if he were not so the whole chaungeable nature should perish; as it is certaine that if he were not vnmoueable, all mouing should utterly cease. Nowe out of these two negatives we draw a third, namely that he hath neither beginning nor end, which thing wee call Euerlastingnes. For the beginning & ending of all things, proceedeth of mouing & chaunge: & therefore he that is not subiect to the, can haue neither beginning nor end. Moreover, Time is but a measure of mouing, wherein there is both a forenes & an afternes. He therefore which is not subiect to mouing is not subiect to time, & he which is not subiect to time hath not his being by continuance of successiō from one mouing to another. And so gods being is altogether at once, which is y peculiar propertie of euerlastingnesse. And whereas we say, he hath bin, & he shall be; it is as much to say as there was neuer any tyme when he was not; neither shall it euer come to passe that he shall cease to be.

Againe being euerlasting he is not subiect to any passive possibilitie, that is to say, loke whatsoener he is, hee is the same actually, and in very deede, and he cannot become any other thing than he is already.

For

For, were there anie passive possibilitie in him as from himselfe, then should there be a change in him, & if it were from elsewhere, then should there be a moving from possibilitie to deede or to doing, and he is not subject to anie of them both. Furthermore, Everlastingnesse cannot be in way of possibilitie, but onelie actuallie and in verie deede. For every manner of deede being simplie taken is afoze the possibilitie thereof, as the causes is afoze his effect, soasmuch as the possibilitie is (as ye would say) quickened by the deed. As for example, from a grayne to an Hearbe, and from a kernell to a Tree by the power of the Sunne. But as for the Everlastingnesse, it can abide neither afozenesse nor afternesse, and therefore looke whatsoener it can be, it is the same all at once, and actually or in verie deede, and ever. Whereupon it followeth also immediatly, that God is neither matter nor materiall: for the propertie of matter is to be merely passive, that is to say, capable of divers formes or shapes, & such as may in possibility receive, being it selfe altogether naked and such as the Philosophers describe it to be. By these conclusions we come to another, which is, that God is not compounded. For whatsoener is so, we say is of later time than the things whereof it is compounded. But God is everlasting, and unto him nothing can bee new. Agayne, Compounding is a knitting of many things into one and ere those things could be united in verie deede, it behoued them to be first in possibilitie, that is to say, to bee capable thereof. Now, as for God, he is not a thing in possibilitie (which is an vnperfect being) but altogether actuallie and in verie deede.

Moreover, we say that God made all things, and knoweth al things. Now, if he had in him the nature of anie of them, the same would trouble the natures of the rest, as we see that the tongue of a sicke man that is sicke of an Ageue, is unable to iudge of the taste of things, because it is furred by a cholerick humour, and the eye which hath any matter therein, can see nothing. It followeth then that to make and to knowe all things, God must needs be verie single, and not holding any thing at all in him. And the more single he is, the more is he capable of the innumerable multitude of things, like as the eye is then most capable of all colours and the eare of all voices: when (in themselves) the one is least troubled with noises and the other with colours. Whereupon it followeth that seeing he is not compounded, he cannot be a bodie: for all bodies are conteyned within bounds, and haue parts, which thing most people haue known well enough as Numenius the Pythagorian reporteth. And not being a body, he cannot be in place, neither wholly nor partly. By reason whereof, we may say in strict speech, that he is no where, y is to say, that no part of him is limited within any place to be pointed at. Notwithstanding, like as he made all things by the power of his being, so doth the same

From possibilitie into deede.

A graine may become an hearbe, and a kernell a tree: which they be not so long as they continue a graine and a kernell.
Vnmateriall.

God is single and vncompounded.

Bodylesse.
Numenius
ἐν πρῶτῳ βιβλίῳ.

Place is to be considered, either as a thing created, or as a container of

power

a thing placed
This way God
is nowhere:
the otherway
he is euery
where.

So is he both
euery where,
and nowhere.
No where by
limitation or
poynting
downe of
place, & euery
wher by filling
all places.

power enter into all things, fill all things and conſeyne all things. And ſo ſo much as the ſame in vndeuidable, it is whole in all, and whole in euerie part: and ſo likewise is he himſelf; that is to ſay, he is euerywhere, whole throughout, in whom all things haue their being, howbeit that he is not determinately or definitely in any thing. We haue an image hereof in our owne minde, which yet not withſtanding is but a vaine ſhadow. For, in as much as all the things which we conceyue are leſſe than we; they be in the minde without intermingling of the mind with them, and the minde after a certeyne faſhion toucheth them all, although it bee not comprehended in anie of the. Now, if all theſe things be in our mind, becauſe they be entered into it by our ſenſes: how much more ſhall all eſſences be in God and he in all of them, ſeing that al of them proceed from him, and that his onely conceyuing of them hath brought them forth. Now then, let vs not imagine any intermingling in this behalfe. The light of the Sunne continueth entierly throughout; it cannot be deuided into partes, nor ſhut vp in any place, nor ſeuered from the wellſpring thereof: it ſheadeth it ſelfe into all places, it filleth all places, and it is preſent with al things which we ſee, (I ſpeake after the maner of the Diuines) in eſſence, in power, and in preſence. The Ayre is lightened with the preſence thereof, and darkened with the abſence, and we perceiue both twaine of them; and yet for all that, it intermingleth not it ſelfe with the Ayre, ne leaueth any whit of it ſelfe into it. And ſhall wee preſume to think leſſe of the light which is not to be conceiued but in vnderſtanding; conſidering that we ſee the like with our eyes? Or ſhall we thinke it ſtraunge that God ſhould be both euerywhere and nowhere, conſidering how we ſee that from a body there iſſueth ſuch a bodilys thing, as without touching any of the, lighteneth them all? And if a light ſhine in al things that ſhine; ſhall not the ſoueraigne eſſence be in all things that are? And ſeing that things coulde not haue bene made vneſſe Gods power (which is his verie eſſence) had bene preſent with all things and with euerie of them; ſhall any thing let him from being preſent with all things ſtill? Now, like as the light of the Sunne hath diuers effects through the diſpoſition of mens eyes, and of the ſhærenelle of things, and the diuerſities of the ſubſtances whereon it lighteth: ſo is Gods preſence diuers to diuers things, and yet is it without anie diuerſitie in it ſelfe. He is (ſaith S. Auſtin) in him ſelfe, as the beginning and the ende: to the Worlde, as the Author and gouernour thereof: to his Church, as a father in his Houſe: to our Soules, as a Bridegroom in his Chamber: to the Righteous, as a Helper and defender: to the Reprobates, as a trembling and terror. No man fleeth from him but to him, from his rigor to his goodneſſe, and ſo forth. For what place ſhall he meete with (ſaith he) where he ſhall not finde thy preſence? The ſelfe ſame preſence which was preſent at the

S. Auſtin vpon
the Pſalmes.

2. Phiſc. 1. &c.

1. cor. 13. 12.

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the making of all things, is present with euery thing to preserve them al: and yet is it newethlesse absent from all thinges and from euerie thing, as it was at the time that there were nothings at all: because none of them conteyneth it or any part of it, but it conteineth all things.

But we must passe yet one step further. God (say we) is present euery where. Then is he infinite, and yet is he not contained in any place, for he is not a body. It followeth therefore that he is not infinite in body, but in Spirit; nor in quantitie, but in godnes and power, and better if better may be sayd. Wherefore, let vs not imagine him to be a huge or massie lump, as the ignorant sort doe. The massinesse of things is that (as we see) which maketh them unable to do things. Contrariwise, the more spirituall a thing is, the more actiue it is. He then which is the action of all powers, must needs be a Spirit of infinite power, and yet notwithstanding exempted from all quantitie, (which properly is but a weaknes or want of power) yea, and yet in such sort infinite, as all the infinitnes thereof be comprehended within boundes as to himselfe, that is to say, so as he finish or bound himselfe, because he neither is nor hath any thing without himselfe. Thus haue we by reason (and we may also haue it by the Deuilles in the so-called Oracles, and likewise by all the Philosophers) that God is vnmoueable, vunchangeable, beginninglesse, endlesse, single, bodilesse, and infinite; all which are termes whereby we declare, not what he is, but only what he is not; nor to make vs to conceiue him, but to keepe vs from deceyuing our selues by our owne vayne conceites. And of all these Negatiues we conceiue but one affirmatiue, as we did at the first; namely, that God is his owne being, as he himselfe saith vnto Moyses; insomuch that he is of himselfe, and all things are of him, & he cannot be aught els than he is; insomuch also that it is all one with him to be great and mightie, as merely & simply to be, which is as much to say as that we must (as much as we can) conceiue him to be good without qualitie, great without quantitie, euerlasting without time, euery where present without place, and so forth. And to conclude this Chapter, whereas we cannot comprehend God in his verie being, we will indeuor to come nere to the knowledge of him three wayes by considering his effects; howbeit in such sort as that we must think infinitely of him, above and beyond the things which seeme greatest vnto vs in the perfections which we perceiue to be in all things; as, godnes, trueth, wisdom, Justice, life, vnitie, and such like; and yet conceyuing him (if we can) to be but one onely perfection comprehending all perfections in one, and yet euery of them infinitely above the highest degree of perfection that we can imagine. And finally as in respect of the imperfections which are in all things, (as changeablenesse, weakenesse, materialnesse, & such like,) by conceyuing the to be more infinitely far off from his nature, than we can

Infinite.

Infinite, not by stretching or streyning out, but by sheading in.

set them of in our owne vnderstanding. But when we haue oꝛ shal haue taken neuer so much paines in that behalf, yet the vttermoſt that we shal haue learned, is but onely not to be ignorant of our owne want of knowledge. And therefore, to the intent we lose not our selues in seeking him, the surest way foꝛ vs is to possesse him by louing, seruing, & worshipping him, the which thing he of his loue towards vs grant vs to do. Amen.



The fifth Chapter.

That in the onely Essence or Substance of God there are three persons which we call the Trinitie.



Let vs presume yet a litle further, not by rash inquisitiuenes of man, but by the mercifull guiding of God, who hath boughsated to vtter himself vnto vs in his Scriptures: and let vs see whether reason will helpe vs to maintaine and proue the things which he of her selfe could neuer haue found out. foꝛ, reason is after a sort in like case towards G O D, as our eye is towards the Sunne. Neither the Sunne noꝛ any thing vnder the Sunne, can well be seene without the Sunne: likewise neither God noꝛ any thing belonging to God can be seene without God, how good eyesight oꝛ mindsight so euer we haue. But when the sunne shineth, then our eye seeth the things which it saw not afore, and iudgeth of them at his ease, notwithstanding that the eye be but the same it was afore, & haue but the same power of sight which it had afore, without receiuing anie new increase thereof. Likewise, when God boughsatheth to vtter anie doctrine vnto vs, the selfesame reason which otherwise could neuer haue perceined it, doth then see it, and discourse it, and allow of it, without receiuing anie newe power abilitie oꝛ change in it selfe. We haue concluded by reason, that God is a most singular essence: And we beleue by discoverie from heauen, that in the same most single essence are thre persons oꝛ Inbeings. Reason of it selfe could neuer haue atteyned to the finding

and reason
regards god, is
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Trinitie

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ding thereof: for we cannot distinguish things vnlesse we conceiue them, and yet neuerthelesse, reason will serue vs to proue it.

First of all, we haue already acknowledged by Gods effects or doings, & there is in him a working nature or power, (I must be faine to speake in the speech of man seeing that the diuine speech is vnknowne to vs) which is the beginner and mouer of al things. And in euery of his works, we see a singuler cunning; and in the knitting of al, both great and small together, we see a wonderfull order, as I haue discoursed heretofore, and we see there is neither order, nor cunning where there is no vnderstanding. It followeth therefore that the soueraigne vnderstanding is in

God from whom this great order and cunning procede. Again, albeit that of the things which are in this world, some vnderstand, and some vnderstand not, yet notwithstanding, all of them are appointed to some certaine end and marke, as the Sunne to make the day and to heate, the Moone to lighten the night, and all the Planets and starres to marke out the Seasons; and so forth of all other things. None of them stumbleth in his way, none steppeth aside from his ende: and yet notwithstanding, the most part of them could not prescribe it to themselves. For the beginner of all ends is vnderstanding, and in the most of these there is no vnderstanding. Needs must it be therefore, that God the maker of them did also appoint them their ends, & consequently that he had vnderstanding for them. Now, the innumerable multitude of things, and the linking of their ends one to another as they now be, do shew that al of them haue their beginning from one selfesame vnderstanding. Then must it needs be & this comon autho: of their being, that is to say, the soueraigne being must also be & soueraigne vnderstanding, seeing he imparteth the effects of vnderstanding to so many things which haue it not. Moreover, the things which haue vnderstanding are the disposers and orderers of the other things, and not contrariwise. Man buildeth, planteth, reareth by Cattell, and maketh his comodity of al of them together. Of men themselves, the skilfullest make Lawes, & take vpon them to rule others. To be short, the things which haue no vnderstanding do naturally serue as instruments to those which haue it, & the thing which hath the lesse of it, serueth that which hath the more of it, and no part in nature dealeth to the contrarie. And (as we haue proued by all the Philosophers themselves) it is God that created all things that haue vnderstanding, as well those which are not tied to bodies, as those which haue bodies, allotting to them their offices & ends, and so consequently he is the very beginner and end of them himselfe.

Then once againe, so farre forth as we can describe this vnderstanding by the outward effectes thereof, it must needs be in God a most excellent ability (if it may be so named) by direction whereof he executeth

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The begetting of the Sonne or of the second Person,

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meane doing
or working
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of necessity
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obscuring
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is no vnderstanding
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order, but
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god with
doing a worthy
order, by which
you might be in
god an vnderstanding

things that
cannot vnderstand
are always
governed by
things that haue
vnderstanding

most

most wisely the active or inworking vertue power and nature which we marke in all things in this world howbeit, so as the chiefe working of them doth abide and rest still in him. I haue proued heretofore that God is infinite: which being so, nothing can be imagined in him, which is not infinite likewise: for otherwise he should be as wel finite as infinite both together. And infinite he were not, if he could vnderstand or know that to day which he vnderstande not afore. Needes then must it be, that he seeth all eternitie vnderstandeth and knoweth the things which haue bene, which are, and which shall be; the whole, and the parts, the generals, the specialles, and the particulars; the originall, the proceedings, and the aftercommings, the doings, sayings, and thoughts of men; and so forth, so as this vnderstanding in God is everlastingly infinite.

Againe, vnderstanding is an inworking which abideth and remaineth in the partie which hath it, and passeth not into any outward thing. For, when we vnderstand the course of the Sunne, he is nothing altered thereby. Also I haue told you already, that God is most single, and that there is not any thing in him which is not his very essence or being. Whereupon it followeth, that God not onely hath vnderstanding, but also that his vnderstanding, is his very essence (that is to say, he is the very vnderstanding it selfe.) Nowe then, let vs see what it is that this vnderstanding begetteth. I haue told you that God is a mere doing, and whatsoever he doth he doeth it from euera-
 lasting; and that on the other side being most single, there is nothing in him which is not aduer. Whereupon it followeth that this vnderstanding is everlastingly occupied in doing. And wherein then is it occupied? What is the thing that it worketh vpon? Surely it can meete with nothing but it selfe. God then conceived and vnderstande himselfe; and it must needes be that he vnderstande himselfe, seeing that the chiefe self wisdom is to knowe ones selfe, whereof he could not faile. Wherefore it was of necessitie, that this vnderstanding of God, should yeld a reflection backe againe to it selfe, as a face doeth in a Lookingglasse, and as our minde doth when it setteth it selfe to the considering of it owne proper nature; and that it shoulde conceiue and beget in it selfe a perfect image of it owne selfe, which image is the same thing which in the Trinitie we call the Sonne, the Word, or the Speech: namely, the liuely & perfect image and wisdom of the Father. Now, this vnderstanding is actuall euera-
 lasting, (that is to say, euera-
 lasting in deede) and euera-
 lastingly actuall, (that is to say, euera-
 lastingly doing,) and therefore we say that Second person which it begetteth is also euera-
 lasting: & God in his vnderstanding had not conceived any thing that is lesse than it selfe, for it is equal with him. And whereas we comprehend not our selues, that commeth of the darknesse and lumpishnesse of our flesh, which maketh vs vnlike
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the vnderstanding
 is not in any thing
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our selues. We say then that the Sonne is equall to the Father, and the image of the Father. But yet moreouer, the being of the Father and his vnderstanding are both one; and his being or essence (being vnder-
 stood of it selfe) is none other thing than the being of the Sonne, who is
 bred and begotten by the Fathers vnderstanding or minding of himselfe.
 Whereupon we conclude againe, that the essence of the Father is the es-
 sence of the Sonne, (that is to say, that looke whatsoeuer the Father is,
 the Sonne is the same;) so as they differ not but by way of relation: and
 consequently that they be Coeternall, Coequall, and Coessentiall, (that
 is to say, of one selfesame euermlasting continuance, of one selfesame state
 condition and degree, and of one selfesame substance or being;) which is
 the thing that we be taught in the Church. This second person for di-
 uers respects is betokened by diuers names. He is ordinarilie called the
 Sonne, because he is a Conception of the vnderstanding which is in God
 and a perfect resemblance of him. And here we haue to consider, that ac-
 cording to the diuersities of natures; the maner of breedings or beget-
 tings doe varie also. For every life (if I may so speake) begetteth or breed-
 eth a Sonne, issue or offspring in it selfe afore it send it out, and the excel-
 lenter that the life is, the more inward to it is that which proceedeth or
 is bred thereof. Whereupon some haue supposed the Fire to be a liuing
 wight, because it breedeth or begetteth another Fire like it selfe. But
 howsoeuer the case stand, like as the Elementes are naturally the basest
 things in degree, so hath Fire the basest maner of breeding or begetting,
 as which is not able to do it but out of it selfe, & by the applying of some
 outward matter to him. The Plant conceiueth moisture in it self, which
 springeth forth into bud, from bud into flower, & from flower into fruit.
 which fruite being ripe falleth to the ground, and there bringeth forth
 another Plant. Now, this second Plant liued in the first Plant ere it li-
 ued in it selfe, and al liuing wights do liue, moue & feele in their Dammes
 bellies, afore they come forth, which is yet a more inward maner of breed-
 ing & begetting than the other. The sensitiue life conceiueth an imagi-
 nation which breedeth by it selfe in the memoire: but as it proceedeth fro
 the Sences and sensible things, so doth it depart out of it selfe. The rea-
 sonable life hath his conceptions and breedings yet more inward than al
 the rest, for it hath his reflection backe to it selfe, and we comonly terme
 the doings or actions thereof by the name of Conceptions or Conceits, af-
 ter which maner the learned sort do cal their bookes their Children. But
 yet there is this more in this matter, namely, that in men this conceiuing
 proceedeth of imagination, which is an outward thing vnto it, because
 nothing can enter into the vnderstanding of man but by the Sences, and
 moreouer, for that the thing which is minded or vnderstande, and the
 minde or vnderstanding it selfe, are not both one in vs. But soasmuch as

the son is equal
with the father
and there is
all one

why the son
is called
the son

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the son of
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is called
the son

note

note

the thought
or cogitation
may be called
the conception
or conceit
as the thought
is called
the thought

Why the second Person is called the Son the word, Speech, wisdom, &c.

Looke in the 11. Chapter of Mercurius tripliciter Ponder.

Rapida quadam Corustatione perfundit animum.

that is to say, it sheadeth through the mynd with a certeyne swift glistering.

Vox profert, Animus rationatur, Mens verbum ipsa Ratio est. that is to say, the voyce uttereth, the mynd reasoneth or debateth, & so Reason is the very word or Speech of the Mynd.

only God is altogether life, and his life is altogether vnderstanding, which is the highest degree of life, he hath his maner of conceiuing and begetting most inward of all. For, he conceiueth in himselfe & of himselfe, and his conceiuing is a begetting, and this begetting abideth still in himselfe, because his vnderstanding can neuer any where meete with any thing but that which he himselfe is. And that is the second person whom we call the Sonne, and vnto whom that name doth so much the more properly agree because his resembling of him is more perfect, and his begetting or Sonneship (if I may so tearme it) is more inward, than all the breedings and begettings which we commonly see, or than any other we can imagine. Also we call him Logos, which some translate word or Speech, and othersom Reason. Either of those significations is ordinary to the word Logos, and agreeable to that which is intended to be signified thereby, so farre forth as diuine things can be expressed by the speech of man. When we call him Speech or Word, it is according to the doctrine of the Philosophers, who haue marked that there is in man a double speech, the one in the minde, which they call the inward Speech, which we conceiue afore we utter it, and the other the sounding image thereof, which is uttered by our mouth and is termed the Speech of the Voice, either of both the which we perceiue at euery word that we intend to pronounce: which thing those folke might yet much better obserue, which had neuer learned any Language, because they shoulde not cease to haue those inward conceits in themselves (though they could not speake) For the wit or vnderstanding both by and by conceiue an inward Speech vpon the thing which is offered vnto it, and begetteth or breedeth that conceit in our minde as it were by a sudden flash of Lightening, and afterward our minde uttereth it more at leisure by the voice the which voice, (notwithstanding) is vnable to represent or expresse the inward Speech perfectly. insomuch y we see many in euery age haue a great number of goodly conceits in their minds, which they be not able to expresse, & that in expressing them either by word or by writing, they mislike their owne doings, because they bee farre inferiour to the things which they had conceiued in their mindes. Nowe, the speech of the minde is very Reason it selfe: and loke what the speech of the minde reasoneth and debateth, that both the voice utter, and either of them is the image of the next that went afore. For loke what proportion is betwene the voice or speech of the mouth, and the speech of the minde, the like proportion is betwene the speech of the minde, and the speech of the vnderstanding. The voice hath neede of ayre, and is deuided into parts, and requireth leisure: the minde in deede is vndiuidable, but yet hath it neede of time to passe from one conclusion or reason to another. But as for the vnderstanding, it accomplisheth his action or working in lesse than a moment, and with

with one onely act both so fill the Reason and minde, that it is constrained to make many acts of one. And this diuersitie may euery man marke in himselfe, notwithstanding that all these acts seeme to be done together like Thunder and Lightning. Now then, the saide Conception or Con-
ceit which Gods vnderstanding hath conceived enerlastingly in himselfe, we call Speech or Worde, which is the perfect image of his vnderstan-
ding, and Gods vnderstanding, is God himselfe. Also we call it Reason, because Reason is as ye would say the Daughter, speech or worde of our
vnderstanding, and we say that by the same speech or worde, God made
all things. For, as the Craftsmen maketh his worke by y^e patterne which
he had erst conceiued in his minde, which patterne is his inward word:
so God made the world and all that is therein, by that said Speech of his
as by his inward skill or art. For he being but one, conceiueth all things
by conceiuing himselfe. To be short, we call him also the wisdom of the
Father, yea, and euen merely and simply wisdom. For, wisdom
(euen in man) is nothing els but a hantour proceeding of diuers conceits
or inward speeches, whereby our minde is perfected in the knowledge of
high things. Now, God is the height of all heightes, and by the concei-
uing of himselfe he knoweth himselfe. But yet he must take this withal,
that the thing which is a hantour in vs, is essence in him, (that is to say,
that he is the verie things themselues which we obtaine to haue by
meanes,) and that he himselfe is the ground of his owne wisdom, where
as the true wisdom of men, hath not any other ground than God. Now
then, can there be any greater wisdom in God, than to knowe himselfe?
And is not that knowledge bred of vnderstanding?

Let vs come to the third person. We haue acknowledged heretofore,
that in the most single essence of God, there is a workesful power, ability,
or nature, matched with an vnderstanding, according whereunto the
said vertue or power executeth his actions. Now, in the selfesame essence,
should there not also be a will besides the said vnderstanding? If we con-
sider al the things in the world, we shal finde in them a kinde of will, ten-
ding to the seuerall welfare of enery of them: and the more vnderstanding
they haue, the more will also haue they, because that the more their wel-
fare is knowen vnto them the more also it is desired, & the more it is desi-
red, the more also it is their wil vniforme, & the lesse parted. I omit the
sencelesse things, as Plants, Herbes, and Stones, which haue certeine
naturall inclinations, sufficiently marked by the searching out of their
natures. But yet it cannot be denied, but that the Beastes haue a sensi-
tue appetite to follow the thing which their Sense taketh hold of to be
good for them. Men also do run with al their harts after the thing which
they suppose to be good for them, whether it be hono^r, riches or pleasure.
And the more they know if or thinke themselues to know it, the more do

*the conception
is the best
of god's
is called
of the word*

*god in himselfe
is called
all things
why the word
is called the wisdom
of the father*

*The proceed-
ing of the
holy Ghost,
or third per-
son.*

they yelde their wil vnto it: and the more they hold and possesse thereof, the more is their heart settled thereupon. Onely their vnderstanding being bewitched by vanitie, is deceitfully driven to chuse the euill for the good, by meanes whereof, the will which ought to be discrete and full of wit and vnderstanding, is forced of necessitie to degenerate into fleshlie and beastly lust. The Angels likewise (as say the Philosophers) haue also a will, and much more simply one and more liuely than others. And as by their vnderstanding they know the very good it selfe, that is to wit God; so haue they their will euer settled on him alone, without turning it aside to any of al the great multitude of objects whereon we be wont to set our mindes. Now, shal not he himselfe haue a wil, who hath giuen wil to liuing things and imprinted it in them? And he that hath imparted so many benefits to all things, to some moe and to some lesse; hath not he (say I) bestowd those benefits vpon them willingly? And hee with y beholding of whom the blesseddest Spirits do fæde their willes, hath not he the pleasure of contenting himselfe througely with him selfe, seeing he knoweth him selfe perfectly? And what els is this pleasure, than will fulfilled, yea euen filled to the ful with the true God which sufficeth to himselfe, which is the onely peculiar thing whereon the very wil resteth indede. Againe, the nature of will is to apply all abilities to their actions. No purpose haue we hearing, if we list not to heare, to no purpose haue we sight, if we list not to see, to no purpose haue we abilitie to doe things, if we list not to doe them. And this appeareth daily in al our doings, which neuer come to effect, till they be quickened and put forth by the will. But we see that God hath applied his power to the doing of many things, yea of things infinite and infinitely diuers. Wherefore it followeth that he listeth to do them, and that he listeth to make one thing to one ende and another to another, and one of them for another, and finally all for himselfe, and so consequently that he hath a will. And this will (so farre as we be able to discern it by the effects) is a certeine abilitie whereby he applyeth his workfull power, when, where, and how he thinketh good; guiding & performing it according to his owne minde, howbeit that the chiefe act thereof is performed within it selfe. Neuerthelesse, this is spoken alwaies after the maner of men. For if we haue much to doe to discern the difference betwene the abilities of Will and Vnderstanding in our owne Soules, by reason of the linking of them together: much more reason is it that in this essence of God which is most single, & infinitely more one than ours, we should deeme all these things to be but one in him, notwithstanding that they differ in certeine respects. God vnderstandeth, but I haue told you, that to be and to vnderstand is all one in him. Also God willeth or listeth, but to will and to vnderstand are likewise both one in him: and so all these come into one essence (that is, bee all one thing.)

The

The reason hereof is very euident: namely, that willing or liking is no more an action that passeth into the outward thing, than vnderstanding is; but abideth still in the Willer. For by our liking of a thing, we may perceiue some alteration of our selues; but the thing it selfe that is liked or willed feeleth nothing thereof. Now, I haue proued heretofore, that whatsoever is or resteth in God, is his very being, moreover, & God willeth not any thing but as in respect y^e he vnderstandeth it, for the knowne god is the ground of his wil, and he vnderstandeth not but by his essence, (that is to say, for that he is the very vnderstanding it selfe.) It followeth then, that in God his wil is his very essence as wel as his vnderstanding: insomuch that he is both Power, Understanding, and Will all in one.

But let vs see now what proceedeth of God by his will. I haue said afoze, that God is mere action, and moreover, that he is most single: therefore he is still doing from all eternitie, and so likewise is whatsoever els we consider in his essence. Now, there we haue found an Understanding, by the Inwoyking whereof he knoweth himselfe; and also a will, where by he cannot but will himselfe, seeing he knoweth himselfe. And this vnderstanding, by a certeine Reflection of it selfe vpon it selfe, hath begotten vs a second person, whom we call the Sonne and the Wisedome of the father. This will then which wozyketh euerlastingly, hauing likewise none other thing to wozyke vpon but it selfe, doth also by his wozyking strike backe vpon himselfe, and delight it selfe in the infinite good which it knoweth there, and so sheadeth out it selfe wholly to the louing thereof; and by this action it bringeth vs forth a third person (if I may so fearme it) whom we call Gods Spirit and the holy Ghost, that is. to wit, the mutuall kindnesse and louingnesse of the Father and of the Son, of the father the vnderstander, towards the Sonne conceived and begotten by his vnderstanding: and of the Sonne backe againe towards the Father, acknowledging all that all that he hath and all that he is to be of the Father. And this said Will is the essence of God himselfe, and consequently eternally actiue, & actiue eternally. For, in the euerlasting all things are euerlasting; and in a mere act, all things are act, and of such can nothing proceede which shal not be like them. Besides therefore must this Spirit, this Louingnesse, or this good will, be also actiue euerlasting. Moreover, the wil extendeth as farre as y^e vnderstanding: for (as I haue said afoze) will & vnderstanding are both one in God, and vnderstanding doth perfectly comprehend the thing that is vnderstood, namely the thing that is beloued, that is to wit God himselfe. The will then doth by his action (which is loue & liking) extend it selfe as farre as God himselfe, and so the third Person is equal to the second & the first. And yet doth this third Person proceede of the wil, and the wil is Gods essence & of that essence can nothing proceede which is not his essence. Therefore he is not

onely coeternall and coequall, but also coessentiall. Againe, we see that in vs, there goeth alwaies some act of the vnderstanding afoze the act of our will, for the cause why we will things, is that we thinke we vnderstand them; and we desire them for the good which perceine in them, and the loue of a thing cannot be in the louer thereof, but vpon his knowing of the thing loued; neither is will any thing els than appetite, bred of vnderstanding. The third Person therefore proceedeth from the first, not onely by the will, but also by the vnderstanding, and by the knowledge whirh the vnderstanding breedeth. And because it proceedeth of two, and not by way of resemblance, but by act of will; we terme him Proceeding and not Begotten; which is the effect of reason all that is taught vs in the Church concerning that matter. Notwithstanding, whereas we say that the action of vnderstanding goeth afoze the action of will; our meaning is not to imagine any going afoze or comming after in these persons; but onely to lay forth this proceeding by the order of nature, which we could not haue done so well by the trueness of the matter: as if we should say, that the Sonne is considered afoze the holy Ghost, in like maner as the knowing of a thing goeth afoze the desire of it, because that if they could haue had any beginning, the Sonne had bin foremost in that case.

Why the holy Ghost is called Loue, &c.

¶ 1541.

As touching names, we call him most commonly the holy Ghost. Holy, because there is nothing in God which is not pure and holy, whereby he is discerned from all other Spirits: and Ghost or Spirit, because we commonly call those things Spirits, the beginning of whose moving is unknowne vnto vs; as the windes, whose beginning is unknowne vnto vs: the breathing of the Heartstrings, which proceedeth from an inward beginning that is hidden from vs; and other things: and to be short, because that in all things which haue life, the inward force proceedeth from some kinde of will by a certaine Spirit. Now, as for loue, it is nothing els but a certaine couert forwardnesse or forthgoing of the will towards the thing that is loued, insomuch that the very benefitte which we receiue by his loue, is secret and insensible through breathing which worketh in vs, and yet we cannot well perceiue from whence it commeth. Againe, we call him also Loue and Charitie, because all the actions of will are in loue and wellliking as in their roote, in like maner as all the doings of Gods vnderstanding, meete altogether in his wisdom. For whereas we desire the thing which we want, or be glad of the thing which we haue, the cause thereof is that we loue it or like wel of it. Likewise also, whereas we feare a thing, or loath it, that commeth of a hatred, which can haue no place in God, whose will nothing is able to withstand. Therefore as we haue God of God (that is to wit, the Sonne of the Father) by the euerlasting working of his vnderstanding, so also haue we God of God againe (that is to wit, the holy Ghost or loue of them

them both) by the iointwozking of the vnderstanding and will together. Whereupon we conclude thre direct persons or Inbeings in one essence, not to exlude the singlenesse thereof which it behoneth vs to hold still, but to expresse the diuerfitie thereof after a sorte, whicht ough not to be vnknotne, namely the power of the Father, the wisdom of the Sonne, and the godnesse of their loue, for whom, by whom, and in whom, it hath pleased the said only one vspeakable essence to create & to loue al things.

Of whom, by whom, and in whom.

But there is yet moze, namelie, that as there are thre Inbeings or Persons in this essence, so also there can be no mo but thre: which thing may be made euident by the same reason. Whoso denieth that there is vnderstanding and will in God as we haue seene afoze must also denie that he hath made any thing, or that he doth any thing: for all the things which wee see here belowe, are marked both with the one and with the other. Likewise, he that confesseth that all thinges are in him, according to their preaching vnto vs) must needs also confesse the sonne of the holie Ghost, to be the wisdom and the loue; for that they be but actions of those two, which cannot be without their action, neither can action be enerlastingly any where els than in God himselfe. Now, as we can not imagine God without his actions; so can we not consider anie other than those to abide in him, nor consequently any other Underbeings that procede from thence; whereupon we say also, that a fourth person cannot be annitted. As for example, we say he is the Creator, and we saie true, and in so saying we finde also a relation to the Creatures. But this power of creating procedeth from the power which is in the Father and is not an action that abideth still within him, but passeth directly into the thing created, which in respect of the creator, is as nothing in comparison of infinitenesse, whereof it cannot haue the prebeminence. Also we say he is a Saviour: and that is al one with the other. For his being a Saviour, is by the Sonne, as we shall see hereafter, and mozeouer, it is an action that passeth into the thing saued, and abideth not in God alone. Therefore it maketh not to the stablishing of the fourth person or inbeing, for then it ought to be Coessentiall. To be short, all Gods operations do either procede from within him, and abide still in the woeker and in their first ground, or els they procede from without, and passe into the outward effect. That woeker or action which procedeth from within, can be of none other essence than the thing from whence it commeth: for in G O D there is nothng but essence, and in that essence can nothing abide but the essence it selfe. That which procedeth from without, is alwaies of a sundrie essence, as are the Creatures and woekes of God, which come nothing nere the essence of the Creator. The thing which doth the woeker without, is Gods power, howbeit accompanied with his vnderstanding and will. And the thing that doth the woeker within

Three Persons and no mo.

within, is his vnderstanding and will and nothing els, that we may discern in our selues, who are but a very slender image thereof. And like as in beholding a painted Table, or in reading the verses of a Poet, we imagine not therefore that there was a peculiar and immediate abilitie of painting or versifying in the minde or soueraigne part of their Soule, but we referre those skills and all other like, vnto Will and Wit: euen so & much more according to reason, of all the workes and doings which we see done by Gods power, we cannot gather any other persons or inbeings in him, than those which proceede immediatly of his vnderstanding and will, and alonely those and none other can be Coessentiall in him. Now, vnderstanding and wil in God, are essence, and his essence is merely one and most single. And moreover, the Word or Speech conceiveth not another Speech, but turneth wholly vnto the Father, neither doth the Spirit conceiue another loue than the loue of those two, but resteth and reposeth it selfe altogether in them. So then, there can but one onely word or speech proceede by the vnderstanding, nor but onely one Loue proceed by his wil, neither can any other proceede of that Word & that Loue. And so there remaine vnto vs the onely three persons of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, by the which two, the Father governeth and loueth all things, because he himselfe alone is all things.

Traces of the
Trinity in the
World and in
Man.

Now, as we haue read in nature that there is but one God, as a thing which we finde written euen in the least creatures: so may we now perceiue the euident footsteps of the three inbeings or persons in one essence, as a marke of the worker that made them, in some more and in some lesse, according to their dignitie, which yet notwithstanding are such, as we could not well perceiue them, untill the doctrine thereof was reuealed vs, no more than we can vnderstand the letters of CIPHERING, which we can neither reade nor decipher, vnlesse we haue some knowledge of the matter which they import, from other folkes hands, or by coniecture, or by some other way. We finde an Unitie in al things, yea euen in those which haue but onely being. For al things are inasmuch as they be one: and whensoever they cease to be that one, they consequently cease also to be. Again, we see in them a forme or shape, and that is the marke of that witfull action (that is to say, of the euerlasting word or conceit whereby God made them) which hath bred vs the essentiall forme or shape, and all other manner of formes and shapes. Also we see an inclination or disposition, in some more apparant than in other some, in some to mount aloft, in some to sinke downe towards the Center, as in a Stone, and in all, to holde themselues vnited in their matter and forme. This is the marke of the workesfull Will, wherein God hath vouchsafed to stoop vnto them and of the vniion which proceedeth thereof, wherein he loueth, vpholdeth, and preserueth all things. But euen in some of the thinges of this

basest

basest sort, there appeareth not onely a trace, but almost an image thereof. For, the Sunne breedeth or begetteth his owne beames, which the Poets doe call the very sonne of the Sunne: and from them two proceedeth the light, which imparteth it selfe to all things here beneath, and yet is not the one of them afore the other, for neither is the Sunne afore his beames, nor the Sunne or beames afore the light, other wise than in consideration of order and relation, that is to wit, as in respect that the beames are begotten and the light is proceeding, which is an apparant image of the Coeternitie. Likewise in waters, we haue the head of them in the earth, and the Spring boylng out of it, and the streame which is made of them both and headeth it selfe out farre of from thence. It is but one selfesame continuall and vnseperable essence, which hath neither forenesse nor afternesse, saue onely in order and not in time, that is to say, according to our considering of it, haniug respect of causes, and not according to trueneth. For, the welhead is not a head, but in respect of the Spring, nor the Spring a Spring, but in respect of the Welhead, nor the Streame a Streame, but in respect of them both, and so all three be but on water, and cannot almost be considered one without another, howbeit that the one is no other. It in an expresse marke of the originall relations and persons Coessentiall in the onely one essence of God. The like is to be said of Fire, which ingendreth fire and hath in it both heate and brightnesse vnseperable. Also there are other examples to be found of such as list to seeke them out. In Hearbes and Plants there is a roote, which yeldeth a slippe, stocke or ympe, and the same ympe groweth after ward into a tree. It cannot well be named or deemed to bee a roote, but that therewith it hath also ingendred an ympe or stocke, for in that respect it is called a roote, and so is the one as sone as the other. Also, there is a sappe which passeth from the one to the other, loyning, knitting and vnitng them together by one common life, without the which life, neither the roote should be a roote, nor the slip a slip, and so in effect they be altogether, the one as sone as the other. Moreover, among all liuing wights, euery of them ingendreth after his owne kinde and forme, of whom one is an ingenderer and another is ingendred, among men, a father and a sonne; and by and by through knowledge, there proceedeth a naturall loue and affection from the one to the other, which knitteth and linke th them together. All these are traces, footsteps, and images, (howbeit with the grossest) of that high misterie, and also I haue told you afore, and no effect doth fully resemble his cause, and much lesse that cause which in all respects is most infinite.

Notwithstanding, in mans Soule, (when I say Soule I meane there the highest power thereof) the image and likenesse of the Trinitie is yet much more liuely and more expresse. For first there is in it a Nature

The welhead
the Spring, &
the streame.

Nature and abilitie of working, and as it were a mere act, whereby it liueth and giueth life, and is it selfe in continual working. The Latins call it *Mens* (that is to say *Minde*) and we call it also *h* reasonable soule, the which wee may liken to the Father. This *Mind* breedeth an vnderstanding or wit, by the which we vnderstand and discern, not onely other things, but also our selues: and againe by vnderstanding we come to will, through the which we loue other things, and most of them for our owne sakes. These three persons are very distinct in vs: for we worke not alwaies by wit, not alwaies by will, and yet our minde worketh continually. Moreover, oftentimes will the thing which we vnderstand not, and we vnderstand the thing which we will not. And therefore to will and to vnderstand are not both one. Nevertheless this working, vnderstanding and willing, are not three liues or three Soules in vs, but one life and soule, and that so streightly vnited in one essence, that euen in the selfesame instant that our minde doth a thing, it also vnderstandeth the reason why it willet it or willet it not, in which worke, both our inworking power and also our wit and our will doe concur all together. Yet notwithstanding, this image is farre from the thing it selfe. For these three powers are seuerall in the essence of our Soule, and how nêrely so euer they be vnited together, yet is not the one the other. But in God who is a most single one, Being is vnderstanding, and vnderstanding is will, as I haue said afore. And againe, by Gods vnderstanding and by his will there procede from him two Inbeings, by reason whereof he mindeth and loneth himselfe, and in himselfe all things. And for our Soule there can no such thing procede from it by the wit or the will, because although they be both in, yet they take their grounds from without themselves, insomuch that it can neither vnderstand nor loue, vnlesse the abilities thereof be set a working by some outward thing. And which moze is, the moze it vnderstandeth it selfe, the moze doth it streine it selfe to vnderstand and know another than it selfe: and the moze it loneth it selfe through true knowledge of it selfe, the moze doth it seeke contentment by louing another, which other it cannot loue but by hating it selfe, that is to wit, it streineth it selfe to behold and loue God, and to knowe and loue it selfe but onely for his sake, to whom alonely it belongeth to vnderstand all things in himselfe, and to loue all things of himselfe. But now is high time henceforth to see what antiquitie will say to vs concerning this matter, the which it shalbe better for vs to referue to the next Chapter following. And as touching the questions that may be made by the curious sort vpon this point, we answer them at one word, Let them tell vs how they themselves are bred and begotten, and then aske of the begetting of the Sonne of God: Let them tell vs the nature of the Spirit that beateth in their Vasses, and then let

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let them be inquisitive at our handes for the proceeding of the holy Ghost. And if they must be faine to keepe silence in so common matters, which they daily see and feele in themselves, let them give us leave to be ignorant in many things, which are such (as saith Empedocles) as no eye hath seene, nor eare heard, nor wit of man conceiue.



The sixth Chapter.

That the Philosophie of old time consenteth to this doctrine of the Trinitie.



Surely (as I haue saide afoze) this doctrine is not bred of mans braine, though it be painted there after some sort; but was verely inspired into our forefathers from aboue, who (as saith Plato) were better than we, and neerer also vnto God. And in god woth we see an infallable argument thereof, in that the elder the world groweth, the more do mens doctrines growe to perfection and knowledge. But contrariwise, the further that this hath gone from the former ages,

the more hath it bene found darkened, and hath no where bene so light, some as at the wellspring thereof, vntill that by the birth of the true daie sunne in deede, it receiued greater light than euer it had afoze. And therefore when Plato, yea and Aristotle himselfe speake of the Godhead, of the Creation of the World, and of other like misteries; they be faine to alledge the auncient report, and the record of antiquitie descended from hand to hand, as the surest staffe to stand by in matters that exceede the capacitie of man. Which thing they expresse ordinarily by these speeches, According to the old Sawe, as the auncientest reports goe, As our forefathers and Elders say, and such like. Among these men of the auncientest sort, the first that we meete with is Zoroastres, whom Plutarke reporteth to haue liued certaine thousands of yeares afoze the warres of Troy. Peruert elsse, by report of the best Authoys, he descen-

Plato in his Philebus.

Plato lib. 3. of his commonweale: and lib. 10. & 12. of Lawes.

Aristo. lib. 1. of Heauen. & lib. 12. of his Metaphisiks. Plotin often. &c.

The Chaldies heard speake of the Trinitie: zoroastres.

Plutarke in his treatise of Isis and Osyris.

Plinie and Aristotle beare witness that he wrote many bookes.

ded.

ded of Chama, and was banquished by Ninus King of the Assyrians. Whom came the Magies, that is to say the wisemen of Chaldey, and from them sprung by the like in Persia, who had in their custodie the registers of the Kings of those daies, and wrote their doedes, and had the ordering of matters pertainig to Religion. And now marke what we finde in their sayings gathered by men of olde time, which are commonly called Logia, that is to say Oracles. The father (saith Zoroastres) did perfect all things, and gaue them to a second Minde whom al mankinde taketh for the first. And Pletho Gemistus a Platonist saith, that by this second Mind he meaneth a second God which succeedeth the Father, and hath his begetting of the Father, & that men haue taken him for the first, because God created the world by him, howbeit that the Father created the mind-ly shapes, and gaue the government of them to this second Minde. See then here is a second person begotten of the Father. Proclus rehearseth the same saying, This Minde hauing alone taken the flower of Vnderstanding from the power of the Father, possesseth the vnderstanding and power to deale forth his Fathers vnderstanding or minde to al Originalles and Beginnings of things. When hath he his being and his vnderstanding from the Father, and all other things haue them from him. But the things which are found in his Comentarie vpon the Parmenides of Plato are wonderfull.

πάντα ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ
πατήρ, ὡς πατήρ
ἐστὶν ἑαυτοῦ.
Pletho Gemi-
stus.

ἐκ πατρὸς ἀλάτ-
ησι φέμεθυσ,
ὡς πατὴρ.

Proclus lib. 2.
& 3. vpon Pla-
toes Parme-
nides.

For the better yelding of the sence whereof, I will translate it into Prose, notwithstanding that it be written in verse in the Greeke. The Minde of the Father (saith he) being settled by determinate purpose, did shed forth shapes of all sortes, which issued all from one selfesame fountaine, because the deuise and end were both of the Father. But yet were they deuied by a Fire of vnderstanding, and (as it were by destiny) distributed into other vnderstandings. For afore the making of this sundrished world, God had conceiued an incorruptible paterne thereof, as a world subiect onely to minde and vnderstanding: In the mould whereof this present world being stamped, became ful of al those shapes of the which there is but onely one gracious Fountaine.

And againe in another place he saith as followeth.

That is to say, The loue of God being a fyrie bond issued first from his vnderstanding, and cloathed it selfe with fire to temper the conueiances of the watersprings, by spreading his heat vpon the same. These are their accustomed obscurities, wherein (notwithstanding) it is clerely enough vttered, that there is a Father, a Sonne, and a Loue that linketh them together: and moreover, that the said begotten Minde or Vnderstanding is he by whom God framed the world, & that from him proceedeth the diuine Loue, as I haue said heretofore. In another place they say that the said Fatherly Minde hath sowed & planted in our soules, a certeine resem-

ὁ πατήρ ἐστὶν ὁ θεός.

blance

blance of the said begotten vnderstanding, and that our willes be not acceptable vnto him, vntill we awake out of forgetfulness, & bethinke our selues againe of the * pure fatherly marke which is in vs. And againe, that the same vnderstanding being of power to beget or breede of it selfe, did (by considering) cast a fire bond of Loue vpon al things, wherby they be continued for euer. But it is enough for vs that in the sayings afoze alleadged, we haue a brieue Summe of the diuinitie of the Magies, who held thre beginnings, whom (as we reade in other places) they called Oromaces, Mitris, & Ariminis, (that is to say) God, Minde and Soule. And surely we should wonder at the much more, if we had their whole booke as we haue put peeces of them remaining. Now, the Magies were first in Chaldie, and we reade in Moyses how highly Balaam was esteemed, in that he was thought able to blesse Nations and Armies. And these Chaldies are the same of whom the Oracle of Apollo answered, that onely they and the Hebrewes had wisdom parted betwixt them.

πατρις σου θει-
ματος αγνου.
αυτην ην θαν

Μόρις χαλδαιος σοφισαν λαχων η ον' απ' εβραιου.

All wisdom certesse parted is betweene

The Chaldies and the Hebrewes as is seene.

Mercurius Trismegistus (as we haue seene in the third Chapter) acknowledged but onely one God, who cannot well be named but by two names, to wit, Good and Father. And because the same God is indued with vnderstanding, sometimes he calleth him *Nous*, howbeit that most commonly he makes a difference betweene the Father and the Understanding, which he calleth *Minde* likewise. Which thing appeareth in this saying of his, I am Proemander, the Feeder of Men, and the vnderstanding of the Beer which is of himselfe. But behold here recordes as cleare as can be. God (saith he) who is also Minde, & life and Light, and Malefemale, begat orbred Logon the Speech or word, which is another Minde, & the workmaister of all things, & with that speech, another which is the fire God and the spirit of the Godhead. Lo here a Minde begotten of a Minde, Understanding of Understanding, and Light of Light, and besides that, moreover a Spirit. And againe, This Speech that proceedeth from God being altogether perfect & fruitfull, & workmistresse of al things, lighteth vpon the water & maketh it fruitfull. It is the same thing & is spoken of in Moyses, where God saith, And the waters immediatly brought forth. To be short, vnto this holy speech (as he termeth it) he attributeth & begetting, ingendring & spreading forth of al things from offspring to offspring, as it is to be seene. But here is yet more: Ichy God (saith God) am Light & Minde, of more antiquity than the nature of moisture that is issued from the shadow, And this lightsome speech which proceedeth from the minde, is the sonne of God. That which heareth & seeth in thee, is the word of the Lord, and the Minde is God the Father, these differ not one from another

Mercurie.
The Egyprians

της αυθιμας
του.
Of the selfe be-
ing in his Pro-
emander. cap. 2.
ε ε ο νους ο θεος
αρχη του ολουτου, ος
εστιν η ψυχη απαν-
των των ζωντων
του νους εστιν αιωνι-
ος, &c.

Νους πατρις το
λογον.

Mercury alledged by Cyril-
lus. lib. 1.

against Iulian
& in his Pœ-
mander cap. 1

ἐξ αὐτοῦ

πρὸς Ἰουλιανὸν πρὸς
τὸ αὐτὸν πρὸς

ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἱερο.

Merc. 1.

ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἱερο. πρὸς
αὐτὸν.

Austin in the
Prayer of his
Heretics.

Mercurie in
his Esculapius
Chap. 3 & 7.

Mercurie in
his holy Ser-
mon in his Pœ-
mander, cap. 3

Gen. 1.

Mercurie in
his Pœmand-
er. cap. 13

πρὸς Ἰουλιανὸν πρὸς

Ναὺς ἱερο. πρὸς Ἰουλιανὸν
Cyrillus a-
gainst Tullie-
tius.

Suidas in his
Mercurie.

Μουσεως ἱερο-
γρ.

ther, and as for their vnion, it is the vnion of life, &c. And againe: This Speech being the workeman of God the Lord of the whole World, hath chiefe power next him, and is vncreated, infinit, proceeding from him, the Commaunder of all things which he made, the perfect & naturall first borne Sonne of the most perfect. To be short, he calleth him the mindly speech, euerlasting, vnchaungeable, vncozruptible, vnincreasing, vnde-creasing, alonely like him, and first beknotwne after God; and mozeouer his onely Sonne, his welbeloued Sonne, the Sonne of y most holy, whose name cannot be named by mouth of man. And is not this as much as to call him Coescentiall, Coeternall, and the Creatoz of all things? And what moze can we say thereof?

Of the third person he speaketh moze darkely. All kinde of things in this World (saith he) are quickened by a Spirit, One Spirit filleth all things, the World nourisheth the bodies, and the Spirit the Soules, and this Spirit as a toole or instrument, is subiect to the will of God. But here is yet somewhat moze. All things (saith he) haue neede of this spirit, it beareth them vp, it nourisheth them, it quickeneth them, according to euerie of their capacities: it proceedeth from a holy fountaine, and is the maintainer of all liuing things and of all Spirits. Here ye see the reason why we call him the holy Ghost, namely, because he proceedeth from the fountaine which is the very holinesse it selfe. And least we should thinke him to be a Creature, There was (saith he) an infinite shadowe in the Deepe, whereon was the water, and a fine vnderstanding Spirit was in that confuzed masse through the power of God. From thence there florished a certeine holy brightnesse, which out of the Sand and the moyst nature brought forth the Elements and all things els. Also the Gods themselues which dwel in the Starres, tooke their place by the direction and appointment of this Spirit of God. Thus then he was present at the creation of things; and it is the same spirit whereof it is said in the Bible, that the spirit of the Lord howered vpon the outside of the deepe. But in some places he matcheth al thzee persons together. O life (saith he) saue that life which is in mee, O light and God the Spirit inlighten mee wholly. O worker which bearest thy spirit about, let thy word gouerne me. Lord, thou art the onely one God. Again, there was (saith he) a light of vnderstanding, afore the light of vnderstanding, and there was euer a minde of the lightfull Minde, and besides those, there was not anything els than the vnion of them by one spirit vpholding all things: without which there is neither God nor Angell, nor other Substance: For he is Lord, Father, and God of all, and in him and vnder him are all things. And hauing said so (saith Suydas) he addeth his praier. I adiure thee o Heauen the wise worke of the greate God, I adiure the o voice which God ytered first when he founded the world, I adiure the by the onely

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onely begotten Speech, and by the Father who containeth all things, &c. There is no man but he would woonder to see in this authoꝝ the verie words of S. Iohn: and yet notwithstanding his bookes were translated by the Platonists long time afore the comming of our Lorde Iesus Christ. And it is no marueile though we finde sayings of his in diuers places which are not written in his Poemander, considering that he wrote fire and thirtie thousand, five hundred, and five and twentie Volumes, that is to say, Rolles of Paper, as Iamblichus reporteth. And it is said that this Trismegistus otherwise called Theut, is the same that taught the Aegyptians to read, and which inuented them Geometrie and Astronomie, which deuided Aegypt into partes, which left his sozwarning against ouerflowings written in two Pillers, (which Proclus reporteth to haue bene standing still in his time:) And to be short, which had bene reputed and honoured as a God among them. And it may be, that the terrible outcry which the Aegyptians made in calling vpon the first Beginner, whome they feared the darkenesse beyond all knowledge, like to the Ensoph of the Hebrewes, and the Night of the Orpheus, was still remaining vnto them, of his diuinitie. Thus haue you scene how zoroastres and Mercurie haue answered vnto vs, the one for the Persians & Chaldeans, & the other for the Aegyptians. For in matters of Wisdome, the wise ought to be belened for the whole Nation.

Iamblichus in his 30. Cha. of Mysteries.

Plato in his Phedon and Philebus. Eusebius of Demonstration. Iamblichus Chap. 1. Proclus vpon Plato. Damascius the Platonist.

Now let vs come to the Greekes. Orpheus which is the anncientest of them all, as soone as he beginneth to speake of these miseries, doeth first and foremost shut all Heathenish folke out of the doozes, & then saith thus: Let thine eye be vpon the word of God, and start not away from it, for that is it that made the world, and is immortall, and (according to the old saying) is perfect of it selfe, and the perfecter of all things, and it cannot be scene but with the minde. And after ward, I adiure thee o Heauen (saith he) the wise worke of the great God, I adiure thee, thou voice of the father which he spake first, and so forth. For this as appeareth afore) was a prayer which he had learned of Mercurie: from whom also proceeded the common miserie of the Poets, That Pallas was byed of Iupiters bzaine. The same man saith that the first Mother of things was wisdome, and after ward delightfull loue. And in his Argonaut he calleth this loue, most anncient, most perfect in it selfe, and the bringer forth and disposer of all things.

The auncient Greekes. Orpheus. φθίγγουσι οἱ θύμῳ ἐστὶ δὴ πᾶσι δι' ὅτι θύμῳ ἐστὶν. And againe: οἱ δὲ λέγοντες οἱ θεοὶ ἐκ τῆς προσηύχουσας, &c. Clemens. li. 5. Strom. Orph. καὶ μὴ τις πρῶτος γένετο καὶ ἴσως ἀολύτρητος.

προσφύτατίν τε καὶ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς τιν ἴσως, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄπαντα δι' ἑαυτοῦ τὰ πάντα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

Wherevpon Pherecydes also saith, That God intending to make the world, changed himselfe into loue. And Iamblichus sayth that Pythagoras had the Philosophie of Orpheus alwayes before his eyes: and therefore it is not for vs to woonder, though he attributed the creation of all things

Orph. in Argonaut.

Pherecydes
in Proclus.
Aristotle in
his first booke
of Heauen.
Parmenides
in his Cosmo-
gonie alled-
ged by Plu-
tarke.

ἡρώτις ὁ μὴ
ἔχων διὰ τὴν
ἐπιστήμην τῶν
πάντων.

Plotin. Enn. 4.
lib. 1. Chap. 8.
Zeno the
Stoik.

Alcinous co-
cerning the
Doctrine of
Plato.

Plato in his E-
pinomis.

ἐπὶ τῶν πάντων
διότατος λόγος.

Plato in his
sixt booke of
Common-
weale.

τὸ ἐκ κοινῆς τῆς
ἀγαθῆς.

Plato in his
epistle to Her-
mias, Erastus,
and Coriscus.
Plato vnto
Dennis the
Tyrant.

ἀντίγραφον πρὸς τὸν
δυνάστην καὶ τὸν
ἐπί τῶν πάντων
τῶν.

things to ~~Wisdom~~, and (as Proclus reporteth) commended thre Gods together in one, as Plato doth. Howsoever the case stand, Aristotle saith, that they fathered all their perfection vpon thre. And Parmenides did set downe Lone as a first beginner; insomuch that in disputing in Plato he leaueth vs there an euident marke of the thre Inbæings or Persons as Plotin noteth; but we shall see it laid foorth more plainly hereafter by Numenius the Pythagorist. Zeno the father of the Stoiks, acknowledged the worde to be God, and also the Spirite of Iupiter. And Alcinous reporteth that Socrates and Plato taught that God is a minde, and that in the same there is a certaine Inshape, which Inshape as in respect of God, is the knowledge which God hath of himselfe; and in respect of the worlde, is the Patterne or Mould thereof; and in respect of it selfe, is berie essence. This in fewe wordes containeth much matter, that is to wit, the one essence which God begetteth by the considering or knowing of himselfe, according to the patterne whereof he hath buylded the worlde. But yet Plato himselfe speaketh more plainly in his Epinomis. Euerie Starre (saith he) keepeth his course according to the order which (ho logos) the Worde hath set, which worde he calleth Most diuine. In his booke of Commonweale he calleth him the begotten Sonne of the Good, most like vnto him in all things, the Good (saith he) being as the Sunne that shineth in the skye, and the begotten Sonne being as the power of the Sunne whereby we see (that is to saye, as the light.) Also in his Epistle to Hermias, Erastus, and Coriscus, he chargeth them with an othe to reade it often, and at the least, two of them together, saying: Call vppon God the Prince of all things, that are and shalbe, and the Lorde the Father of that Prince and of that Cause: of whome if we seeke the knowledge aright, wee haue as much skill as can be giuen to blessed men. Then is there a Lorde and Cause of all things, and mozeouer a Father of the same Lorde. But vnto King Dennis who had asked of him the nature of God, hee setteth downe all the thre persons. The nature of the first (saith he) is to be spoken of in Riddlewise, to the intent that if any mischaunce befall the Letter by Sea or by Land, the reading thereof may be as good as no reading at all. Thus then standeth the case. All things are at commaundement of the King of the whole worlde, and all things are for his sake, and he is the cause of the beautie that is in them: And about the seconde are the seconde things: and about the thirde are the third, and so foorth. Now these (as he himselfe saith) are Riddles to Dennis the Tyrant vnto whome he wrote, and my expounding of them of the thre Inbæings or Persons in the Godhead, is by the consent of all the Platonists, who haue made long Commentaries vpon those wordes, agreeing all in this point, that by these thre things he meaneth the Good, the Vnderstanding, and the Soule of the World.

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And Origene against Celsus alledgeth certaine other places of Plato to the same purpose; the which I leaue, for auoyding of tediousnes. But this doctrine which beeing reuealed from aboue, came from hande to hande vnto Aristotle, who liued about thre hundred yeares afore the comming of Christ (seemeth to haue decayed in him;) who intending to ouerthrowe all the Philosophers that went afore him, corrupted their doctrine diuers wayes. And therewithall he gaue him selfe moze to the seeking and searching of Naturall things, than to the mynding of the Authoꝝ of them. Yet notwithstanding, hee fathereth the cause of all things vpon a certaine Understanding, which hee calleth Noun, that is to saye Wynde, acknowledging the same to be infinite in G D D; and also vpon a free will whereby he dispolet all things; wherevpon in the last Chapter I concluded a second and a third person. Insomuch that in a certaine place hee saith plainly, that G D D is to be honoured according to the number of thre, and that the same is after a sort the Lawe of Nature.

Origen in his 6. booke against Celsus.

In his first booke of Philosophie. Also in his booke of the World. In his first booke of Heauen.

Now, forasmuch as this doctrine is not bred of mans braine; if it be demaunded whence all the Philosophers tooke it; wee shal finde that the Greekes had it from out of Aegypt. Orpheus witnesseth in his Argonauts, that to seeke the Misteries (that is to say the Religion) of the Aegyptians, he went as farre as Memphis, visiting all the Cities vpon the Riuer Nyle.

*Throughout the land of Aegypt I haue gone,
To Memphis and the Cities enerychone
That worship Apis, or be seated by
The Riuer Nyle whose streame doth swell so hy.*

Orpheus in his Argonauts.

Also Pythagoras visited the Aegyptians, Arabians and Chaldeans, yea, and went into Iewry also, and dwelt a long time at Mount Carmel (as Strabo saith;) insomuch that the Priestes of that Countrey shewed Strabo still the iourneyes and walkes of him there. Now, in Aegypt he was the Disciple of one Sonchedie the chiefe Prophet of the Aegyptians, and of one Nazarie an Assyrian (as Alexander reporteth in his booke of Pythagoras discourses) whom some (miscounting the time) thought to be Ezechiel. And Hermippus a Pythagorist writeth that Pythagoras learned many things out of the lawe of Moyses. Also the said Aegyptian Priest vpbayded Solon, that the Greekes were Babes, & knew nothing of Antiquitie. And Solon (as saith Proclus) was Disciple in Says a Citie of Aegypt, to one Patanit, or (as Plutarke saith) to one Sonchis; in Heliopole, to one Oeclapie; & in Sebenitie, to one Erimon. Plato was the Disciple of one Sechnuphis of Heliopole in Aegypt; and Eudoxus the Guidian was the Disciple of one Conuphis; all which Maister teachers issued out of the Schoole of the great Trismegistus afore named.

Cicero. Iamblichus. Porphyrius. Clemens in the first booke of his Stromata. Out of Alexander & Hermippus. Plato in his Timæus. Proclus vpon Timæus. Plutark in his Treatise of Isis & Osyris.

Plato in his
Epinomis,
Cratylus and
Phil.
Iustine & Ma-
nethon alled-
ged by Iose-
phus against
Appion.

Pfalm.1.
Prou.8.
Gen.1.
Esay.53.

Esay. 61.

Pfalm.33.

The Iewes
themselues
do proue the
Trinitie.

Rabbi Simeon
ben Iohai
in Zohar vpo
the 6. of Deut.

R. Simeon
ben Iohai ex-
pounding the
6. of Esay.

To be short, Plato confesseth in many places, that knowledge came to the Greekes by those whom they commonly called the barbarous people. As touching zoroastres and Trismegistus, the one was an Hebrew, and the other an Aegyptian. And at the same time the Hebrewes were conuersant with the Aegyptians, as is to be seene euen in the Heathen Authoꝝ. Whereby it appeareth that the originall fountaine of this doctrine was to be found among them; which is the thing that we haue to proue as now. I meane not to gather hither a great sort of Texts of the Bible, wherein mention is made as well of the second person as of the third, of which sort are these, Thou art my Sonne, this day haue I begotten thee. The Lorde (saith Wisedome) possessed me in the beginning of his wayes; afore the depths was I conceiued, &c. Also concerning the holy Ghost, The Spirite of the Lord walketh vpon the waters. The Spirit of Wisedome is gentle: And it is an ordinarie speech among the Prophetes to say, The Spirit of the Lord was vpon me. And in this next saying are two of them together, or rather all three. The Heauens were spread out by the worde of the Lorde, and all the power of them by the Spirite of his mouth. For they be so alledged and expounded in infinite booke, howbeit that the Iewes at this day doe labour as much as they can, to turne them to another sence.

But let vs see what their own Doctoꝝ haue left vs in expresse words, (for the most part) culled by themselves out of wꝛitten booke, afore that the comming of our Lord Iesus Christ had made the doctrine suspected. In their zohar which is one of their booke of greatest authoritie, Rabbi Simeon, the sonne of Iohai, citeth Rabbi Ibba expounding this text of Deuteronomie, Hearken o Israel, The euerlasting our God is one God. The Hebrewes standeth thus, *Iehonah Echad Iehonah Elohenu*. By the first *Iehonah* which is the peculiar name of God not to be communicated to any other, Rabbi Ibba (saith he) meaneth the Father the Prince of all. By *Elohenu*, that is to say, our God, he meaneth the Sonne the Fountain of all knowledge. And by the second *Iehonah* he meaneth the holy Ghost proceeding from them both, who is the measurer of the voice. And he calleth them One, because he is vndiuidable: and this secrete (saith he) shal not be reuealed afore the comming of the Messias. The same Rabbi Simeon expounding these words of Esay, Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hostes: saith, Holy is the Father, Holy is the Sonne, and Holy is the holy Ghost. In so much that this Authoꝝ who is so mistikall among them, doth in other places call them the Three Mirroꝝ, Lights, and soveraigne Fathers, which haue neither beginning nor end, and are the name and substance to the Roote of all Rootes. And Rabbi Ionathas in many Copies of his Chaldey Paraphrase, saith the same. And therefore no maruell though the Thalmudists of olde time commaunded men to say that

that Verse twice a day, and that some obserue it still at this day. Upon these words of the 50 Psalm, *Elohim Iehouah dibber*, that is to saye, The Lord of Lords the Euerlasting hath spoken: The ordinarie Commentarie saith also, that by the said repetition the Prophet meaneth the three *Middoth* Properties whereby God created the worlde. According whereunto Rabbi Moyses Hadarsan saith, that he created by his word; And Rabbi Simeon sayeth he created by the breath of his mouth. And this saying of the Preacher, That a threefold Corde is not so sone broken, is expounded by the same glose, (I examine not whether filth or no) that the misterie of the Trinitie in the one God is not easie to be expressed. Now these three Properties, (which the Hebrewes call *Panim*, the Greekes *πνευμα*, and we and the Latins call Persons) are betokened by diuers names among the men of olde time, but yet they iumpe all in one, according as they vnderstode them, some more clearly than other some. Some name them the Beginning, the Wisedome, and the Feare or Loue of God: and they say, that this Wisedome is *Meen soph*, as the Cabalists terme it, that is to say, of the infinite and most inward vnderstanding of God, who beholdeth himselfe in himselfe, so so do they expound it, Which is the selfesame thing that I spake of in the former Chapter, namely that God his Sonne or Wisedome by his mynding of himselfe. Other some call him Spirite, Word, and Voyce: as Rabbi Azariell doth in these wordes following. The Spirite bringeth forth the Word and the Voice, but not by opening the Lippes, or by speech of the tongue, or by breathing after the maner of man; And these three be one Spirite, to wit one God, as we read (saith he) in the booke of the creating of man in these tetmes. One Spirit rightly liuing, blessed be he and his name, who liueth for euer and euer, Spirit, Word, and Voyce, that is to say, One holy Ghost and two Spirites of that Spirit. Now this booke of the Creation which he alledgeth, is one Rabbi Abrahams a verie ancient Cabalist; neuerthelesse it is of so great authoritie among them, that they sather it euen vpon the Patriarke Abraham himself. And that which he saith agreeeth wholly to that which we say: for the minde conceiveth the inward speech, and of the minde and of breath proceedeth the voyce. These three (saith Rabbi Hamay) being one, haue such a proportionable respect one towards another, as that the one, the Vniter, and the thing Vnited are but one point, to wit, the Lorde of the whole worlde. Rabbi Isaac vpon the booke of the Creation maketh three nominings, (which he termeth the Loftie one) in the Ensoph, that is to say, in the Infinite, that is to wit, Garland, Wisedome, and vnderstanding. And to betoken them, Rabbi Assee saith that the custome was to marke them in all ages after this manner with three Iods, *Iehonah*, which is as much to say as the Beeer, or He that is.

Psalm 50. and the Midrasch vpo the same.

R. Moyses Hadarsan vpo the 42 of Gen. Midrasch. Coheleth chap. 4.

Rabbi Ishac ben Schola vpon the last verses of the 111. and 112. Psalmes.

R. Azariell in his Commentarie or treatise of Holiness.

Iepher baiges-
srah.

R. Hamay in his Treatise of Speculation.
Hagnij vn
R. Ishac vpon the booke of the Creation.

Cether cohnah binah.
Rabbi Assee

In his booke
intytuled,
Schaguarorah,
what is to say,
The Gate of
Light.

The Epistle of
the Secretes
of R. Nehu-
mia the Sonne
of Hacana.
" This is to be
scene euen in
Saint Math.
chap. i. ver. 10
where the An-
gel saith to
Ioseph, that
Mary was
with child by
the holie
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fore.

To be shott, what diuersitie soener there is in the names, they all agree in the three Inbeings or Persons. And it is no marueil though they could not so wel expresse them as we can now. Rabbi Ioseph the Castilian, hauing learned it out of the auncientest writers, saith thus: The light of the Soule of the Messias, is the liuing God; and the liuing God is the fountaine of the liuing waters: and the Soule of the Messias is the Riuer or Streame of life. And in another place, None but the Messias (saith he) knoweth God fully, because he is the light of God and the light of the Gentiles, and therefore he knoweth God, and God is known by him. Now when as they say, that he knoweth God fully, they graunt him to be God; for who can comprehend God but God himselfe? And it is the selfe same thing which I spake of when I said light of light, and when in coparing the Sonne to the Father, I likened him as a streame to the fountaine, and the Sunne beames to the Sunne. Also we shal see in place conuenient, that by the Soule of the Messias, they meant The Word: and it is a wonderfull thing that all the names of God in Hebrew (sauiug onely the name of his Essence or single being) haue the plurall termination, notwithstanding that they be ioyned with a Verbe of the singular number, (whereof the auncient Iewes do yeld the same reason that we do:) and that a great sort of the Textes of the olde Testament which we alledge for the ppoofe of the Trinitie, are expounded by them in the selfesame sence, howbeit that the Talmudists since the comming of our Lorde Iesus Christ, haue taken great paine to wrest them to another meaning.

Rabbi Iudas Nagid whom they commonly called the Saint and Prophet, speaketh most plainly of all. Wherevpon it is to be vnderstoode, that men were forbidden to vtter the vncommunicable name of God, (that is to wit Iehoua,) saue onely in the daies of attonementmaking: & in stead thereof they were commaunded to vse the name of Twelue letters, for the other afoze mentioned hath but fouer. And being asked what the name of Twelue letters was, he answered that it was Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost. Also being demaunded what the name of Two and fortie letters was; he answered, The Father is God, the Sonne is God, and the holy Ghost is God, three in one, and one in three. * Now then, it was a doctrine receiued from hand to hand in the Scholes of the Iewes, as we see by the long continuance thereof in the succession of their Cabale. And therefore the contention of the Iewes and of the Rabbynes was not (to speake properly) in withstanding the doctrine of the three Persons in the Essence of God; but in the applying thereof, namely to the incarnation of the Word, which in their eye was verie farre vnbeseeming the Diuinitie of God.

Let vs go to Philo the Iewe who wrote in Greeke, and we shall finde him

History:

Philo in the
Allegories of
the law, in his
Bookes of
Dreames, of
Tyllage, of the
ferie sworde,
of the Heire
things : of the
euil that lay-
eth snares for
the good, &c.

Philo in his
bookes con-
cerning the
Heire of Hea-
uenly things.
Of the mode-
stie of women
and of the
word, &c.

Exposition,
that is to say,
as a print
printed in
Waxe.

And vnto whom can that be attributed but vnto God? Again, There are (saith he) Two Speeches or wordes: the one being as an Originall deede, is aboue vs; and the other being as an Exemplification or Copie thereof, is within vs. And Moyses (saith he) calleth the same the Image of God: and this other which is our vnderstanding, he calleth a latter Copie thereof. And the saide first Speech (saith he in his booke of the *Wozd*) is the expresse print or stampe of God, and euerlasting as God him selfe is. And what more saith Saint Iohn, or the Apostle to the Hebrewes? And in all those places, (which are *wozthie* to be read throught out,) he useth S. Iohns owne terme (namely Logos) to signifie the sayd Speech or *Wozde*.

Of the holy Ghost he speaketh more darkly, because the Hebrewes (as we shal see hereafter) aimed chiefly at the *Wozd* or second Person. But it is enough for vs to haue scene, that this fountaine abode sufficiently clere among the Hebrewes, till the comming of Christ (for Philo liued vnder the Emperours Tiberius and Caligula) though the streames thereof were as good as dyed vp among the Gentiles: verily because the Messiah was to be bozne among the Hebrewes, of the belase in whom, this doctrine was to be the groundworke. For as sone as Christ was come into the world, it toke light of him againe, as at the day sunne which inlighteneth not onely the halfe compasse whereon he shineth, but also euen a part of that which seeth him not. For this doctrine was not onely receiued in the Church, but also embraced of al the great Philosophers that came after, notwithstanding that in all other things, they were deadly enemies to the Christians.

The later Py-
thagorians &
Academiks.
Numenius in
his booke of
the Good.
Looke Euse-
bius and Cy-
rillus lib. 8.

The Reader
must vnder-
stand, that by
three Gods
they meane
three Inbe-
ings, as they
themselues
doe clare it.

Numenius, the excellentest of al the Pythagorians (of whom Porphyrie reporteth Plotinus to haue made so great account, that he wrote an hundred bookes of Commentaries vpon him) saith these wordes: He that wil know the first & second God, must well distinguish, and aboue all things he must well settle his minde: and then hauing called vpon God, he may open the treasure of his thoughts. And therefore let vs begin thus. God (I meane the first who is in himselfe,) is single, throughout compacted, & one in himselfe, & in no part diuidable. Also the second & thirde God is one: but yet you must consider, that the first is the Father of him that is the worker of all things. Now ye must vnderstand, that, whereas wee say, the First, Second, & Third Person; it is their maner to say, *the First, Second, & Third God*, which thing you must marke here at once for all the residue following. And whereas he saith that the first of them is the Father, & that he is single, & that they be but one: it is not to be doubted but that he maketh them all one Essence, so as the second holdeth of the first, as the Light holdeth of the Sunne. Again, The first God (saith he) is free from all worke, but the second is the maker which commaundeth

Heauen:

Heauen: and therefore are there two liues, the one from the first, and the other from the second: the one occupied about things subiect to vnderstanding, and the other about things subiect both to vnderstanding and sence. And moreover, by reason of the mouing which goeth afore in the second, there is also a sending which goeth afore in the first: and so there is a certeine ioyntmouing from whence the heathfull order of the World is spred forth vniuersally. Now, whereas he speaketh of mouing, it is after the maner of the Platonists, who, (metaphorically) doe meane, that to be vnderstood or knowen is to moue, and to vnderstand or know is to be moued, because they wanted wordes to expresse these deepe matters. And in the same sence do wee read in the Scripture, that the Sonne is sent of the Father. And againe, God the worker or maker (saith he) is the beginner of Begetting: and God the Good is the beginner of Beeing: and the Second is the liuely expresse of the First, as Begetting is an Image of Beeing. And in another place he saith, That this Worker being the Sonne, is knowen to al men by reason of the creating of the World: but as for the first Spirite, which is the Father, hee is vnknownen vnto them. And surely (considering their maner of speaking) he could not haue said moze plainly, That the Sonne is the Image of the Father, that he hath his being in him, that he is one with him, and that by him the Father made all things. And it is agreeable to that which Proclus witnesseth of him, who reporteth of this Numenius, that he worshipped three Gods; of whom he calleth the first the Father, the seconde the Maker, and the third the Worke proceeding fro them both. Wherein we ought not so much to seeke into the default, as to commend the good that is therein. Besides this, it is good to marke here once for all, that these men which speake vnto vs here of three Gods, are the same which confessed vnto vs heretofore, that there is but onely one G O D. Whereupon it followeth that those three be but three Inbeings or Persons, in one Essence.

Plotinus, who was verie well studied in the booke of Numenius, stepth yet farther into the matter. And first of all, he hath made a Booke expressely and purposely of the three chiefe Inbeings, whereof I will set downe here a certeine brieue Summe. There are (saith he) three chiefe Inbeings, the One or the Good, the Vnderstanding or Wit, & the Soule of the World. And of these three it is not for any man to speak, without praying vnto God, & without settling his mind afore vnto quietnes. And if it be demaunded how one of them begetteth another: it is to be considered that we speake of euerlasting things, & therefore we must not imagine any temporall begetting. For this begetting which wee speake of here, importeth and betokeneth but only cause and order. How cometh it to passe (saith he) that this Vnderstanding is begotten of the One?

Surely

οὐκ ἐστὶν κίνησις.

ὁ δημιουργὸς.

This Plotinus lived vnder the Emperor Galien about the yeare of our Lord 25. or Plotin. En. 5. lib. 1. Of the three soueraigne or chief persons or Inbeings.

ὁ ἰντρενς.
To the inrens the Reader think not any obsecutio in

this or other
that followe he
must remem-
ber that to the
first Inbeing,
(that is to say,
Person) the
Philosophers
give the
names of the
One, the
Minde, the
Good, the Fa-
ther, and the
Begetter: vn-
to the second
person, the
names of
Beere, or he
that is, wit or
vnderstand-
ing, the
Beautiful, &
sometimes
Speech, word,
Reason, wise-
dom, Sonne,
& the begot-
ten: and vnto
the third per-
son, the
names of
Loue, Will,
Power, & the
Soule of the
World: and
sometimes,
the second
world, &c.
In respect of
this Third,
they call the
First the A-
miabie, and in
respect of the
Second, they
call him the
Mynd, as shall
be seene by
examples.

surely it obtaineth not his being by means of any assent, commaunde-
ment, or mouing of the One: but it is a light shed forth euery where,
streaming from the One as brightnesse from the Sunne, and begotten of
the One, howbeit without any moouing of the One. For all things, as
in respect of their continuing of their nature, do necessarily yeeld out of
their owne essence and present power, a certaine nature that dependeth
vpon them, which is a verie Image, and countershape of the power
from whence it proceedeth. As for example. Fire yeeldeth heate, and
Snowe cold: and Herbes yeeld chiefly sents or sauours. And all things
when they be in their perfection, ingender somewhat. That then which
is euerlastingly perfect, doth euerlastingly beget, yea, and it begetteth
a perfect and euerlasting thing, howbeit that the thing begotten is lesse
than the begetter. And what shall wee say then of the most perfect?
That nothing proceeded from him? Nay rather, that the greatest next
him proceedeth of him. Now, the greatest and chiefest next vnto the
One, is the Vnderstanding, the which hath neede alonely of the One,
but the One hath no neede of it. Needes then must it be, that that thing
which is begotten of that which is better than Vnderstanding, must be
the Vnderstanding it selfe. And this Vnderstanding, beeing the verie
Word of G O D and the Image of G O D, beholdeth God, and is vn-
separably ioyned with God, and cannot be separated from him other-
wise than respectiue, for that the one of them is not the other. Verily
after the same manner that we affirme the Father to be one person and
the Sonne another, and yet neither of them both to be any other essence
than the other. But let vs see how God begetteth this Vnderstanding,
this Wit, or this Word. It is (saith he) by the super abundaunce of
himselke. And therefore this begotten Vnderstanding must needs re-
taine much of the begetter in him, and haue almost like resemblance vn-
to him, as the light hath vnto the Sunne, howbeit so as the begetter is not
the verie Vnderstanding it selfe: that is to saye, they must differ respec-
tively and not essentially: which expresseth his former speech where hee
said *eternally* after another manner. And how then shall hee (saith he)
beget him? Euen by a certaine turning backe of the begotten to behold
the begetter, and this beholding is nothing els but the mynding or vn-
derstanding of the good. And like as the One is but One, so the vnder-
standing thereof is all things. For by being bred of the First beginner,
it knoweth all things, and bringeth forth all things that are: namely,
all Beautie of shapes, yea, and all the Goddes that are to bee discer-
ned by insight of Mynde.

These words of his are repeated infinite times, and therefore I will
forebare to rehearse them here any more.

As touching the third Inbeing, whome he calleth the Soule of the
World,

World, thus saith he therefore. Like as the Vnderstanding is the begotten issue, Word and Image of God or of the One: so is the Soule of the Worlde the issue, Worde and Image of the Vnderstanding, and is as a certaine Reason ingendred of the Vnderstanding, the substance whereof consisteth in contemplation: and the same Reason is as the light of the Vnderstanding and dependeth thereupon. And as there is no meane betwene the One, and the Vnderstanding: so is there no meane betwene the Vnderstanding and the Soule of the Worlde: but the difference is onely this, that the one of them is as the verie heate which is in fire it selfe, and the other is as the heate which fire communicateth or imparteth vnto other things (by heating them with his heate.) And that is the same thing which wee affirme when wee saye, That the Holye Ghost proceedeth from the Father by the Sonne, calling him the Gift of God, because that by him (who is his Loue) he vouchsafeth to impart himselfe to vs here beneath. But wee shall discern his meaning yet better by the effects which he attributeth vnto him. This Soule (saith he) hath breathed life into all liuing things in the Ayre, in the Sea, and on the Land. It ruleth the Sunne, the Starres and the Heauen: It hath quickened the Matter which erst was nothing and vtterly full of darknesse: and all this hath it done by the onely will of it selfe. It is all throughout all, like to the Father, as well in that it is but one, as in that it extendeth it selfe into all places. And he concludeth thus: And thus farre extendeth the Godhead. In dede hee speaketh not so distinctly thereof, as Gregorie Nazianzene; but yet forasmuch as he sayth, that they be all three eternall, of one selfesame substance, and differing onely in this, that the one of them is not the other: the same may well be gathered of his sayings. In the residue of his booke he prooueth that the same was the opinion of Plato, Parmenides, and Anaxagoras. And because the inward man (as he termeth it,) is the Image of God: he taketh proofe of the three Inbeings, from the consideration of our Soule, where in there is a Mynde, a Reason and a Life: which three be (notwithstanding) all but one Soule. Neuerthelesse, he expresth the manner of the said begetting in diuers other places. The One (saith he) begetteth the vnderstanding, of the abundance of himselfe. And the vnderstanding is the Beeer, yea and the verie being of the Beeer, (marke those words for all that followeth) and turneth backe againe to him, and is filled with him. And his conclusion is, that the Mynder, the Mynding and the Mynded, are in the Godhead all one thing: and that this Mynding, which is the first and most excellent act of the Godhead, is essentiall, that is to say, the verie substance or being of the Godhead, because that all the actions of the Godhead are of the Godhead or God himself. Now, by the Mynder, he meaneth the One or the First person; and by the Minde or Beeer, hee

Nov.
Another person & not another thing.

Plotin. Enn. 5.
lib. 2. & lib. 3.
Chap. 8. &
Ennead. 3. li. 9.
Cap. ult.
The vnderstanding of the Good.

Plotinus Enn.
5. lib. 2. & lib. 3.
Chap. 5. 6. 7.
11. & lib. 4.
Chap. 2.

Plotin. Enn. 5.
lib. 5. Ch. 3. &
lib. 6. Ch. 1. &
lib. 8. ch. 11. &
Enn. 3. lib. 8.
cap. 7. 8. 10.

Plotin. Enn. 5.
lib. 9. Chap. 1.

meaneth the Second; and consequently, that they be Coessentiall, (that is to say, both one selfe same thing, which is God. Again, * There is (saith he) a double kinde of Mynding: For a man myndeth, either another, or himselfe. Now, he that myndeth himselfe, hath not a seuerall being from that thing which he mindeth; but being both in one, he beholdeth himselfe in himselfe, and so becommeth two parties, which yet notwithstanding be both but one thing still. Now therefore there remaineth no more but to conclude, that the Begetter and the Begotten, the Mynder and the Mynded are both together, and also both one selfesame thing; and that if they be both one selfesame thing, the one of them is not better than the other. Whereupon it followeth, that whereas he saide heretofore that The One is better than the Vnderstanding (which he calleth here the Mynded,) he ment it but in way of relation, and not in way of being. For in another place he sayth againe: He that is the verie Liuing him selfe, is not the Mynded, but wee call him the Mynder. And although they differ one from another, yet notwithstanding it is not possible for them to be disseuered. Onely they may be discerned in vnderstanding, the one fro the other, because the one of them is not the other; which maner of discerning is no impedimēt but that they remaine both one thing still. For onely God is both the partie that is conceived in Mynd or Vnderstanding, & also the partie that conceiueth him. In so much that when wee say, that the Mynder beholdeth the formes or Patternes of things: we meane not that he looketh at them in another, but that he possesseth them in himselfe, by hauing in himselfe the partie that is mynded. Or rather were it amisse to say, that the same which is mynded is the verie Mynder himselfe in his vnitie & settled state: and that the nature of the Mynded which is beheld, is an act that issueth from him that Myndeth, which act consisteth in beholding or mynding him, and in beholding him becometh one selfesame thing with him. Again he saith in another place, To bee and to vnderstand, are both one thing (in God:) and if any thing proceede thereof inwardly, yet is it no whit diminished thereby, because the Mynder & the Mynded are both one same thing. For the beholding of ones selfe in his selfe, is nothing but himselfe. But yet must there needs be alwayes both a selfesamenesse and also anothernesse. Now then, let vs conclude thus; that these two Inbeings or Persons, namely, The Mynded & the Mynder, are both one thing; and therefore that they differ not but only in way of relation: And that forasmuch as there must needs be euer both a selfesamenesse & also anothernesse, (if I may so terme them) the selfesamenesse is in the Essence or being, because that from God there proceedeth nothing but God; and the othernesse is in the Inbeings or Persons, as in respect that the one is the begetter, & the other is the begotten.

Moreover, this Plotinus calleth the begetter the Father, and the begotten the Sonne, after the same maner that we do. Certesse (saith he) the vnderstanding is beautifull, and the most beautifull of all, and therefore in diuers other places he termeth him the Beautifull, (as he termed the first the Good) and sitteth in cleere light and brightnesse, and containeth in him the nature of al things that are. As for this World of ours, although it be beautifull, yet it is scarce an image or shadow of him: but the world that is aboue, is set in the verie light it selfe, where there is nothing that is voide of vnderstanding, nor nothing darke, but euery where is led a most blessed life. Nowe, like as he that beholdeth the skye and the starres, falleth by and by to seeking the author of this World: So he that considereth and commendeth the Worlde that is not to be discerned but in vnderstanding, doth likewise seeke the author thereof, namely who he is that begate that World, and where and how he begate that Sonne, that vnderstanding, that Child so bright & beautifull, euen that Sonne full of the Father. As for the soueraigne father, he is neither the vnderstanding, nor the Sonne, nor the Child, but a Minde higher than Vnderstanding and Child. And next vnto him is the Vnderstanding or Child, who needeth both vnderstanding and nourishment, and is next to him that hath neede of nothing. And yet for all this, the Sonne hath the verie fulnesse of vnderstanding, because he hath it immediatly and at the first hand. But as for him that is the higher (that is to wit the Father:) he hath no neede of him: for then should the Sonne be the verie good it selfe. So say we also that the Sonne hath all fulnesse, howbeit of the Father, and that the Father hath all fulnesse, but of himselfe: and that the Father is not the Sonne or the Worlde, but that the Sonne or the Worlde is of the Father. And in another place he saith, What shall a man haue gained by seeing or beholding God? That he shall haue seen God begetting a Sonne, and in that Sonne all things, and yet holding him still in him without paine after his conceiuing of him, of whom this World (as beautifull as wee see it to be) is but an Image: In which sort a painted Table is after a manner a portraiture of the minde of him that made it. I said moreover that this Sonne is the Wisedome of the Father; the like whereof Plotinus also saith vnto vs. All things (saith he) that are done either by Art or by Nature, are done by Wisedome. If they be done by Arte, from Arte we come to Nature, and of Nature againe we demaund from whence shee hath it: whereby wee finally come to a Minde, and then are wee to seeke whether the Minde haue begotten Wisedome: And if that be graunted, we will inquire yet farther, whereof? And if they say it begetteth it of it selfe: That cannot be, vnlesse the Minde be the verie Wisedome it selfe. Wisedome therefore shalbe the Essence, and the verie Essence shalbe Wisedome, and the worthinesse of the

Plotin. Enn. 6.
lib. 7. ch. 39. &
lib. 7.

The same in
one respect,
& another in
another re-
spect: or, all
one in one re-
spect, and di-
uers in ano-
ther respect.
Plotin. Enn. 5.
lib. 5. ca. 12.

Plotin. Enn. 5.

Plotin. Enn. 7.
lib. 8. Chap. 5.

Now.

the Essence shall be Wisedome. And therefore euery Essence that wanteth Wisedome, is in deede an Essence as in respect that Wisedome made it: but forasmuch as it hath no Wisedome in it selfe, it is no true Essence in deede. Now, the ordinarie teaching of Plotine is, to call the Understanding or second Person the verie Beër in deede, or the verie true Essence; and the first person a thing higher than Understanding or Essence. Whereupon it should folloiw, that with him, Wisedome and true Essence are both one: that is to say, that the second person is Wisedome. To the same purpose also he saith, that the said Minde possesseth all things in his homebred Wisedome: That all shapés are but beames and effects thereof: and that the same is the trueth, yea and King of trueth; which is a name that the Scripture also attributeth to the second person.

Plotin in his
booke of In-
shapés.
Enn.3.lib.9.
Chap.2.

Plotin. Enn.6.
lib.8.8. Chap.
13.15.27.

As touching the third person, whom he calleth the Soule of the world, hee saimeth in his other bookes to lay vs a foundation of a better opinion. For. God(saith he) hath wrought, and he wrought not vnwillingly: and therefore there is a will in GOD. Nowe surely he whose power is answerable to his will, should by and by become the better. God then who is the good it selfe (than the which nothing can be better,) filleth his owne will to the full, so as he is the thing that he listeth to be, and listeth to be that which he is, and his will is his verie Essence. This will againe, is his act or operation, and that act is his verie substance. And so God setteth downe himselfe in this act of Beeing. And this is in a manner all one with the things which I spake in the former Chapter: namely, that God by his will produceth a thirde Person, that is to saye, the loue of him selfe by delighting in himselfe. And in another place, This same God (saith he) is both the louely and loue: and this Loue is the loue of himselfe: for of himselfe and in himselfe is he altogether beautifull. And whereas he is saide to be altogether with himselfe: it coulde not be so, vnlesse that both the thing which is and also the person which is together therewith, were both one selfesame thing. Now, if together Beër, (for I must be faine to vse that worde) and the thing together wherewith he is, be both one: and likewise the desirer and the thing desired be one also: Surely the desire and the Essence must also needes be one selfesame thing. And this desire of the Minde is the Loue it selfe, whom wee call the holy Ghost, which proceedeth by the Will, and so by the foresaid reasons is proued to be Coessentiall. And this desire(saith he in another place) is in the Minde, which alwaies desireth and alwayes possesseth the first. This Loue then proceedeth not alonely from the first person, but also from the second, according to his former teaching concerning the Soule of the World, which is, that it proceedeth from the first person by the second. And thus haue wee the three Persons or

Plotin. Enn.3.
li.8. Chap.10.

Plotin. Enn.3.
lib.9. Chap.1.

Inbeings acknowledged & layd forth by Plotinus, whom I haue alled-
ged somewhat the more at length, because he auoweth it to be a verie
auncient doctrine, and that he had learned it of his predecessors Nume-
nius, Seuerus, Cronius, Gaius, Atticus, Longinus, and Philarchaus, & did
afterward teach it to his Disciples, (who esteemed him as a God,) as we
shall see hereafter in their writings.

Iamblichus saith plainly that God made the World by his diuine
World, but he playeth the Philosopher more profoundly in this behalfe.
The first God (saith he) being afore the Beeër, and alone; is the father of
a first God whom he begetteth, and yet neuerthelesse abideth still in the
solennesse of his vnitie: which thing farre exceedeth all abilitie of vnder-
standing. This is the Originall patterne of him that is called both Father
to himselfe and Sonne to himselfe, and is the Father of one alone, and
God verily good in deede. Nowe, when he saith that he is ffather to
himselfe, and father to a second: therein he distinguisheth the persons.
And whereas he saith that notwithstanding this begetting, yet he aby-
deth one still: he sheweth that there is no separating of the essences.
And he speaketh there after the opinion receiued among the Diuines of
Aegypt.

But let vs heare Porphirie, (to whom Plotinus committed the ouer-
looking of his booke,) the best learned of all the Philosophers, as saith
Saint Austin, and yet neuerthelesse the sworn enimie of Christian folk.
In his Historie of the Philosophers, these are his words: Plato taught
(saith he) that of the Good, (that is to say of the first person) is begot-
ten an vnderstanding, by a manner vnknown to men: and that the same
vnderstanding is all whole next vnto himselfe. In this vnderstanding are
all things that truely are, and all the Essences of all things that haue bee-
ing. It is the first beautifull, and beautifull of it selfe, and hath the grace
of beautie of himselfe, and before all worldes proceeded from God as
from his cause, selfe borne and father of himselfe. And this proceeding of
his, was not, as ye would say, by Gods mouing of himselfe to the beget-
ting of him, but by his owne proceeding of himselfe from God, & by his
issuing of himselfe. I say by proceeding, howbeit not any beginning of
time: (for there was not yet any time,) and time is nothing in compari-
son of him: But this Minde is without time and onely euerlasting. Yet
notwithstanding, as the first God is alwayes one, and alone, although he
haue made all things, because nothing can match or compare with
him: so also is this Vnderstanding or Minde euerlasting, alone, without
time, the time of things that are in time, and yet alwaies abyding in the
vnitie of his owne substance. Of a trueth he could not haue saide more
plainly, that the Sonne is the Sonne eternally, and of the Fathers
owne substance.

Cyril against
Iulian. lib. 8.
Porphyrus in
the life of
Plotinus.
Plotinus a-
gainst the
Gnostiks.
Enn. 2. lib. 9.
Chap. 1.
Iamblichus of
the sect of the
Pythagorists,
and in his
booke of the
Mysteries of
the Aegypti-
ans. Chap. 37.
and 39.

Porphirie in
his 4. booke
of the Philo-
sophers.
Cyril against
Iulian. lib. 1.

Now.

Again,

Cyrrill against
Iulian. li. i.

Porphyrus
in his booke
of the chiefe
fathers, alled-
ged by Pro-
clus.

Proclus in
Platoes Diu-
initie.

Againe, expounding that foresaid so greatly renowned place of Platoes Epistle, The Essence of God (saith he) extendeth euen vnto three Inbeings; For there is the highest God or the good; and next him, the Second, who is the workemaister of all things: and lastly the third, who is Soule of the World: for the Godhead extendeth euen vnto the Soule. And that is the thing that Plato ment in speaking of three Kings: for although all things depend vpon these three: yet is their depending, first vpon the first God, secondly vpon the God that issueth of him, and thirdly vpon the thirde that proceedeth from him. Now, in that he raungeth them in order thus one vnder another: he seemeth to play the Arrian. And yet is that verie much in a Heathen man. But whereas he acknowledgeth one selfesame essence; he sheweth that the diuersitie is onely in the functions, and in the order of causes, which is one steppe beyond the Arrians. Also S. Austin saith that he did put þe thirde person as a meane betwene the other two, after which maner we also do call him the band and vnion of them two, notwithstanding that Plotine do put him vnder the Understanding. But in his booke of the chiefe Fathers or first Authoꝝ of things, Proclus setteth downe his opinion yet moze plainly, saying, that there is an euerlasting or eternall God, and yet notwithstanding, that afoze the same there is a Foreeuerlasting or foꝛmer euerlasting, vnto whom the euerlasting sticketh, because the Foꝛeuerlasting is beyond all: and that in the euerlasting being, there is a second and a third: and that betwene the Foꝛe euerlasting and the Euerlasting, Eternitie resteth in the midst. Now, soasmuch as all Eternities are alike equall, this foꝛenesse and afternesse which are attributed to the persons, is not in respect of time, but (as Plotine saith) in respect of Nature, and (as ye would say) in consideration of cause.

Proclus the Disciple of Iamblichus saith that the auncient Platonists did set downe thre Beginners (whom we call Persons.) Of the which, the first, they called the One, The second (namely the said Understanding) they called the One manie: and (the third, that is to wit) the soule (of the world,) they called the One and many. But it is best foꝛ vs to heare what he himselfe saith. The Essence or vnderstanding (saith he) (foꝛ amōg the Platonists both are one,) is said first of all, to haue his being, of the Good, and to be about the same Good, and to be filled with the light of trueth which proceedeth from it, and to be partaker thereof by the vnion which it hath therewith, and is most diuine, because it dependeth originally vpon the Good. Here ye see now a second person, Light of Light, hauing his fulnesse from the first. And whereas he saith of the first light, that it is most diuine; it is because he knoweth not by what words to expresse the preheminance of the Father. In another place he saith, that this vnderstanding, that is to say the Soule, is be-
come

come One with the God, that is to say, with the Father. And also that by his mindly Inworking he is the very eternitie it selfe, saving that he dependeth vpon the Vnitie, and that he is like vnto the One: and that the Soule or third parson is like to the minde, from whence it proceedeth. But here is yet a moze euident thing. The most part (saith he) doe set downe three beginnings, the Good, the Vnderstanding or the Beër, and the Soule. The first principall and vncommunicable, is the One, who is before and beyond all things. Next vnto him is the one Vnitie, which hath his beginning about the said first substance, and aboundeth by participation of him that is the One first of all. And this Inbeing is more than Substantiall, and the first of all the Inbeings in the Trinitie that is to be conceiued in vnderstanding. And seeing that these two namely the One and the Vnderstanding be in the first ranke of the Trinitie, the first as the Begetter, the second as the begotten, the first as the Perfeetor, the second as the Perfected: there must needes be a meane power betwixt them, whereby and wherewith the one may yeelde being and perfection to the vnderstanding or Beër. For this proceeding of the Beër frō the One, and likewise the turning backe of the Beër vnto the One, is done by a certeine power or might, and so there is a Trinitie, which is the full number of things belonging to a Minde, so as this Trinitie is Vnitie or Onenesse, Power or Might, and Vnderstanding of the Minde. The One is the Producer or yeelder forth, the Vnderstanding is the thing produced or yeelded forth, and the Power or Might depending vpon the One, is also linked to the Vnderstanding or Beër. And this Trinitie is the Vnitie or Onenesse, the Beër or Vnderstanding, and the Behaviour of the both, whereby the Vnitie is the Vnitie of the Vnderstanding, and the Vnderstanding is the vnderstanding of the Vnitie or One. Whereby Plato sheweth that the Father is the Father of the Vnderstanding, and the Vnderstanding is the Sonne of the Father, & that the Might or Power is couertly comprised betweene them both. Now sathly, considering that he was a professedemie to vs Christians, and therefore eschewed to vse our tearmes; he could not haue spoken better, nor haue said moze plainly that the three Inbeings or Persons differ onely by way of relation, so as there is a Father, a Sonne, and a Behaviour of them both, which we would haue called the One, the Union, or the kindnesse of them, that is to wit the holy Ghost.

Amelius the Disciple of Plotine, (as Proclus reporteth) maketh also three kings or three Vnderstandings: namely, the Beër, the Hauer, and the Seër: the first, the reall Vnderstanding the, second the Vnderstanding from the first, and the third the Vnderstanding in the second. Whom Theodorus imitating hath termed them, the substantiall Vnderstanding, the Vnderstandable substance, and the Fountaine of Soules.

Neuerthe

omnibus

E'neidic

tu: n'p'nticā
trinitatē

ἀποφασίζοντες ὅτι τὸ
ἀποφασίζοντες τὸ ὅτι
τὸ ὅτι τὸ ὅτι τὸ ὅτι
τὸ ὅτι τὸ ὅτι τὸ ὅτι
τὸ ὅτι τὸ ὅτι τὸ ὅτι
τὸ ὅτι τὸ ὅτι τὸ ὅτι

Amelius Platonist.

by the Greekes
by the Latines
by the Church
by the Church
Cyril. against
Julian. lib. 8.
Austin in the
Citic of God.
lib. 10.

Neuerthelesse, as great an enemy as Amelius was to the Christians, yet notwithstanding after many floures & fetches about, in the end speaking of the second Person he yieldeth to that which S. Iohn speaketh of him in his Gospell. Surely (saith he) this is the World that was from euertlasting, by whom all things that are, were made, as *Heracitus* supposed. And before God (saith he) it is the verie same Worde which that barbarous fellow (for so did he terme S. Iohn) auoucheth to haue beene with God at the beginning in the ordering and disposing of things when they were confused, and to be God, by whom all things were absolutelie made, and in whom they be liuing and of whom they haue their life and being, and that the same Word cloathing it selfe with mans flesh appeared a Man, and yet left not to shewe the Maiestie of his nature. Inso-much that after he had beene put to death, he tooke his Godheade to him againe, and was verie God as he had beene afore ere he came down into Bodie, Flesh, and Man. Another Platonist speaking to the same effect, said that the beginning of S. Iohns Gospell was woorthie to be graued euerywhere in letters of Gold. Thus ye see that the Greeke Philosophie as wel afore as after the coming of our Lord Iesus Christ, agreeth with our Diuinitie.

The Latin
Philosophers.
Chalcidius
vpon Platons
Timæus.

As touching the Latins, they fel to Philosophie somewhat late: but yet as little as we haue of their doings, they digresse not fro the others. Chalcidius who wrote vpon Platons *Timæus*, hath these wordes: the soueraigne and vnutterable God, is the Originall of all things, next vnto whom is his Providence as a second God, who giueth the lawe aswel for the temporall as for the eternal life. And furthermore, there is a third substance as a second Vnderstanding, which is the keeper of the said eternall Lawe. The highest God commaundeth, the second ordereth, and the third vttereth or publisheth. Now the soules doe the Lawe, and the Lawe is the verie Define it selfe. And a little afore he saith, that the said Providence, which he setteth in the second place, is the euertlasting vnderstanding of God, which is an euertlasting act, and a resembler of his godnesse, because he is alwaies turned towards him that is the very God it selfe. Also Macrobius saith, that Platons opinion concerning the one chiefe God and the one Vnderstanding byed and borne of him, is no fable at all, but a thing certeine, howbeit that he could not otherwise expresse it than by example of the Daysonne and such other things. And surely if we had the booke of Varro, and other great Clerkes, it is possible that we should finde much more to this purpose. Thus then ye see how the Platonists are all of one opinion and minde in the doctrine of the Trinitie, wherein some of them saue more and some lesse, some affirme the premisses whereof our conclusions ensewe, and other some conclude the same expresselie with vs.

Macrobius
vpon the
Dreame of
Scipio.
God & Minde
begotten of
God.

The Aristotelians haue no voice here, because they stand all in commenting vpon Aristotle, who gaue himselfe more to the liberal Artes and the searching of Nature, than to looking vp to God the maker of all things. Yet notwithstanding, Auicen reiected it not: insomuch that he saith that the first Minde yeldeth forth a second Minde, and the second a third, but he waded no deeper into the matter.

Auicen.

Let vs ad here the confessions of the very Deuilles, who either by meanes of the reuelations thereof which haue bene made vnto vs, by reason of their falling from aboue, haue had some knowledge thereof. Soothly it is alwaies a pleasure to heare them yelde record to the trueth euen spight of their harts. We reade that one Thulis reigned in old time in AEgypt, who waxing proude, asked Serapis the chiefe Idoll of the AEgyptians, (aduring him strongly y he should not deceiue him) who he was that had reigned afoze him & who should reigne after him, and also who was mightier or greater than he. To whom Serapis answered in these folow Herfes.

The Oracles of Deuilles Sybill.
 ὅτι τὰ τριῶν
 ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁμοῦ γλυ-
 πῶν πρῶτον ἀπὸ τοῦ
 κατὰ τοῦτο ἡ ἡγε-
 τῆς δὲ τοῦ πρῶ-
 τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦτο.
 Suidas in the life of Thulis.

First God, and next the Word, and then their Spirit;
 Which there be one and ioyne in one all three.
 Their force is endlesse; get thee hence fraile wight,
 The man of life: vnkowne excelleth thee.

Also Apollo being demaunded concerning the true religion, answered in ten verses thus.

Unhappie Priest, demaund not me the last
 And meanest Feend, concerning that diuine
 Begetter, and the deere and onely Sonne
 Of that renowned King, nor of his Spirit
 Containing all thing, plenteously throughout,
 Hilles, Brookes, Sea, Land, Hell, Ayre, and lightsome Fire.
 Now wo is me, for from this house of mine
 That spirit will me drine within a while,
 So as this Temple where mens destenies
 Are now foretold, shall stand all desolate.

Being asked another time (as saith Porphirius,) whether was y better of the Word or the law; he answered likewise in verse, that men ought to beleue in God the begetter, & in the king that was afoze al things, vnder whom quaketh both Heauen & Earth, Sea & Hel, yea and the very Gods themselves, whose Law is the Father y is honored by the Hebrews. And these Oracles were wont to be sung in verse, to the intent yal men should remeber them the better as Plutarch reporteth. Now I haue bin y longer in this chapter, because most mē thinke this doctrine so repugnāt to mans reason, y Philosophy could neuer allow of it, not considering y it is another matter to conceiue a thing, thā to proue or allow it whē it is cōceiued. And

Prophirius as he is elledged by S. Austin in his ninth book of the Citie of God, Cha. 23.

therefoze aswel foꝛ this Chapter, as foꝛ that which went afoze, let vs conclude, both by reason added to Gods reuealing, and by the traces therof in the world, and by the Image thereof shining forth in our selues, & by the Confession of all the auncient Diuines, and by the very dispositions of the Deuilles themselues; that in the onely one Essence oꝛ substance of God, there is a Father, a Sonne, and a holy Ghost; the Father euerslastingly begetting the Sonne, & the Spirit euerslastingly proceeding from them both; the Sonne begotten by the Spinde, and the Spirit proceeding by the Will: which is the thing that we had here to declare. And let this handling of that matter concerning Gods essence be taken as done by way of pꝛeuention, howbeit that it depend most properly vpon the reuelation of our Scriptures, which being pꝛoued will consequently yelde pꝛoofe to this point also. There may bee some perchaunce which will desire yet moze apparant pꝛoofes: but let them consider that we speake of things which surmount both the arguments of Logike and also Demonstration. Foꝛ, inasmuch as Demonstrations are made by the Causes, the Cause of all Causes can haue no Demonstration. But if any be so wilful as to stand in their owne opinion against y^e trueth which all the world pꝛoueth and al Ages acknowledge: let them take the paines to set downe their reasons in writing, and men shall see how they be but either bare Denyalles, oꝛ Celles, oꝛ simple distrusts oꝛ misbeleefes of the things which they vnderstand not, and that they be vnable to wey against so graue and large Reasons and Recordes, as I haue set downe heretofore. And therefoze, the glozy thereof be vnto God. Amen.

The Eight Chapter.

That the World had a beginning.



Et vs now retire backe againe from this bottomlesse gulfe; foꝛ the thing that is vnpossible to be sounded. And seeing that our eyesight cannot abide the brightnesse of so great a light, let it content vs to beholde it in the shadowe. Now, this sensible worlde wherein we dwell, is (as the Platonists terme it) the shadow of the world that is subiect to vnderstanding: foꝛ certesse it cannot be called an Image thereof, no moze than the building of a Baistermason is the Image of his minde. And yet foꝛ all the greatnesse, beautie, and light which

which we se therein, I cannot tel whether the worde shadow do thronghly fit it or no, considering that shadowes haue some measure in respect of their bodies, but betwene finite and infinite is no proportionable resemblance at all. Wee that are here in the world, doe wonder at it, and we would thinke we did amisse if we should beleue that any thing is better or more beautiful than that. For our flesh and complexions are proportioned after the Elements thereof, and to the things it bringeth forth, as our eyes vnto the light thereof, and all our senses to the sensible nature thereof: and those which are of the world seeke but onely to content the sensuality that is in them. But as we haue a Spinde, so also let vs beleue that the same is not without his object or matter to rest vpon. And as the sencelesse things serue the things that haue sence: so let vs make the sensible things to serue the Spinde, and the Spinde it selfe to serue him by whom it is and vnderstandeth. My meaning is, that we should not wonder at the world for the worlds sake it selfe, but rather at the workmaster and author of the world. For it were too manifest a childishnes to wonder at a portraiture made by a Painter, and not to wonder much more at the Painter himselfe.

Now the first consideration that offereth it selfe to the beholder of this worke, is whether it hath had a beginning or no: a question which were perchance vnnecessary in this behalfe, if euery man would consult with his owne Reason, whereunto nothing is more repugnant, than to thinke an eternitie to be in things which we not only perceiue with our senses, but also do see to perish. Howbeit sozasmuch as the world speaketh (saith the Psalmist) both in all Languages and to all Nations: let vs examine it, both whole together, and according to the severall partes thereof. For it may be that the worldlings (if they distrust their owne recorde) will at leastwise admit that which the world it selfe shall depose thereof. Let vs examine the Elements altogether: they passe from one into another; the Earth into Water, the Water into Ayre, and Ayre into Water againe, and so forth. Now this intercourse cannot be made but in time, and time is a measuring of moving, and where measure is, there can be no eternitie. Let vs examine them severally: The Earth hath hir seasons; after Springtime commeth Sommer, after Sommer succedeth Harvest, and after Harvest, followeth Winter. The Sea hath his continuall ebbing and flowing, which goeth increasing and decreasing by certaine measures. Divers Rivers, and especially Nyle, haue their increasings at certaine seasons, and to a certaine measure of Cubits. The Ayre also hath his windes, which doe one while cleare it and another while trouble it: and the same windes doe reigne by turnes, blowing sometime from the East, and sometime from the West; sometime from the North and sometime from the South. And vpon them de-

The world it
selfe telleth vs
that it had a
beginning.

permeth Raine and faire wether, Stormes and Calmes. These inter-
 changes which are wrought by turnes cannot be without beginning.
 For where order is, there is a formernesse and an afternesse, and all
 change is a kinde of moving, insomuch that the alterations which are
 made successively one after another, must of necessitie haue had a begin-
 ning as some point or other; on the Land, by some one of the Seasons,
 on the Sea, by ebbing and flowing; and in the Ayre, by North or by
 South, & so forth. For if they began not at any one point, then could they
 not holde out vnto another point. The Land then by his Seasons, the
 Ayre by his chaunges, and the Sea by his Tides, cease not to cry out and
 to preach vnto all that haue eares to heare, that there is no euermaking-
 nesse in them, but that they haue had a beginning all of them. Againe,
 when we consider that the Earth receiueth his Seasons from the Sunne
 the Sea his Tides from the Moone, and the Ayre his Windes from
 an outward power that is busie: ought we not to seeke the beginning
 thereof aboue and not beneath, without them and not within them, see-
 ing that nothing here below hath moving of it selfe? And if the Ele-
 ments which are accounted for the very grounds & beginnings of things,
 acknowledge a beginning of their movings; ought we not acknowledge
 the same in all other things? Againe, if we consider holwe this Moone
 which maketh the Tides in the Sea, hath no light but from the Sunne
 which maketh the Seasons of the Earth, doe we not conclude by and by,
 that the Seasons of the Earth, and the Tides of the Sea, and the conti-
 nuall chaunges, movings, and (as ye would say) backebreatnings of
 the Elements, haue one common beginning? But it may be that these
 movings haue place but onely vnder the moone, and not in that fifth
 Quintessence of the Heauen; the substantialnesse and eternitie whereof
 Aristotle doth so highly commend. Nay, what if the higher we mount by,
 they proclame their beginning still the lower? What if the thing which
 we most chiefly wonder at in the Heauen, be most repugnant to eterni-
 tie? The Sunne maketh there his naturall course in the Zodiacke be-
 twene the two Tropickes or Turnepointes, so as the Zodiacke is as it
 were his race, & the Tropickes are his vtmost limits, both the which are
 so distinguished by degrees and minutes, that he cannot passe one hea-
 redth beyond them. The points of his two stops are his vtmost bounds,
 the which so soone as he cometh at, by and by he turneth head backe a-
 gaine. Must he not then needs haue had a place to set out from, seeing he
 hath a place whereat to stop? Euery sower and twentie halvers he is
 caried from East to West be the moving of the Skye; and like as by his
 naturall moving he maketh the Sommer and the Winter: so by this vi-
 olent moving he maketh Day & Night. Can such succession of times and
 Seasons be made otherwise than in time, or rather be any other thing
 than

than time: The Moone likewise finisheth her course euery Moone: we see how she chaungeth, groweth, becommeth full, and waneth. Euerie Planet hath his prefixed time and his ordinary course. To be short, men see the rising and the going downe of the Starres, and likewise their appearing and their taryng out of sight: & the very Heauen it selfe which himselfe carrieth al the rest about, doth it not but by mouing. Now whatsoeuer is moued, is moued in time, and al goings or wheelings about, must needs begin at some one point, like as in the drawing of a Circle, the one thanke of the Compasses is set fast in some place, and the other thanke is caried round about. What followeth then, but that the mouing of the Heauen and of all the things which the Heauen beareth and carrieth about, hath had a beginning? When let vs not wonder at the brightnesse and light thereof as Aristotle did; for that belongeth the matter so much the more apparantly in that it hath not that light but by distribution of mouing, nor at his perpetuall mouing, for that sheweth the more his streight seruice whereto he is subiect, nor at his Constancie, for that is necessitie, nor at his huge greatnesse, for he is so much the more hugely bowed downe. Surely the Skye is as the greatcheale of a Cloke, which sheweth the Planets, the signes, the howers, and the Tides, euery one in their time, and which seemeth to be his chiefe wonder, proueth him to be subiect to time, yea and to be the very instrument of time. Now, seeing he is an instrument, there is a worker that putteth him to vse, a Clock-keeper that ruleth him, a Minder that was the first procurer of his mouing. For euery instrument, how moueable so euer it be, is but a dead thing so farre forth as it is but an instrument, if it haue not life and mouing from some other thing than it selfe. Yea, but (will some man say) the Heauen goeth about continually, and in so many worlds & ages as haue bene, we perceiue no alteration at all. Wretched man that thou art! Thy Heart and thy Lights also haue a continual mouing, and neuer lie still, & thou, with all the wit thou hast, canst neither increase it nor restraine it. The Philosophers themselves feele it, but can find no cause of it. The Philosophers ouertire themselves in seeking it, and yet canst thou not tell the ende and the beginning thereof. Doeſt not thou things thy selfe which men as thou art do deeme to be without end, as strange Milles & Trindels, and such other kinde of selfemouings, of whose beginnings not euen Children are ignorant? And yet vnder colour that the great wheele of Heauen hath now of long time turned about without ceasing, wilt thou be so childish or so blind, as to beleelue that it hath turned so from euerlasting? O man, the same workmaister which hath set vp the Clocke of thy hart for halfe a score yeres, hath also set vp this huge engine of thy Skye for certaine thousands of yeres. Great are his Circuits & small are thine, & yet when thou hast accounted the thoroughly, the come both to one.

An obiection.

Let vs come to the things that haue life and sence. The Plants growe forth into bzaunches, and beare both bud and fruite: but yet either the plant springeth of the kernel or of the kernel of the plant, & both of them proceed of a maker. Of liuing wights, some bring forth their yong ones alins and some lay Egges, & we knowe which is ingendred of which: but whether the Egge come of the Hen, or the Hen of the Egge; it must needs be confessed that the one of them had a beginning. But I will leane this vaine disputing whether of them was the first; which question the holy scripture will discusse in one word. Yea and nature it selfe also will discusse it, which requireth to haue the first things brought forth in their perfect being. For it is enough for our purpose, that they may finde themselves conuicted of a beginning throughout all things. And I pray you, if they cannot tell whether the mouing of their Heart or of their Lungs, began first with shutting or with opening, at the thrusting the breath forth, or at the drawing of it in; (whereof notwithstanding they cannot but knowe that there was a beginning:) ought they to be admitted to denie that things had a beginning, because it might be doubted at which point they began?

Man had a
beginning.

Now if Dumb and speechlesse things crie out so lowd, and the things that are void of reason conclude so reasonable; shall onely man whom God hath indued both with speech and reason, be either so vn honest as to hold his peace, or so shamelesse as to resist? Doubtly as touching our bodies, we knowe the beginning of them; and our so curious searching out of Pedegrees, make th vs to confesse it whether wee will or no. And if any thing in the worlde might haue any true pretence or likelyhood to boast of an eternitie, our Soules might doe it, which without mouing themselves doe cause a thousand things to remoue. They mount vp vnto Heauen, and go downe to the deepe, without shifting their place. They worde vp the whole worlde in the storehouse of their memozy, without combering of any roome there. They packe vp all times past present and to come together, without passing from one to another. To be short, they conceiue and contraine all things, and after a sort even themselves also. And yet shall we be so bold as to say they be eternall without beginning? Nay, how can that be, sith we see that they profit and learne, yea and oftentimes also appaie and forget, from age to age, and from daie to daie? How (I say) can that be, sith we see that they passe from ignorance to knowldege, from darknesse to light, from gladnesse to sadnesse, and from hope to dispaire; and that not by yeres, but even in minutes and moments? And (which is moze) we see them receiue great trouble and alteration by and for the things that are mutable and transitorie, which flourisheth in the morning, and are withered and parched as in an Oven at night. Now, to be altered and chaunged, importeth a mouing, and

he that graunteth a moving, graunteth also a beginning. and to be moved by things mutable, sheweth an other great inconstancie which is a thing too contrary vnto eternitie. To be short, how can that thing be eternall or everlasting, which cannot so much as by any imagination resemble ought that this word eternitie betokeneth? And yet this soule of ours is the thing which in man ioyneth Heauen and Earth together, maketh the chaunges in thinges aboue, and for the most part worketh them in the thinges beneath, carying vp a handfull of dust aboue the skies, and after a sort bringing downe Heauen and Earth. Much more reason then is it that neither that in the Heauen nor in the Earth, nor in all the Harmony of the whole world which we so greatly wonder at, there shoulde not be any approaching of all vnto eternitie.

Some man perchance will say vnto me, that in the partes of the world there is no eternitie, but yet there may be in the whole. Say, how can a whole be eternall, which is composed of brittle and temporal parts? And what call they the whole, but the huge frame of Heauen, whose moving proueth that it had a beginning? Againe, some other perhaps say, there is a beginning of moving in the world, as well in the whole as in the parts thereof, but yet it doth not therefore follow, that it had beginning and being. Say, if the being thereof was everlastingly afore the moving thereof, could it be called Latine Mundus and in Greke Cosmos that is to say, A goodly or beautifull order, seeing that for the most part, Order dependeth vpon moving? For, take from the Heauens their turning about, and from the Sunne his course, and set them fast in some place where you list, and you shall make the one halfe of the Earth blind, and the whole Earth either scorched with his continuall presence, or desert and uninhabitable by his absence: and ye shall make the Sea for the most part unsaileable, & the Ayre vnfruitful or vntemperate. Therefore it will follow at the least, that the world hath not bene inhabited everlastingly, nor the Plants thereof bene equal, nor the living creatures (no not euen mankind) bene without beginning. Surely I wot not what eies the Philosophers had, who had leuer to eternise the Stones, Rocks, and Mountaines, than themselves for inhome those thinges were made. And againe, to what purpose serued the Sunne & the Moone at that time? wherefore serued Ayre, wherefore serued Sea, when nothing did yet liue, see, and breathe? It remaineth then that afore moving, it was but a confused heape, masse or lump of thinges without shape, and that in proceesse of time (as some say) a certaine Soule wound it selfe vnto it, and gaue shape to that bodie, and afterwards life, moving and sence to the partes thereof, according as he had made euery of them capable to receiue: in so much that the world is nothing els but that confused heape now orderly disposed, indued with soule and life, so as of that soule and confused lump together.

An obiection.

together, there is now made one perfect living wight. A proper imagination surely, and mete for a very Beast, to father his so orderly essence upon the shapelesse of a Chaos, that is to say, of confusenesse removed away, rather than upon the wisdom and power of a quickning Spirit. But seeing that this Chaos could not receive either shape or order, but by the said Soule, if they be both eternall, how met they together in one point, being of so contrary natures, the one to shape and the other to be shaped? If it were by adventure, how did that Soule by adventure so set things in order, and how happeneth it that it hath not since that time put them out of order againe? Or if it were by advise, of whom should that advise be but of a superiour? And who is that superiour, but God? Again, either this soule was tied really & in very deede to this bodie of the world from all eternitie, or els it did but onely pearce through it by his power, as seemed best of the owne freewill. If it were tied, specially to such a confused masse, by whom but by force of a higher power? And then what els could that confused Chaos be to him, but an everlasting grave? And what els also were that to say, that then the said Chaos was as a shapelesse Childe yet newly begotten and scarce set together in the mothers wombe, which within a few daies after, by the infusion of a Soule beginneth to have shape, moving and sence, and after ward in his due time is borne, and being grown up decayeth againe, and so endeth, as our bodies doe? Or if a soule pearced into it and went through it by a free will and power, let us not strine about termes, for a Soule is so named in respect of a bodie whereto it is tied) the same is the living God, who at his pleasure gave it both shape, life, and moving. But I will shew hereafter, that he not onely gave the world his shape, but also created the very matter stuffe and substance thereof. But it sufficeth me at this time to wrest from them, that he is the maker & shaper thereof.

The linke
of things to-
gether.

Let us yet more clearly set forth the originall of the world. I aske what the world is of it selfe? If it move not, it forgeth both his order and his beantie, as I saide afore. And if it move, it sheweth it selfe incapable of eternitie, but there is yet more. These lower spaces of the world are the harbrough of living creatures, and specially of man, who knoweth how to take benefite thereof. The temperatenesse of the aire serveth for him, and yet the aire can not be tempered nor the Earth lighted, without the Sonne and the Moone: neither can the Sonne and the Moone give light and temperatenesse without moving. The Moone hath no light but of the Sonne, neither can the Sonne yelde it either to the Moone or to the Earth, but by the moving of the Heauen: and the great Compasse of the Heauen going about, is the very thing which we call the world, not esteeming these lower partes (as in respect of their matter) other wise than the bezegges of the whole. And whereas the Ele-

ments,

mentes serue man, and the Planets serue the Elements; yea and the Planets them selues serue one another: doe they not shewe that they be one for another? And if they be one for another, is not one of them in consideration afoze another, as the ende afoze the things that tend vnto the end, according to this common rule, that the Minde beginneth his worke at the end thereof? Now then, if the turning about of the Heauen serue to the Planets, and they to yelde light to the Earth, and to al things thereon: doth it not serue for the Earth? And if it serue the Earth, I pray you is that done by appointment of the Earth, or rather by appointment of some one that commaundeth both Heauen & Earth? Again, seeing that the end is in consideration afoze the things that tend therto: shal this consideration be in the things themselves, or rather in some Spirit that ordereth them? Soothly, in the things themselves it cannot be: for if they haue vnderstanding, they haue also will, and the wil intendeth rather to commaund than to obey, and vnto freedom rather than bondage: and if they haue no vnderstanding, then knowe they neither end nor beginning. Moreover, for as much as they be diuers, and of contrary natures, they should aime at diuers ends, whereas now they aime all a one end. Nay, which more is, how should the Sunne and the Moone, the Heauen and the Earth haue met euerlastingly in matching in their dealings so iumpe together, the one in giuing light, and the other in taking it? In what point, by what couenant, and vnder what date was this done, seeing it dependeth altogether vpon mouing, which is not to be done but in time? It remaineth then, that the said consideration was done by a Spirit that commaundeth all things alike, and that he putteth them in subiection one to another as seemeth best to himselfe, for as much as he is mightie to keepe them in obedience, and wile to guide them to their peculiar ends, and all their ends vnto his owne ende, and he that thinketh otherwise thinketh that a Lute is in tune of it owne accord. Or if he say that this spirit is a Soule inclosed in the whole, he doth fondlie incorporate the Spirit of the Luteplayer in the Lute it selfe, and likewise the builder in the building. In effect it is al one as if a Child that is borne and brought vp in a house, should thinke the house to be eternall or else made of it selfe, because he had not seene it made: or as if a man y had ben cast out newly borne in a desert land, & there nursed vp by a Wolfe as Romulus was, should imagine himselfe to be bred out of the Earth in one night like a Pusborne. For to beleue that the World is eternall, and that the race of Mankinde is bred of it selfe without a maker, is all one thing, and springing both of one error. Doe not the two Sexes of Male and Female in all liuing things ouerthow y said eternitie? For how should they be euerlastingly the one for the other, seeing they be so diuers? Again, haue they bin euerlastingly but two, or euerlastingly mo than two?

The inworking of the Minde beginneth at the end.

yt but two, where are those two becom, seeing that eternitie impos-
seth immortality, and a beginninglesse forebeing from everlasting in-
ferreth an endlesse afterbeing or continuance to everlasting? And if they
were many: see ye not still the selfesame absurdities? And if ye say they
be made everlasting by succession of time; what (I pray you is death)
but a token that they were bozne? What is life (I speake of this our
life) but a continuance of death: and what is succession, but a prolong-
ing of time? Thus then ye see how y^e aswell by the parts of the World,
and by the whole World it selfe, as also by the agreement of the whole
with his parts, and of the parts among themselves; we be evidently
taught that the frame of the World had both a workemaister and a be-
ginning. But now some man will aske vs when it began: And that
is the point which we haue to treat of next.



The Eight Chapter.

When the World had a beginning



Dothly, it is not for me to stand here disput-
ing the doubts of the Accounters of times
of the ods of some peres, yea or of some
whole hundreds of peres; is not to be ac-
counted of betwene eternitie and a begin-
ning. But if we haue an eye to the procé-
ding of this lower World: we shal evident-
ly perceiue, that like a Child it hath had his
ages, his changes, & his full points, restes
or stoppes; so as it hath by little and litle
growne, bene peopled, and replenished,
and that (to be short) whereas the world supposeth that it shall indure
for ever, it doth but resemble an old Dotard, which (be he neuer so for-
worne & dropping for age,) yet thinkes himselfe stil to haue one yere more
to liue. But I haue already sufficiently proued, that both Heauen and
Earth haue had a beginning; and also that seeing the one of them is for
the other, they had the same at one selfesame time, and both of them from
one selfesame ground. And therefore looke what shal be declared of the
earth, shall also be declared of the heauen: and soasmuch as the earth
serueth for the vse of liuing creatures, and speecalls of man; looke what
beginning

beginning we shall proue of man, the like shall we haue proued of the disposition of the earth. For to what purpose were the Heauen being in-
bowed about these lower parts like a Vault; or to what purpose were
the earth being as a floze or placher to go vpon, if there were no in-
habiter at all vpon earth? Surely if the worlde were without begin-
ning, it shoulde haue bene inhabited from without beginning, and no
people shoulde be of moze antiquitie than other: Or at leastwise how an-
cient so euer it were, yet shoulde no new thing be founde therein. But if
euen the oldest and auncientest things of all, be but newe; ought it not
to be a sure argument vnto vs, of the newnesse thereof? What thing I
pray you can we picke out in this worlde, for an example of antiquity?

Let vs begin at the liberall Sciences, and we shall reade of the first
commings vp of them all. Philosophie, which consisteth in the searching
out of naturall things, is of so late continuance, that afoze the time of
Pythagoras, the very name thereof was not knowne. The Romaines
counted it for folly long time after that. And Lucrece the Epicure sing-
geth in his time, that the nature of things was found out but late afoze.
Also Seneca who came long after him, saith that from the first coming
vp of Philosophie to his time, there were not full a thousand yeares. So-
crates is said to haue bene the first that brought it from studie to practise
drawing it (as they said) from Heauen to Earth, and from Cities to hou-
ses and persons: that is to say, by teachin gmen to knowe themselves &
to gouerne both themselves and others. And that is not aboue two thou-
sand yeeres agoe at the most: For he was since the time of Esdras,
who is the last Historiographer of the Bible. And whatsoeuer knowledge
they had thereof, they had it (as I said afoze) from the AEgyptians, and
the AEgyptians had it from the Hebrewes and Chaldeans. For Pythago-
ras learned his skill of Gonchedie, and of the Iewes, plato, of Sechnuphis,
Eudoxus, of Conuphis, and all they, of the Disciples of Trismegestus, and
Trismegestus, (as appeareth by his booke) learned of Moyses. To be
short, Clearchus the Peripateticke saith, he saw the Iew of whom Ari-
stotle himselfe learned his Philosophie. Also Iamblicus maketh mention
of Metcuries Pillers, wherein Pythagoras & Plato had red his Doctrine:
And Porphyrius witnesseth that all the Philosophie of the Greekes which
they boast of with so many wordes, came vp at the least a thousand yeres
after Moyses. Now if the studie of wisdom be so late in the worlde, how
late is wisdom it selfe: And if Greece were so late ward therein, where
shall the antiquitie thereof be found among the Gentiles?

Some man will say that inasmuch as Socrates drew men from
Heauen to Earth, Astrologie ought to be of moze antiquitie: and I wil-
lingly agree thereto: for when a man looketh vp to Heauen, he setteth his
first thoughts vpon that place. But how many yeeres shall we gaine by
that?

The Originall
of Sciences.

Lucr: Carus:

This nature &

reason of

things was

lately found

out, and I my

selfe was one

of the first

that did stum-

ble vpon it, &

am able to

turne it into

my native lan-

guage.

And Persius

saith, It came

hither after

the time that

my Country-

men began to

tast of Peper

and Dates.

Austin. lib. 18.

of the Citie of

God, Cha. 37.

Cicero: Iam-

blichus: Por-

phyrius.

Orpheus in

his Argonauts.

Proclus vpon

Tuneus.

Plutark in his

Isis and Osiris.

Iamblichus in

his booke of

Myteries.

Chap. 1.

Clemens Ale-

xandrin. in his

booke of Strom-

ats alledg-

ing Alexander.

Hermippus,

& Clearchus.

Porphyrius.

alledged

by Eusebius.

lib. 11.

Laertius in
the life of
Thales.
Thales in his
Epistle to Phe-
recides in
Clemens A-
lexand.
Plinie.lib.5.6.

Plinie.lib.2.
Plutark in the
life of Nicetas
Quintilian.
lib.1.

Censorius co-
cerning Chri-
stes birthday.
Cap.9.
Varro.
Arithmetik &
Geomeiry.
Plato in his
Epinomis.

The Originall
of Crafts, Tra-
des and Arts.

that : If Thales were the first that taught it to the Greekes, (as they themselves say:) we know both by the very Greeke authoꝝ and by Thales himselfe, that he had it of the Aegyptians, and the Aegyptians of the Chaldeans, who are in very deepe the authoꝝ thereof, insomuch that the word Chaldean is ordinarily put for an Astrologer. And if we say with Plinie, that Iupiter Belus was the Authoꝝ thereof; if the same Belus was the first of that name, then was it about the time of Abraham. And if the Phenicians were the founders thereof, as it is said in another place: what were they els but the Hebrewes? Again I pray you what was the Astrologie of those folke? By the report of Plinie Thales was the first among the Greekes, & Sulpitius Gallus among the Romaines that obserued the Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone. Insomuch that their Armies (as Plutarch & Quintilian report) were dismayed at the sight of them, so as the one of them did let passe the next three daies, and the other let passe all the rest of that Moone, ere they durst enterprise or go in hand with any thing. Nay it was counted high Treason towards God to alledge any naturall cause thereof. Anaxagoras was put in Prison for it, and Pericles had much adoe to get him released. Protagoras was banished Athens for it, and the Mathematicals were utterly condemned for it. And what more do the sauagest people of the world our poore Americans? It was attributed vnto Thales, that he was the first that obserued the North Starre, and so Pythagoras, that the morning Starre and the evening Starre be both one, & that the Zodiacke goes a Skie, and girdeth the World about like a Circle: and vnto Solon (as saith Proclus) that the Moone finisheth her course in thirtie daies. Afterward came Archimedes, who gathered the obseruations of many things, and thereof made the Sphere. Yet notwithstanding, all these are but little entraunces, for the great Speculation of the Planets came long time after. What shall we say to this, that the very account of the yere was vncertaine and confused in the cuntry of Europe, vntill the time of Iulius Cæsar, and so remaineth still vnto this day in the greater halfe of the world? Insomuch that vntill a three hundred yeares afoze the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, the Greekes and Romaines had not yet any Quadrant, nor any other Clocke, Diall, or distinction of howres.

As Touching Arithmetike and Geometrie, which were taught so precisely vnto Children in Platons time, it is well knowen that the authoꝝ of the notablest grounds of those artes are Pythagoras, Eudoxus, and Euclides (who gathered them out of the writers of olde time) and certeine others. And they which father the finding of them vpo Trismegistus could not haue led vs more directly vnto Moyse.

But forasmuch as man is naturally more carefull of his health and commodity, than curious of the Starres, it may be that his Trades, Crafts

Craftes and Artes, are of more antiquitie than his Sciences. Surely as touching handicrafts, Varro a great searcher of antiquities witnesseth, that al the Handicrafts were inuented within y space of a thousand yeres reckened backe fro his time. And let not the Crakes brag any more, for euen in their Histories we finde the first inuention of finding out of fire, which is the ground and beginning (if I may so terme it) of the most part of Handicrafts. And soasmuch as there are which haue written particularly of the finding out of euery of them: I sende the Reader vnto them.

But let vs speake of Leachcraft which containeth Physicke and Surgerie, the art which is so necessarie for all mankinde. Doe we not see how it breedeth, and from day to day groweth and increaseth of sicknesses and Woundes, yea and euen of the death of men: Diodorus attributeth it to the Aegyptians, and Moyses in Genesis maketh some mention of Pharaohs Whistions. Others doe father it vpon Esculapius, and some vpon Arabas the sonne of Apollo: but what maner of Physicke was that? If we follow the wordes of Moyses, they were rather Imbalmers of Dead bodies, than Whistions of sicke persons. And Esculapius (as saith Cicero) was esteemed as a God for teaching to pull out Teeth, and to lozen the Belly. Also Podalirius and Machaon his Successors, medled not but with outwarde Cures. To be shorte, Herodotus, saith, that one was a Leache for the Eye, another for the Head, and the third for the fete, and that when they were at their wits ende, they laide the diseased person in a place of resort, to trie there vpon him the receit of whosoener came first: and that was a kinde of Leachcraft, which as yet had neither Head nor Taile. Also the brute beasts taught men diuers herbes and remedies by little and little, and some men did put them in proof vpon others, vnto the which herbes they left their names; insonmuch that in the ende one Hippocrates and certeine others made a collection of all those things, and so of many mens experiences was made an arte, and that Arte hath bene enriched from time to time, and more peraduenture in our age than euer it was before. Howsoeuer the case stand, it is certeine that the first Whistion that was seene in Rome was one Archagatus, who about a sixscore yeres afore the comming of Christ, in the Consulship of Lucius Aemilius Paulus, & Marcus Liuius, was made free of the Citie; after whom diuers other Greeke Whistions came thither by heapes, but they were by and by driuen away againe by Cato the Censor, as Hangmen or Tormenters sent by the Greekes to murder the Barbarians (for so did the Greekes call all other Nations besides themselves) rather than the Whistions to heale the diseased: and that was, because that in al cases without discretion, they vled launcing and searing to all Sores. Now sith we see the Sciences and Artes growe after.

Varro in his fifth booke & first Chapter of Husbandry

Leachcraft which comprehendeth Physicke and Surgerie.

Cicero in his booke of the nature of the Gods.
Herodotus lib.

ter that maner from Obseruation to Obseruation, and from Principlie, to principie, and to be so newly come by among the Nations of greatest renowne and learning, that we doubt to conclude that it was so among the ruder nations likewise?

The originall
of gouernmēt

Aulus Gelius
lib. 20. Cap. 1.
& lib. 17.
Cap. 21.
Pomponius of
the first com-
ming vp of
the Lawe.

Plutarke in
the liues of
Solon and Ly-
curgus, and in
his treatise of
Isis & Osyris.
Iustine the
Martyr alled-
geth Diodo-
rus in his ex-
hortation.
Iosephus a-
gainst Appion

Let vs come to Lawes, for euen the barbarousest people had of them: and it may be that seeing man is bozne to societie and fellowship, they had greater care to set an order among themselves by good lawes, than to marke the order of the Skyes or the disposition of their owne bodies. But both not the Lawe written, leade vs forthwith to the Lawe vnwritten? And doe not the greate volumes of Lawes which we turne ouer now adaies, leade vs to the peeces of Trebonian, and Trebonian, to Scacuolaes and Affricanes; and these againe to the Lawes of the Twelue Tables? And I pray you what els, be the twelue Tables, but the infancy of the Romaine Lawes, which being very simple rudiments of Ciuill gouernment, like those which are to be found at this day among y^e most barbarous Nations, we thzough a foolish zeale of antiquitie do wonder at in the ancient Romaines, and dispise them in the auncient Almaines, Thuringians, Burgonions, Salians, and Ripuaries? who notwithstanding had them farre better than the Romaines? But what antiquitie can be said to be in them, seeing their continuance hath not bene past a fower hundred yeares afoze the comming of Christ, as y^e Romaine Histories themselves informe vs? Againe, doe not the twelue Tables send vs backe to the Grecians? And of whom had the Greekes them, but of Draco and Solon as in respect of the Athenians, who liued in the time of Cyrus King of Persia, and of Lycurgus as in respect of the Lacedemonians, who liued about the end of the Emperre of Assiria? And what els is at this huge Depth of Antiquitie whereof the Greekes make so great boast, but late newnesse among the Iewes? Moreover Plutarke saith y^e Solon and Lycurgus had bene in AEgypt to seeke Lawes, and that there for all their bragging of antiquitie, they were skoyned as yong Chilozen. The AEgyptians also had their Lawes of Mercury, and Mercury doubtlesse had them from the Waterne of Moyse, whome Diodorus witnesseth to haue bene the first Lawe maker of all. To be short, what shall we say, seeing that (as Iosephus noteth against Appion) the very name of Lawe was vnknewne among the Greekes in the time of Homer?

But it may be that there haue bene Kings time without minde: for they were as a liuing Lawe, and their determinations were turned in to Lawes. Let vs marke then, that from the great Monarches we come to the Kings of seuerall Nations, and from them to vnderkings of Provinces and of Shires, and afterwards to Kings of Townes, Cities, and Villages, and finally to Kings of Households which were the Fathers and Maisters of houses, and were the eldest or auncientest of them, and these

these do sende vs to the one common stocke (that is to saye, the one common beginning) of them all. And when was that? Surely Iustine the Historiographer witnesseth, that the Kings which were afore Ninus King of the Assyrians, were but particular Judges of controuersies which rose betwene folke of any one Towne, or Citie, or Householde, and that the said Ninus was the first King of whome any Historiographers haue written. And Herodotus saith that the Aegyptians had the first Kings. And he that will mount by any higher, must do it by the holy Scripture. which teacheth vs that Nembrod was the first that brake the saide fatherly order of Householdgouernement, wherein euery father raigned ouer those that descended of him, without any other prerogative than of age, which sort of Gouernours Manetho called Shepherdkings, saying that they had bene a thousand yeares afore the warres of Troy. For as for the Greekes and Romanes, either they were not as yet at all, or els surely they liued with Acoynes like the People whome wee at this daye call Sauages.

But let vs see if at least wise the Gods of the Heathen haue any antiquitie: for in asmuch as the essentiall shape of man is to acknowledge a certeine Godhead, it is likely that nothing should be of greater antiquitie than that. And in verie deepe Rations haue bene founde both without Lawes and without Kings: but without Gods and without some sort of Religion, there was neuer any found. But what shall wee say if men haue bene borne afore Gods, yea, and also do liue still after them? Let vs not buzie our braynes about the first comming by of the petigods as wel of the Romanes as of the Greekes, who had moe of them than they had of Shyres, Cities, Townes, and Houses; nor yet about their Bedegrasses which are sufficiently described by their owne seruers and worshippers the Idolaters themselves: but let vs go to the verie roote of them. What is to be said of the first Saturne, who is called the father of them all? Of what time is he? Soothly, if wee beleue the notablest Story writers among the Greekes, and the Epitaph of Osyris reported by Diodorus the Sicilian Saturne, (I meane not the Saturne of the Greekes, but the auncientest of all the Saturnes) is none other than Cham the sonne of Noe, neither is Osyris any other than Misraim the youngest sonne of Cham. And those which would make Saturne auncientest, say he was but Noe himselfe. I forbear to say what Berosus and others of the like stamp report of him, because I holde them for fabling and forged authoys. As touching Iupiter, if ye meane him that was surnamed Belus, that is to say Ball or Maister; he was the Sonne of Nembrod, which Nembrod was also called Saturne, which was a common name to the auncientest persons of great Houses. And if he were that Iupiter which was surnamed Chammon, or Hammon; he was the same

Iustine in his first booke.

Plin. lib. 7.
Herodotus lib. 2.

Manetho cited by Iosephus against Appian.

The originall of the Heathen Gods.

Cham or Chamases the Sonne of Noe, which was worshipped in Lybya: for it is certaine that he toke his iourney thither. For as for Iupiter of Crete or Candy, and Saturne his Father, which were worshipped among the Greekes after the example of the other Iupiter & Saturne which were of farre moze antiquitie: they were but a little while afoze the warres of Troy, and long after the time of Moyles. What manner of antiquitie then is that, which passeth not the space of thre thousande yeeres? And should the Greekes haue come by the knowledge thereof, if it had not bene written by others than themselues? But this point shall be handled moze at large in another place.

Traffike of
Merchandise,
and bargai-
ning, buying
and selling.

Naugation.
Plinie.lib. 7.

Strabo.lib. 16.

Tibullus Ele-
gia. 7.

That is to
say, the land
of Canaan.
Berofus alled-
ged by Iose-
phus against
Appion.

Feeding.

What shall we say of Trafficke betweene Nations, and of bargayning betwene man and man, seeing that from Coyne of golde wee must come to Coyne of siluer, from Coyne of siluer to Coyne of brasse, & from Coyne of brasse to Coyne of yron, yea euen among the Romanes themselues? And againe, from Honey stamped and coyned, to Honey by weight and measure without stamp, from weight to exchange of wares and of one thing for another, and from exchange to that blessed common-nesse of all things which was in the first ages of the world? Nay, the greater halfe of the world continueth still the said exchange, euen vnto this day; and some Nations had neuer any skill thereof as yet, if the Nauigations of our time had not taught it them. And as for Nauigation it selfe, which is as the sinewes of Trafficke and Marchandise; if we beleue Plinie, the first Ship that euer was let a floate, was vpon the red Sea; and the first Ship that euer came into Greece, came from the Coast of Aegypt. And if wee credite Strabo; the Tyrians were the first that excelled in Nauigation, insomuch that some men make them the first authoers thereof. For, as touching the Nauigations of Vlisses, they passed not out of the Midland Sea. And what els was it (if it were a true Storie) but a floating of a Mesell at the pleasure of the winde, without keeping of any certaine course or direction? For it is certaine that the voyage which he had to make, is ordinarily done nowadayes in lesse than sixe or seuen dayes. And both all this leade vs any further than to that little Countrey which on the one side is *bounded with Aegypt, and on the other side with the red Sea? And do not the Stories of that Countrey direct vs to the Arke of Noe? For what els was that Arke but a Ship, as the true Berofus doth in dede call it? And whereas Moyles telleth vs that anon after the flood, such and such of Noes offspring inhabited the Isles; is it not asmuch to say, as that the example of the Arke had imboldened them to venture vpon the Sea?

But soasmuch as Trafficke seemeth to serue for liuing wealthily, and simple liuing went afoze liuing wealthily: I pray you how long is it agoe (may we thinke) since men liued by Aceznes? From the delicacies

of

of Apicius, wee come to honest household fare; and from such household fare, to poore labouring mans fare: that is to saye, from deintinesse to thristinesse, and so forth from thristinesse to brutishnesse, as such time as men wayted for the falling of Acornes and Mast from the Trees like Swine. To be short, from Cities and Townes, we come to houses dispersed; from houses, to Sheds; from Sheds to Tents; & from Tents to the life of the people called the Nomads or Grazyers. I meane not here the Americans, nor yet the barbarous people of olde time; but euen the verie Greekes and Romanes themselves? Wee knowe the first finding out of Corne, of Beale, and of Bloughes. If it were Trip-
 tolemus, who taught it to the Greekes; he was the sonne of Ceres; Or if it were Ceres; it was the Goddesse of Aegypt the wife of Osyris. And what was this Osyris (to speake of his most antiquitie,) but Misraim the graundchild of Noe? Plinie sayth that afore the Persian warres, there was no common Baker in Rome. The first Cherries that came in Rome, were brought thither by Lucullus. When the Galles came in to Italy, there were no Wynes in all Gallia: insomuch that the worde which signifieth Wine as well in Greeke as in Latine, is strange to them both, and is borrowed of the Hebrewew worde *Lain*. The Earth hath bene manured by little and little, and euen yet it is scarcely halfe inhabited. And at one word, our deifying of the first founders of Corne, of Wine, of Tillage, of Sewell, and of Baking, as of personages of great account aboue vs all; both wel conuince vs of our former rudenes. And yet wee mock at the sillie barbarous people (of the newfound lands) for terming vs folke falne from Heauen, when they see our great Ships: whereas notwithstanding it is not yet full two thousand yeares agoe, since we were worse than they.

Plinie.li.7 &
 Diodorus.lib.
 1.2.6.

But we should not haue knowne those things (will some man saye) unlesse they had bene put in writing: and therefore Histories are of more antiquitie than all the things that wee haue spoken of. Be it so. But yet let vs repaire from the Histories of the Romanes to the verely Registers of their Highpriests, and we shall finde that the Romane writers are of much latter time than the Greekes, and the Greekes of much later time than the Babylonians. For their greatest antiquitie is but fro the reigne of the Persians. And Phericydes the Assyrian, whom they report to haue bin the first that wrote in prose, was welneer eight hundred yerres after Moyles. The Romane Historie flourished not, untill such time as their Commonweale began to drowpe: and the beginning thereof is nothing els but a Musterbooke of names, & a recounting of Sheldes fallen from heauen, and of Launces trimmed with flowers. The Greeke Histories began at the Empire of the Persians: And Plutarke (who was a diligent searcher thereof,) sayth expressely that beyond Thebes, the
 I 2 Countrie

The first coming vp of Histories.

Plinie.lib.7.
 Apuleius in his florishes.

Plutarke in the life of Theus.

Censorinus.

Varro in his
third booke
of Husbandry
ynto Pro.Diodorus.
lib. 3.Clemens A-
lexandr. in his
first booke of
Strom.

Countre was nothing but **Snow**, and a wast **Wilbernelle** vnappoche-
ble, a frozen Seacoast, or scorched Countreies, such as men paint in the
uttermost partes of **Happes**, that is to say, either vaine fables or darke
ignorance. And yet for all this, what els is the life of Theseus than an
heape of fond fables, or what euidentnesse or certeintie is there in the
Greeke Histories, afoze the fourescoreth Olympiade, that is to say, afoze
the reigne of Darius, seeing there was not yet any skill vsed in marking
out the time eyther of the warres of the Medes, or of the warres of Pe-
loponnesus? Varro the best learned of the Latins, intending to make an
Historye of the World, could well skill to diuide it into thre partes. The
first, concerning that age which was from the beginning of the world vn-
to the Flud: The seconde, from the flud vnto the first Olimpiad,
which falleth out about the time of the building of Rome: And the
thirde, from the first Olimpiad, vnto his owne time. But as he calleth
this latter age Historicall; so calleth he the second age fabulous, because
he found not any certeintie thereof, neither in the Originall Registers
and Records of the Romanes, nor in the Histories of the Greekes. To
be short, to begin his Historye at the furthest ende, hee maketh his en-
trance at the reigne of the Scyonians, which was the verie selfesame
time that Ninus began his reigne, euen the same Ninus which made
warre against Zoroastres, which was about the time of Abraham. The
same Varro accounteth Thebes for the auncientest Citie of all Greece,
as buylded by Ogyges, whereupon the Greekes called al auncient things
Ogygians; and by his reckoning it was not past two thousand and one
hundred yeares afoze owne time. Trogius Pompeius beginneth his Hi-
storye at the bottome of all antiquitie that remained in remembrance;
and that is but at Ninus, who (by report of Diodorus) was the first that
found any Historiographer to write of his doings. The same Diodorus
saith that the greatest antiquitie of Greece is but from the time of Iua-
chus, who liued in the time of Amoses King of Aegypt, that is to say,
(as Appion confelleth) in the verie time of Moyse. And intending to
haue begun his Storye at the beginning of the world, he beginneth at
the warres of Troy: and he saith in his Preface, that his Storye con-
teineth not aboue a thousand one hundred thirtie & eight yeares, which
fell out (saith he) in the reigne of Iulius Caesar, in the time that hee was
making warre against the Galles; that is to say, lesse than twelue hun-
dred yeares afoze the comming of our Lorde Iesus Christ. Also the
godly Historye of Atticus, whereof Cicero commendeth the diligence so
greatly, containeth but seuen hundred yeares. Which thing Macrobius
observing, commeth to conclude with vs. Who doubteth (saith he)
whether the World had a beginning or no, yea euen a fewe yeres since,
seeing that the verie Histories of the Greekes do scarcely containe the

doings

doings of two thousand yeeres? For afore the reigne of Ninus, who is reported to haue beene the father of Semiramis, there is not any thing to be found in writing. *Pea* and Lucrece himselfe (as great an Epicure and despiser of God as he was) is constrained to yeld thereunto, when he seeth that the uttermost bound which all Histories (bee they neuer so auncient) doe atteine vnto, is but the destruction of Troy. For thus saith he.

*Now if that no beginning was of Heauen and Earth at all,
But that they everlasting were, and so continue shall:*

*How hap it that of former things no Poets had delight
Afore the wofull warres of Troy and Thebes for to write.*

Lucretius
the Roman
Poet.

Pea, but the Registers of the Chaldees (will some man say) are of more antiquitie. For (as Cicero reporteth) they make their vaunt that they haue the natiuities of Children noted & set downe in writing (from natiuitie to natiuitie) for aboue the space of three and fortie thousand yeeres afore the reigne of the great Alexander. And that is true. But (as it hath bene verie well marked) when they speake after their Schole-maner, they meane alwaies (as witnesseth Diodorus) the moneth yeere, that is to say, euery moneth to be a yeere: which account being reckoned backe from the time of Alexander, hitteth iust vpon the creation of the World, according to the account of the yeeres set downe by Moyses. Likewise when the Iberians say they haue had the vse of Letters and of writing by the space of sixe thousand yeeres agoe; they speake after the maner of their owne accounting of the yeere, which was but foure moneths to a yeere. And in good sooth Porphirius himselfe will serue for a good witnesse in that behalf, who saith that the obseruations of the Chaldees which Callisthenes sent from Babylon into Greece in the time of Alexander, passed not aboue a thousand and nine hundred yeeres. As for the obseruations of Hipparchus, (which Ptolomie vseth, they draw much nearer vnto our times; for they reach not beyond the time of Nabucodonozor. To be short, from our Inditions wee mount vp to the Stories of the Romanes, and from them to the yeerely Registers of their Priestes, and so to the Calenders of their Feastes and Holidayes, and finally to the time of their drining of the nayle into the wall of the Temple of Minerua, which was done alwayes yeerely in the Moneth of September, to the intent that the number of the yeeres should not be forgotten. From thence we procede to the Greeke Olimpiads, the one halfe of which time is altogether fabulous: and beyond the first Olimpiade, there is nothing but a thicke cloude of ignorance, even in the lightest places of all Greece. In which darkness wee haue nothing to direct vs, if we follow not Moyses, who setteth the book of the Lords warres, and leadeth vs safely euen to our first originall beginning. And how

Diodorus. lib.
8.1.

Plinie. lib. 7.
Herodotus.
lib. 5.
Varro in his
first booke of
Analogie.

Crates the
Greeke Phy-
losopher de-
manding why
the Greekes
declined not
the names of
their letters
saying:

Αλφ, ελφ, ετς,
as well as they
said γαμμα
γγιμμυς, was
answered by
the Greekes
themselues,
that it was
because those
names of
their letters
are not Greek
but barbarus.

Lucane.lib.3.
Eupolemus
in his booke
of the Kings
of Iuda alled-
ged by Cle-
mens of Alex-
andria in his
fourth booke.

Should the Histories of the Gentiles be of any antiquitie, when there was not yet any reading or writing? From Printing, we step vp vnto booke of written hande; from the Paper which wee haue now, wee come to Parchment: from Parchment, to the Paper of Aegypt, which was inuented in the time of Alexander: from that, vnto Tables of Lead and Ware: and finally, to the Leaues and Barkes of diuers Trees. From writing wee goe consequently to reading, and so to inuention of Letters: which Letters the Greekes taught vnto the Latins, and the Phenicians to the Greekes, (who had not any skill of them at the time of the warres of Troy, as the verie names of them doe well bewray) and the Iewes taught them to the Phenicians. For in verie deed what are the Phenicians, in account of all Cosmographers, but inhabitants of the Seacoast of Palestine or Iewrie? And so the saying of Eupolemus a verie auncient writer of Histories, is found true: namely, that Moyses was the first teacher of Grammer, that is to saye, of the Arte of Reading: (notwithstanding that Philo doe father it vpon Abraham;) and that the Phenicians had it of the Iewes, and the Greekes of the Phenicians; in respect whereof Letters were in olde time called Phenicians.

Phenicians were the first (if trust be giuen to Fame)

That durst expresse the voice in shapes that might preserve the same.

Here I cannot forbear to giue Plinie a little nippe. Letters (saith he) haue bene from euerslasting. And why so? For (saith he) the Letters of the Egyptians had their first comming vp about a fiftene yeeres afore the reigne of Ninus. But Epigenes a graue Authoz sayth, that in Babylon certeine obseruations of Starres were written in Tyles or Bricks a Seuenhundred and twentie yeeres afore. And Berosus & Critodemus (which speake with the least) doe say fourehundred and fourescore yeeres. Dextreame blockishnes: he concludeth the eternitie of letters, vpon that whereby they be proued to be but late come vp. Now then, seeing wee finde the originall comming vp of Artes, of Lawes and Gouvernement, of Traffick and Merchandise, of wode and of verie Letters: that is to say, both of liuing well, & of liuing after any sort; should we rather graunt an euerslasting ignorance in man, than a kinde of youthfulness which hath learned things according to the growths thereof in ages: And seeing that the Sciences, Artes, Honors, and Deinties of the life it selfe do proue vs a beginning thereof: is there any man either skillfull or unskillfull, great or little, Philosopher or Handicrafts man, Laborer or Follower of the worldly vanities; that will any more be so holde as to stand in contention that the worlde is without beginning? What shall we then as now conclude of all this discourse? First that the inuention of all things is of so late time, that it is of sufficient force to

make

make all men beléue, (of what trade or profession so euer they bee) that it is but a while agoe since the world began. And secondly, that the saide inuentions gathering together into one time, do lead vs to some one certaine Countre as to a Centre, where mankind hath first sprung vp, and after ward spred it selfe abroad as to the outermost partes of all the Circle. This time is the same space that was betwixt Moyses and the vniuersall flud: And the Countre is the same where mankind did first multiplie after their coming out of the Ark: that is to wit, all the coast from Mount Taurus along by Mesopotamia, Syria, and Phenice, vnto Aegypt; wherein we comprehend the land of Palestine or Iewrie as the middle thereof, which by the auncient Greeke and Latin Historiographers, (who were unskillfull in Geographie) is diuersly accounted & allotted to the greater Countries that lye round about it, accordingly as it bordereth vpon them; one while to Syria, another while to Aegypt; some time to Phenicia, and sometime to Araby the desert. And therefore as touching time and antiquitie, it is good reason that we should beléue the Histories of those Nations, and not of the Greekes or of the Latins, who are but yong babes in respect of the others; especially séeing that we would thinke it a thing worthe to be laughed at, if a man should stande to the iudgement of the Histories of Iewrie in the matters of the Greekes. But now let vs heare their contradictions.

If the world be so new (say they) whereof commeth it that it is so wel replenished and full of people? Say rather, if it be without beginning, or of so great antiquitie as thou surmizest; how happeneth it that it hath not alway bene knowne? whereof commeth it that it is euen yet so slenderly peopled? how comes it to passe, that it is not thoroughly inhabited in all places, or at leastwise in the best places of the world, where euen in our time are found both fles and maine Lands well habitable, and yet uninhabited? It is not past an hundred yeares agoe, since wee knewe nothing at all of more than the better halfe of the worlde. Wee were but at the entrance of the earth, & we thought our selues to haue bin come to the full knowledge of Geographie. Wee thought our selues to haue knowne the uttermost Coastes of the world, when as wee had not yet passed the South circle which diuideth the world in twaine. And yet notwithstanding, he that had spoken other wise, should haue bin counted of most men for a foole. Yea & euen yet still at this day, we know nothing of the maine Land of the South, & but verie litle of the North. It is not past two hundred yeres ago, since the Swedians sent the first inhabters into the countre of Groneland: and both Scotland and Ireland (being in our part of the world) are yet still halfe barbarous. We shall read in Cæsars Commentaries, that in his time Germanie was a continuall Forrest, wherein a man might haue gone 50 dayes iourney ere hee coulde

Objections.

The World scarce knowe in olde time.

Read the Navigations of the Portugales & Spaniards.

for any ends of it, and that the people thereof were savage and beastlye sacrificyng their owne chyldren to their Gods. He seemeth here to speake of the Cannibals or the people of Brasilie. It was long time after ere the Romanes durst adventure ouer farre in that Countrey. Whereby it appeareth that all the auncient Townes and Cities which stand vpon the Riuers of Rhyne and Danowe, towards Fraunce and Italy, did serue rather for a Banke or a Jettie against the ouerflowing of the Germanes, than for Fortresses to assayle them withall. Euen in the time of Tacitus, what were the people on the Sea coast of Germanie? What were the Saxons in the time of Charles the great? And a few hundred yeres agoe, what were the Lowe Countreys of Germanie, which at this daye be the flourishingest people of all Europe? The same is to be said of England in Cæsars time: and likewise of Fraunce, Italy, and Spaine, if wee mount a little higher. For seeing that Roome is the oldest Citie of the Latines; how happeneth it that Alexander (who sought newe worldes to conquer) knewe it not by the statelinesse thereof? How happeneth it, that he knewe as little also of the Frenchmen and Spanyardes, of whome all the auncient Histories speake either nothing at all, or els with wonderfull ignozance? And what shall wee saye of Ephorus, whome men account the diligentest Historiographer of them all? As great a Countrie as Spayne or Iberia is; he writeth thereof in such sort, as if it were but onely one towne. Also what was Greece afore the time of Orpheus and Amphion, who (as Thucidides reporteth) dyetwe the Greekes out of their Fortresses and Fennes, about the time of the warres at Troy?

Thucidides
in his first
booke.

Orpheus in
his Argo-
naucs.

And where learned Orpheus to lay away his owne sauagenesse, but in Aegypt? The holy Bible it selfe when it speaketh of the Greekes and of the lesser Asia, speaketh of them as of Islands, that is to saye, as of Countreies that were furthest off from the knowledge of that time. Thus do we see the latenesse of the Westerne Nations; whom I call so, as in respect of the rest of the whole world, and of the Centre and middle point thereof, which I haue taken to be from Mount Taurus vnto Syria.

Herodotus.
lib. 4.

Now let vs see the Easterne Nations also. The Countrie of India beyond the Riuer Ganges, was vnknownen in the time of Alexander, who notwithstanding had cast the platfome of his Conquest, on that side of the world. And his Voylts which went to seeke new worldes, passed not beyond the Island of Sumatra then called Taprobane, which is vnder the Equinotiall and Easterly a great way off from the Molucques. And when it was tolde the Romanes that a Ship was found which by the commaundement of Necho King of Aegypt had sayled about all the Coast of Affrike, they toke it for a fable: and therefore much lesse did they euer come at Iaua the lesse or Iaua the moze, or at the firme Lande which is next vnto them. To be short, they did not ordinarily passe the

Streites

Streites of Gibraltar; by reason whereof their greatest Philosophers could lesse skill of the nature and course of the Tydes, than the meanest Seamen or Sailer of our time. Now then what is to be saide of Plinie with his Dogheaded men, his one-eyed men, his Long-eares, his Centaures, his Pigmees, and his Cyclopes, seeing that in all the Countrey where he planteth them, we finde Den, Cities, and Kingdomes, no lesse whil flourishing than the same wherein he himselfe was; and as for any likelihood of that which he writeth of those things, wee find none at all. As touching the Southcountrie & the Northcountrie, that is to wit, beyond the Circles of the two Poles: The foure Empires which haue bene so renowned, neuer heard speaking of them but at randome, and much lesse extended them selues so farre; in so much that enen wee our selues know but a little of them, which Tempest and Shipwreke hath taught vnto vs.

What win wee then by this disconce? Merily that the Worlde was not knowen of all those great Emperors, and much lesse of them that liued vnder their subiection. And that it was not peopled all at once, but that as folke ouerswarmed in a place, and chanced to hit vpon a man that was aduenturous, they spred themselves further and further vnder his guiding, into the Countreys next vnto them. And (to be short) that the nearer any Countreys were to our foresaid Centre, the sooner were they inhabited, made ciuill, and manured: which thing appeareth more plainly enen by the verie genealogie of the Worlde. Therefore let vs take our Centre to be either the toppe of Mount Taurus where it is called Caucasus, and where Stoizies report the Arke of Noe to haue rested: or els the playne of Sennaar, where Moyles saith that the Languages were confounded, and folke dispersed abroad: or else some place of Mesopotamia, (for it skilleth little in respect of the worlde) and by considering the auncientest States, we shall finde the States of Assyria, of Syria, of Aegypt, and of Persia to haue bene nearest to our Centre, and that the State of Assyria was the greatest of them all, and yet in verie trueth but small in comparison of the States that succeeded it. From the Assyrians, the Monarchie came to the Persians: from the Persians to the Greekes: from the Greekes to the Latins: from the Latins to the Frenchmen: and from the Frenchmen to the Almanes, accordingly as Countreys multiplied their habitations, and that their people growing in Ciuitie, matched their force with wisdom. And Spayne which heretofore was counted the uttermost part of the worlde, is now become the first discoverer of the new worlde. But let vs go on with the East partes: from the Persians we go to the Indians, and from the Eastindians to the Westindians, so long till we come to their uttermost Coast, which is the selfesame place where the Spanyardes found their first landing. And surely if two

The proceeding or growing forward of the world.

folke.

for any ende of it, and that the people thereof were savage and beaſtlye ſacrifyſing their owne chyldren to their Gods. He ſaith here to ſpeake of the Cannibals or the people of Braſilie. It was long time after ere the Romanes durſt adventure over ſarre in that Countrey. Whereby it appeareth that all the auncient Townes and Cities which ſtand vpon the Riuer of Rhyne and Danowe, towards Fraunce and Italy, did ſerue rather for a Banke or a Jettie againſt the overflowing of the Germanes, than for Fortreſſes to aſſaile them withall. Euen in the time of Tacitus, what were the people on the Sea coaſt of Germanie? What were the Saxons in the time of Charles the great? And a ſewe hundzed yeres agoe, what were the Lowe Countreys of Germanie, which at this daye be the flouriſhingest people of all Europe? The ſame is to be ſaid of England in Caſars time: and likewiſe of Fraunce, Italy, and Spaine, if wee mount a little higher. For ſeeing that Roome is the oldeſt Citie of the Latines; how happeneth it that Alexander (who ſought newe worldes to conquer) knewe it not by the ſtatelineſſe thereof? How happeneth it, that he knewe as little alſo of the Frenchmen and Spanyardes, of whome all the auncient Hiſtozies ſpeake either nothing at all, or els with wonderfull ignozance? And what ſhall wee ſaye of Ephorus, whome men account the diligentest Hiſtoziographer of them all? As great a Countrie as Spayne or Iberia is; he writeth thereof in ſuch ſort, as if it were but onely one towne. Alſo what was Greece aſoze the time of Orpheus and Amphion, who (as Thucidides repozteth) dyew the Greekes out of their Forreſtes and Fennes, about the time of the warres at Troy? And where learned Orpheus to lay away his owne ſauagenelle, but in Aegypt? The holy Bible it ſelfe when it ſpeaketh of the Greekes and of the leſſer Aſia, ſpeaketh of them as of Ilands, that is to ſaye, as of Countreies that were furtheſt off from the knowledge of that time. Thus do ye ſee the lateneſſe of the Weſterne Nations; whom I call ſo, as in reſpect of the reſt of the whole world, and of the Centre and middle point thereof, which I haue taken to be from Mount Taurus vnto Syria.

Now let vs ſee the Eaſterne Nations alſo. The Countrie of India beyond the Riuer Ganges, was unknowen in the time of Alexander, who notwithstanding had caſt the platforme of his Conqueſt, on that ſide of the world. And his Pylots which went to ſeeke new worldes, paſſed not beyond the Iland of Sumatra then called Taprobane, which is vnder the Equinoctiall and Eaſterly a great way off from the Molucques. And when it was tolde the Romanes that a Ship was found which by the commaundement of Necho King of Aegypt had ſayled about all the Coaſt of Aſſrike, they tooke it for a fable: and therefore much leſſe did they euer come at Iaua the leſſe or Iaua the moze, or at the firme Lande which is next vnto them, To be ſhort, they did not ordinarily paſſe the

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lib. 4.

Streites of Gibraltar; by reason whereof their greatest Philosophers could lesse skill of the nature and course of the Tydes, than the meanest Seamen or Sailer of our time. Now then what is to be saide of Plinie with his Dogheaded men, his one-eyed men, his Long-earres, his Centaures, his Pigmees, and his Cyclopes, seeing that in all the Countrey where he planteth them, we finde Den, Cities, and Kingdomes, no lesse whit flourishing than the same wherein he himselfe was; and as for any likelyhood of that which he writeth of those things, wee find none at all. As touching the Southcountrie & the Northcountrie, that is to wit, beyond the Circles of the two Poles: The foure Empires which haue bene so renowned, neuer heard speaking of them but at randome, and much lesse extended them selues so farre; in so much that enen wee our selues know but a little of them, which Tempest and Shipwreke hath taught vnto vs.

What win wee then by this disconcle? Verily that the Worlde was not known of all those great Emperors, and much lesse of them that liued vnder their subiection. And that it was not peopled all at once, but that as folke ouerswarmed in a place, and chanced to hit vpon a man that was aduenturous, they spred themselves further and further vnder his guiding, into the Countreys next vnto them. And (to be short) that the nêrer any Countries were to our foresaid Centre, the sôner were they inhabited, made ciuill, and manured: which thing appeareth moze plainly euen by the verie genealogie of the Worlde. Therefore let vs take our Centre to be either the toppe of Mount Taurus where it is called Caueasus, and where Stoziens report the Arke of Noe to haue rested: or els the playne of Sennaar, where Moyse saith that the Languages were confounded, and folke disperfed abroad: or else some place of Mesopotamia, (for it skilleth little in respect of the worlde) and by considering the auncientest Estates, we shall finde the States of Assyria, of Syria, of Aegypt, and of Persia to haue bene nêrest to our Centre, and that the State of Assyria was the greatest of them all, and yet in verie trueth but small in comparison of the States that succeded it. From the Assyrians, the Monarchie came to the Persians: from the Persians to the Greekes: from the Greekes to the Latins: from the Latins to the Frenchmen: and from the Frenchmen to the Almanes, accordingly as Countreys multiplied their habitations; and that their people growing in Ciuitie, matched their force with wisdome. And Spayne which heretofore was counted the vttermost part of the worlde, is now become the first discoverer of the new worlde. But let vs go on with the East partes: from the Persians we go to the Indians, and from the Eastindians to the Westindians, so long till we come to their vttermost Coast, which is the selfesame place where the Spanyardes found their first landing. And surely if two

The proceeding or growing forward of the world.

folke

folke should keepe on their way continually, the one on the one side & the other on the other (that is to say, the one Eastward and the other Westward:) in the end they should meete both together, if there were firme land all the way for them to go vpon. And in verie deede, like as Ireland, a part of Scotland, Lapland, and Groneland, being the vttermoſt partes of our ſide of the World, are as good as ſauage: ſo alſo be the vttermoſt inhabitants of the Weſt-Indies, namely Canada, Baccala, Braſilie, and Petagon, which are diſcended of the Eaſt-Indies. And contrariwiſe, like as in our Countries, the moze they tend towards the Centre which I haue taken, the mo tokens haue they of their antiquitie; as, Fraunce mo than Germanie; Italie mo than Fraunce; Greece mo than Italy; Aegypt mo than Greece; and ſo forth of the reſt: So the Spanyards, who in their firſt Conqueſts found but Cottages and Bogges; did at their entering further into the Land, finde goodly cities well inhabited, orderly diſtinction of Commons and Nobilitie, Miniſters of Juſtice and men of Warre, Trades and Handicrafts wel gouerned, Hiſtozies of their doings, wonderful antiquities, Towers paſſing the Pyramys of Aegypt, and what ſoener els the world hath counted wonderful. And out of doubt the nêrer they come to the Centre of that part, the moze ſhal they finde ſtill. For there is no man ignorant nowadayes what goodly great cities and flouriſhing Kingdomes, haue within theſe fewe yêres bene diſcovered in the Weſt-Indies: And where it commeth to face the Eaſt-India with the Sea betwixt them both; there we ſee the great Emppze of China, ſo beautifull, ſo flouriſhing, and ſo well gouerned in all reſpects, that the ciuileſt time of all the Romane Emppze, may well ſeeme vnto vs to haue bene barbarous in compariſon of that. It is in effect all one as though the Weſterne Indians making Conqueſtes vpon vs as we haue done vpon them, ſhould haue arrived at the firſt in Ireland, Scotland, or Groneland: for as little could they haue ſaid of vs, as we of them. And whereas it may be replied, that although the people there be rude, yet notwithstanding it hath euer moze bin peopled. Let it be added thereunto, that in following the Coaſts, men haue found many Countries euen yet vnpopled. And alſo that euen in the beſt peopled places of all their Conqueſtes, they haue not found the tenth part of ſo much people as the Countrie being manured were able to beare: whereas on the contrarie part, in our Countries the Nations do peſſer one another. And whereas our verie vttermoſt borders are moze frequented than theirs: the cauſe thereof is, that ours be much nêrer the Centre which I ſet downe, then theirs be: as the Coſmographers do eaſily perceiue. Wherevpon it hath come to paſſe, that the people which haue bene ſped abroad from our Centre vnto the vttermoſt Coaſts of the frozen Sea, finding themſelues moze multiplied than their Lands were able to maintaine, and being

An Historie
of the realme
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not able to go any further for the Sea that hemmed them in: have rebounded backe againe vpon the next Countries, as namely the Cymbrians vpon the Almaines and Romanes, and afterward the Gothes vpon Italy and Fraunce, the Humes vpon Pannoy, the Vandales vpon Spayne, and lastly the Turkes and Tartarians vpon all Europe. Which thing hath not happened vpon the other part of the World, because of the large scope of their Countrey, which emptyeth the Easterne Indya into the Westerne: The Westerne into newe Spayne: newe Spayne into Braslie: and Braslie into the Southerne lande, whereof not so much as the Seacoast is yet knowen. Neither befell it so vnto vs in the first ages, because our part of the World was not yet sufficiently peopled to ebbe backe againe againe: but it befell chiefly a little afore or a little after the comming of Iesus Christ, that is to wit, towarde the perfect age of the World. To be short, were there neuer so much people, yet were it no wonder to him that would take the paines to account what onely one offspring might amount vnto in one hundred yeeres, and how manye one man might see to come of himselfe in his owne life-time: which in another hundred yeere might increas into an infinite multitude. The Emppres haue alwayes extended their largenesse towarde the North & the South, but yet more Northwardly than Southerly, because the Centre which I take, is still afore towarde the North, and in the temperate Climate of our halfe Globe, that is to wit, towarde the 35. and 40 degrees (or thereabouts) of the Equinoctiall lyne, which diuideth the World euen in the middell: which thing I desire the Readers to marke aduisedly. And truely Iseland (which in old time was called Thule,) was knowen in the time of great Alexander, notwithstanding that it be situate about 68 degrees North: whereas yet for all that, the greatest part of Affrike was vnknown to them, & the vttermoost reach of their knowledge was the Ile of Taprobane, which neuerthelesse are but vnder the Equinoctiall: so farre off were they from atteming to the Southpole. To be short, the Coast of Affrike or Barbarie and of Spayne, was peopled by the Phenecians, whome we read to haue bene long time Lordes of the Sea. And the Commonweale of Carthage, which was so highly renowned and reached so farre off, was an ympe of Tyrus the chiefe Citie of Phenecia, which bordered vpon Iewrie. For Tyrus sent thither the one halfe of their people: whereupon it was called Carthago, that is to say, the halfe towne. And the first people that dwelled there, went into that Countrey by a narrow peece of drye lande called Catathmos, which is a falling ground that ioyneth Palestine vnto Aegypt, as remained yet still to be read in the time of the Historiographer Procopius, vpon a Hiller in Tingie a Citie of Affrike, set there by the inhabitants of Chanaan which had fled away from the sight of Iosua. And in good sooth,

Strabo. lib. 9.
Plutark in the
life of Scipio.

The Histories
of Affricke.

as appeareth by many sentences of S. Austines, the Punicke tongue was but a kinde of severall proprietie of the Hebrew.

Some persist yet still in demanding, from whence the Southlands, the Countrey of Brasile, the Land of Perow and such others could be peopled? And whence I pray you was Affricke peopled, for the replenishing whereof thou canst not but know that inhabitants were sent thither both by Sea and by land: Affricke was peopled first by the foresaid narrow pæce of Dye Land called Catabathmos, and afterward refreshed againe by the streights of Gibraltar. And the Southland was peopled on the one side by the Ile of Taprobane, and on the other side by the streights of Magellan which do butt there upon Brasile. And Perow likewise was peopled by the narrow point of land called Darien, by the which way Brasile also was peopled. At such tyme as the Spanyards entered first into that great Pesse which conteyneth both Brasile & Perow, they thought it to have bene an Island. In like manner, if the Perouians had landed in Affricke by the Achlantike Sea, and had found so long a side as the side of Affricke is that stretcheth unto the red Sea, so as they being wearied with following it as the Romanes were, had made the like question: we would then have mocked at them because we know the passage whereby men came thither: and they have like occasion to mock vs, because they know theirs. But yet againe, from whence came the people which are spred abroad from the Land that is called Spayne by the freight of Daryen? Proceede on yet a little further, and thou shalt finde Cathay and Indya ioyning to that Land; and Groneland facing it on the Northside; and the freight of Anian on the West side, which is almost as nere within the view of it as Spayne is unto Affricke by the streights of Gibraltar. And I praye you what more maruell is it that they should have passed by that streight, than that the Latins passed into Cicilie by the fære of Messina, or that the Vandales passed into Affricke and the Sarzins into Spayne by the said streights of Gibraltar? But the mischief is, that nothing can suffice vs for prooofe of the truth; but for witnesse against it, we admit both Ignorance, Heresay, and Doubtes, and the verie least suspitions or surmises that can come in our minde. For I praye you what can be more childish, (or rather as Varro saith in his Eumenides) more worthe of Hell; than to saye, that men sprung vp in a Countrey as Beetes and Apes do: After that manner were the Athenians called Aborigenes, that is to say, Homebred or bred in that place: and in token thereof they wore a Grasshopper in their Cappe or Bonet: insomuch that Aristides to flatter them withall, told them that their Territorie was the first that euer bore men; and yet for all that, there had bin whole realms of men in Syria, afore there were any mē in Greece. The Latins also would vaunt themselves of the same:

Aristides in
his Pauchewalk.

but

but Dennis of Halycarnassus and Porcius Cato acknowledge them to haue come out of Achaia. Aske the Sauages, and they will say the verie same that the Sages say: for they know neither one thing nor other, further than their owne remembrance can reach.

But goe to Moyses, and he will tell you the Originall of the first Nations, and the Genealogie of the whole Worlde. And the names of them remaining from thence vnto vs, will put the matter out of all doubt to a man of vnderstanding. For of Noe by his eldest sonne Iaphet, issued the Gomerians or Cymbrians, the Medes, the Ionians who were the first inhabitants of Greece, the Twiscons Duchmen or Almanes, the Italians, and the Dodoneans: namely of Gomer, Maday, Iauan, Aschenes, Elifa, and Dodanim. By Cham there issued the Chananites, the Aegyptians, the Libians, the Sabeans, and so forth; who retained the names of his children, that is to wit, of Chanaan, Misraim, Lud, Saba, and so forth: for Misraim in Hebrew betokeneth Aegypt. By Sem there descended the Elamites and Persians, the Assyrians, the Chaldeans or Chaldees, the Lydians, the Aramites or Syrians, the people of Ophir and others; that is to wit, of Elam, Arphaxad, Lud, Aram, Ophir, and others. And these names were written and recorded by Moyses, afore those Nations were of any reputation, and they remaine yet still among the Hebrewes at this day. Now looke in what measure these fathers of houses increased their children, so did euery of them spread out his branches a farre off; insomuch that the offspring of that stocke did couer and ouerthadowe the whole earth, and the Arke of Noe did after a manner sayle ouer the whole worlde.

But here is an Obiection which seemeth stronger. These reasons (say they) do bring vs vp to the flood: but as the flood brought man kinde to that small number, whereby the Worlde was by little and little renewed againe: So may it be that there were other former floods, that had done the like afore; so as this latter flood was rather a renewing of the Worlde, than a first beginning thereof. And to this purpose they will alledge this saying of Plato in his Timæus, that the ouerflowings of waters and the burnings by fire, doe from time to time refresh the Worlde, and destroy the remembrance of former ages, & also of all Artes, Sciences, and other inuentions. This is woorthie of some examination. Surely of Burnings either vniuersall or any thing great in respect of the whole worlde, there is no mention found in any storie. Also of any other generall flood, than that which we take to be the first, & last, there is as little to be found, vnlesse they will apply that name to the ouerflowings of Riuer in some small quarter, or to the winning of the Sea by force of his breaking into some countrey a League or twaine, which can nothing serue to this purpose. And if their alledging of it in that

An obiection
of Fluddes
taken out of
Plato.

that behalfe be vnfainedly and in good earnest, as I beleue it is; well mought they fare for their confession. For then wil I aske them whether this flud were vniuersall, or particular but to some one Countrey. If it were particular: how commeth it to passe that all Nations confesse it to be vniuersall? And how commeth it to passe also that the Countries which had no part thereof, haue no incling thereof either in memorie or in wryting? Or if it were vniuersall; did any men escape from it or no? If none escaped, how then come we to the knowledge of it? And whence are we also, but of a new Creation? And he that was able to create vs againe, why was he not able to create vs also afoze? If some escaped, as all of vs do consent that there did: why beleue we them not as well in the things that went afoze the flud, as we beleue them concerning the flud it selfe? And who be those that escaped but Noe and his issue, who lead vs to the first beginning both of the world and men? For in all the Histories of the Heathen, what finde we thereof worth the alledging? Again, I demaund whether this said flud and others which they pretend to haue abolished the remembrance of the former times, befell by chaunce or by prouidence? If by chaunce; was it not possible, that of so many which may perchance haue bene either from euerlasting or of verie old time, perchance not so much as any one should haue escaped? Or if by Prouidence; by whose prouidence should it be but by Gods? or who could haue power to vndoe & confound this worke, but onely he that made it? And what warrant hast thou that he destroyed it more than once, seeing thou art inforced to graunt that he made it but once? Nay, it may be that it befel through some coniunction of the Starres. And who told them so? And if they know so much thereof, let them tell vs what Starres. I omit to tell them that such coniunctions (as they themselves teach) threaten not the whole world, but some small part thereof. After this maner did the Astrologers say, that in the yeere 1524. there should mete the like Coniunction as was at the general flud, by reason whereof the whole earth should be couered with water: and yet as (Viues saith) a fairer yeere was neuer scene. To be short, all things will goe for payement with these folke, saving the trueth.

The obiection
of Auerrhois.

But see here their last Ankerhold. How hapeneth it (saith Auerrhois) that God forboze so long, and where had he that newe deuice of making the world? Dillie soule that thou art: which gloziest in asking Questions whereas skill consisteth in aunswering. Thou wilt needs prooue the world by thy reasons to be without beginning: and yet in these wordes which thou hast spoken, thou shewest that thou knowest not what eternitie or euerlastingnesse is. In eternitie (friend mine) there is neither length nor shortnes of time: the euerlasting prouidence is not tyed to new casualtie. Consider that thou art a man. The Plants cannot indge of

Hence:

Sence: the Beastes cannot iudge of the byt of Reason: neither canst thou which art subiect to time, iudge of eternitie which is without time. For if euen the little Babe which is in time, cannot conceine what time is: how shall he that is but in time, vnderstand the everlastingnes of the everlasting? After that maner the brute beastes (if they had speech) would decipher the reach of thy wit, according to their owne imagination. And thou wouldest mocke at them if they should goe about to describe what thy memorie is, which ioyneth past, present, and to come all in one. And how thinkest thou thy selfe able to iudge of eternitie, which altereth with the Windes, with the Moones, and with the seasons of the yere, euery day, euery houre, and euery minute? Askest thou why God sochoze so long time? Say rather, aske why God listeth to make the time it selfe: for in one vniuidable moment is eternitie ioyned both to the beginning and to the ende of time. Learne this also, that where there is any bound or end, there is no long time. The long time of a Worme, is a moneth: of an Ant, a yere: of a Horse, thirtie yeres: of a man, an hundred yeres: of all mankind, certeine thousands of yeres: of time it self, a certaine space of time: and the terming of any of all their times long, is in respect of the long continuance of their life in time: but vnto him that made time, nothing indureth lesse while than time. Put the case that the world haue lasted a hundred thousand yeres, or (if ye will) ten hundred thousand, what shall ye gaine by that? What the world shal haue bin of the greater antiquitie. But in respect of whom? of God, or of thy selfe? of a Worme, or of a Spirite? of eternitie, or of time? And what is all that in comparison of infinitenesse? Is not the Question all one still? Whence is this deuice? whence is this chaunce? as well in a hundred, as in a thousand: and as well in a thousand, as in a thousandthousand: Yet was the deuice and purpose eternall, notwithstanding that the execution thereof be in time, insomuch that he hath brought forth time, and time is a measure of mouing, and mouing proueth a beginning, & the beginning which it taketh is euer newe. Thou then which by a mouing hast a beginning proued vnto thee, giue ouer thy surmised eternitie & confesse a newnesse of time, for nothing is newe than time. Which like reason maist thou demanda why God made the world rather here than elsewhere. For these distinctions of time & place were created & brought forth together at one instant with the world, so as they be neither without it nor afoze it. He that is without time and without place, made both time and place: and if he had bin subiect to time and place, as thou imaginest: he could not haue made either place or time. Yea, but what did he then (sayest thou) afoze the world and out of the world? Once againe amend thy plea. For in God ther is neither afoze nor after, within nor without, But surely it is a godly question, & welbeseming a great wit.

Afoze.

Afoze thy Cloche oꝝ thy building was made , thou diddest not ceasse to
 line and to delight thy selfe in the perfectnesse of thine Arte : and after-
 ward thy building added nothing vnto thee , but thou vnto thy building.
 Thou wouldest haue bene ashamed to haue asked of Scipio what he did
 at home in his house in the Countrey , after he had giuen ouer the af-
 faires of the Commonweale and the warres: and he would haue answered
 thee that he was neuer lesse ydle than when he was ydle, noꝝ lesse a-
 lone than when he was alone . And yet thou thinkest that it stode God
 greatly on hand to make this goodly palace of the woꝝld foꝝ thee , and to
 harbor such blasphemers as thou art therein, as if he could not haue foꝝ-
 boꝝne thee, oꝝ liued without thy company. God did the same thing with-
 out the woꝝld, which he doth still with the woꝝld: that is to wit, he is hap-
 pie in himselfe. The woꝝld hath nothing at all augmented his felicitie oꝝ
 happinesse. But to the intent (as ye would say) to shed soozth his happi-
 nesse out of himselfe : it liked him to creat the woꝝlde. Yea, but why did
 he it no sooner? What a number of sanits are here in one speech : Thou
 wilt needes be pꝛiue to þ cause of Gods will in all things, & yet is Gods
 wil the cause of the causes of al things. By eternitie thou hast not bin a-
 ble to haue knowen his power: foꝝ the Paieskie therof would haue made
 thee dark: and it is so bꝛight that thou couldest haue seene lesse, than thou
 couldest se now if thou wert lodged in the body of the Sunne. Now he
 maketh thee to perceine his power, by the creation of the woꝝld: his eter-
 nitie by comparison of time: & his glozious bꝛightnes, by þ shadow there-
 of. By eternitie, thou couldest not haue knowen his wisdom: foꝝ thou
 wouldest haue deemed all things as wise as he , seeing they had bin as e-
 uerlasting as he. And what wisdom had remained in him, if al things
 had bin of necessitie, and nothing at his owne choyce and libertie ? But
 now thou seest his wisdom in the Stones, in the Herbes, in the dumbe
 creatures, yea & euen in the woꝝkmanship of thy selfe. Thou seest it in the
 oꝝder, in the succession, and in the bꝛeeding of all things. Thou gapest at it
 in the greatest things, & thou wonderest at it in the smalest ; as much in
 the Flye & the Ant, as in the whole Cope of heauen: whereas the eterni-
 tie of things would haue caused thee to haue attributed Godhead to the
 skyes, the starres, the earth, the Rockes, the Mountaines, and in effect
 to all things rather than thy selfe, as they did which were taught so to do.
 Also by this eternitie thou couldest not haue conceived his goodnesse , be-
 cause thou wouldest haue thought that God had had as much neede of the
 Woꝝlde, as the Woꝝld had of him. Thou shouldest not haue knowen
 thy selfe to be any moze beholden to him, than to the fire foꝝ heating
 thee, oꝝ to the Sunne foꝝ giuing thee light, because they should no moze
 be either fire oꝝ Sunne, if they foꝝwent that nature . But hee sheweth
 thee by the creation, both that he himselfe is euer , and that thou hast had
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thy being since the time that it pleased him to create thee: that he without thee is eternall; and that thou without his goodnesse haddest neuer been that little which thou art: and to be shott, that he is not tied to any neede or necessitie as Aristotles God is, (which could not refuse to dye the Will, but was tied to it whether he could or no:) but that his doing of things is altogether of his owne infinite goodnesse, wherethrough he vouchsafeth to impart himself vnto others, by making the thing to bee which was not; yea and by making the thing happie, which of it selfe could not so much as bee. Now, had man any will or skill to acknowledge the power, wisdom, and goodnesse of his God: (I thinke not.) Then was it for thy benefite and not for his owne, that he made not the World either of greater antiquitie, or eternall. For had he made it eternall, (let vs so speake seeing ye will haue it so,) thou wouldest haue made a God of it, and thou canst not euen now forbear the doing thereof. And had he made of it more antiquitie; thou wouldest haue made it an occasion to forget thy God, and for all the newnesse thereof, yet wilt thou not beare it in thy minde. Then seeke not the cause thereof in his power. The cause thereof is in thine owne infirmitie: Nay, the cause thereof is in his goodnesse, in that he intendeth to succour thine ignorance. And so, notwithstanding all their objections, we shal by this meanes hold still our conclusion, to wit, that the World is but of late continuance; That it had a beginning, and that concerning the time of the first beginning thereof, and concerning the continuance thereof vnto our daies, we ought to beleue the booke of Moyse about all.

The Ninth Chapter.

That the wisdom of the World hath acknowledged the Creation of the World.



It we haue seene with what consent the whole harmonie of the World chaunteth the Creation thereof and the praise of the Creator, now it followeth that we see what the wisdom of the World hath beleued in that behalfe: wherein we haue to consider the selfesame thing which we considered in the doctrine of the three Parsons; that is to wit, that the neerer we come to the well-head thereof, the more cleerer we finde it: yea and it is also a scholepoynt of Platoes teaching, That in these high matters of the Godhead, of the Creation of the World, and of such other-
like

The men of
most antiqui-
tie beleueed
the Creation
of the world.

Mercurie in
his Permeader.

Mercury in
his Perma-
der, the 1. &
3. cap.

Mercury al-
leged by Cy-
rillus in his
second booke
agaist Iulian
the Renegade
Mercury in
his holy Ser-
mon.

like, we must giue credit (as vnto a kinde of Demonstration,) to the say-
ings of men of most antiquitie, as folke that were better and narer to
God than we. Here I should begin at Moyses, as the annientest of all
writers, and whom all the Heathen Authoys doe honour and wonder at
in their writings. And the very first word of his booke simply set downe
in these termes, In the beginning God created Heauen and Earth, ought
to be vnto vs as a maxime of Euclyde, which in those daies men were
ashamed to call in question. But to the intent we confounde not the
woorde of God with the worde of man, soasmuch as the folke with whō
we haue to deale, are such as refuse those whom they cannot accuse: let
vs overcome them rather by their owne Doctoys. Carteinly whosoever
will take the paine to confere Mercurius Trismegistus with Moyses, shall
reape thereby most singuler contentation. In Genesis Moyses descri-
beth the Creation of the World, and so both Mercurie likewise in his
Permeader, Moyses espieth darkenesse vpon the Waters: Mercury seeth
a dreadfull shadow houering on the moist nature, and the same moist na-
ture as it were bynded by the word of God. Moyses saith that God spake,
and forthwith things were made: and Mercurie acknowledgeth and
bringeth in Gods worde shining, whereby he created the light and made
the World and all that is therein. Moyses parteth the nature of moy-
sture in twaine, the one mounting aloft which he calleth Heauen, and the
other remaining beneath which he calleth Sea: And Mercury seeth a light
fire which he calleth Aether mounting vp as it were out of the betwelles
of the moist nature, and likewise an ayre casting it selfe betwene the
water and the elementarie fire, which is nothing els but a moze clere &
subtile ayre. The Sea and Land (saith Moyses) were mingled togethar
vntill God had spoken, and then by and by either of them toke his place
by himselfe. After the same maner Mercurie saith that those Elementes
lying erst mingled together, seuered themselues a sunder at the speaking
of the spirituall word which inuironed them about. What moze? God
(say both of them) created the Starres and the Planets. At the voice of
his word, the Earth, the Ayre, and the Water, brought forth Beastes,
Birdes, and Fishes. Last of all, God created man after his owne image
and deliuered all his workes into his hand to vse them. Is not this a
setting downe not onely of one selfesame sence, but also of the selfesame
termes and words? But when as Mercurie addeth afterward, that God
crieth out into his works by his holy word, saying, Bring ye forth fruit,
grow, and increase: may it not seme vnto vs that we heare Moyses him-
selfe speaking? And as for the smal differences which are in him concer-
ning the seauen Circles, the Zones, and such other things, they serue
greatly to the manifestation of the trueth; namely, that this maner of
Mercuries writing, is not a bare borrowing or translating out of Moyses
but

but rather a tradition conueied to the Aegipcians from the Father to the Sonne. In another place he saith that God by his holy, spirit uall, & mightie woꝝking woꝝd, commaunded the day sunne to be, and it was don: that the Sea and Land should be seuered asunder, that the Starres should be created, and that Herbes should grow by enery one with his seede, by foꝛce of the same woꝝd. Also that the woꝝld is but an alteration, a moꝝuing, a generating and a coꝛrupting of things, and that it cannot be called god. These are conclusions cleane contrary to eternitie or euerlastingnesse. But sozasmuch as (if I should set doꝝne al his sayings which he hath to that purpose,) I should be faine to copie him almost whole out: it is better foꝛ me to desire the Readers to go to the verie place it selfe.

Orpheus the auncientest of the Greekes, had beene in Aegipt as he himselfe saith, that there he learned, That there is but one God, and that

Orpheus in
his Argonauts,

*The Ayre, the Heauen, the Sea, the Earth, and Hell
With all the things that in them all doe dwell.*

were harbored in his bꝛeast from all eternitie,
And also that

*The running streames, the Ocean, Gods and Men,
Things present, things to come lay all at ease
In that wide lap of his: and that within
His belly large the bond lay lapped vp
Which holdeth all this great huge worke together.*

And afterward he addeth further,

*These things which yet lay hidden all
Within the treasure of his bꝛest,
He into open light did call,
Creating as he deemed best
This stately stage, whereon to shewe
His noble doings on a rowe.*

And what els is this; than that God did euerlastingly hold the woꝝld hidden, (as the Apostle saith) in the Treasury of his infinite wisdom: Or (as Dennis saith) in the Closet of his purpose and will, and afterward brought it forth in time when it pleased him: And in another place, I sing (saith he) of the darke confusion, I meane the confusion that was in the beginning, how it was disfigured in diuers natures; and how the Heauen, the Sea and the Lande were made. And what moꝛe? I sing (saith he) of Loue, euen of the Loue that is perfect of it selfe, of more antiquitie than all these things: and of all things which the same hath brought forth, and set in order, yea of time it selfe. I haue already heretofore declared what he meanneth by this Loue: namelie the goodwill of God, and that also doth open some of the Hebrewes meane

Orpheus in his
Argonawtes.

Hesiodus in
his booke of
workes and
Daies, and in
his Genealo-
gie of the
Goddess.

Plutarke in
his booke of
the opinions
of the Philo-
sophers.
Varro in his
second booke
of Husbandry
Iamblichus
one of the sect
of Pythagoras
citing Archi-
tas.

Laertius in
the life of
Thales.

by the Spirit which Moyses speaketh of. To be short, he saith that he him-
selfe made a booke of the Creation of the world, which was a common
argument among the Poets of that time, as Empedocles, Hesiodus,
Parmenides, and such others, which were all Philosophers. And in ma-
ny places he reduceth all things to Water and to a certaine God as to
their originall, which thing agreeth well enough to the dape of Moyses.
The like is done by Homer and Hesiodus, which came after him. For
Hesiodus maketh description, not onely of the Creating of the world and
the partes thereof; but also of the Chaos or confusion and of the Gods
themselves. And when Homer intendeth to curse a man I would (saith
he) that thou mightest returne to Water and Earth: that is to say, I
would thou wert not any more, as the time hath bene that thou wast
not. To be short, Sophocles, Aeschylus, and the very Comediewriters
speake after the same manner: and for proofe of them all, Euripides shall
suffice, who was the least religious of them all. The time hath bene
(saith he) that Heauen and Earth were but a lump: but after that they
were seperated, they ingendred all things, and brought to light the Trees,
the Birds, the Beastes of the fildes, the Fishes, and Men themselves. For
as for others, they speake more to the purpose, as Aratus, who saith that
God hath set the Starres in the Skye to distinguish the Seasons of thy
yeare: that he created all things: that men are his offspring: that by the
signes of Heauen he ment to giue them warning of the chaunges of the
Ayre, and the tempests. And the voice of these Poets is to be considered
as the opinion of the people to whom they sung their Verses.

Now let vs go on with the auncient Philosophers. Pythagoras (by
the report of Plutarke) saith that the World was begotten of God, of it
owne nature corruptible, because it was sensible and bodily, but yet that
it is not corrupted, because it is upheld and maintained by his prouidence.
The same thing doth also Diogenes Laertius witnesse. And where as
Varro saith that Pythagoras acknowledged not any beginning of living
Wights: Architas his Disciple shall mainteine the contrary for his
Master: For his wordes are these: Of all living Wights man is bred
most wise of capacitie to consider things, and to attein to knowledge,
and to iudge of them all. For GOD hath printed in him the fulnesse of
all Reason. And like as God hath made him the instrument of all Voi-
ces, Sounds, Names and vtterances, so also hath he made him the instru-
ment of all vnderstandings and conceits, which is the workmanship of
wisdome: And euen for that cause (saith he) doe I thinke that man is of
Gods creating, and hath receiued his instruments and abilities at his
hand. Thales, one of the seaueri Sages held opinion, that all things had
their beginning of Water, and that God created all things thereof,
who is aloneely unbegotten, and hath not any ende or any beginning.

And

And againe, The World (saith he) is most excellently beautifull, for it is the worke of God. Also being asked whether was first of the Day or the Night, he answered that the Night was sooner by one day: as if he had ment to say, that afoze God had created light, it must needs be confessed that out of him there was nothing but darkenesse. Now this Philosopher also as well as the rest had gone to Schoole in Aegipt.

Plutarch in his
banket.

Timæus of Locres termeth Time the Image of eternitie, and saith that it toke his beginning from the creating of Heauen and Earth, and that God created the very Soule of the World afoze the World it selfe, both in possibilitie and in time. To be short, Plutarch affirmeth that all the naturall Philosophers of old time, held opinion that the begetting of the World began at the Earth as at the Centre thereof: and that Empedocles saith that the finest kinde of Aer which they call Aether, was the first part thereof that was drawne vp on high. And Anaxagoras is reported by Simplicius, to affirme that God (whom he calleth Minde or Vnderstanding) created the Heauen, the Earth, the Sunne and the Starres, and scarcely is there any one to be found, which teacheth that time is without beginning.

Some of Platoes latter Disciples, (as namely Proclus writing against the Christians) would needs beare their Queller downe, that he beloued the worlde to haue had no beginning. But if we may beleue Aristotle, who was a scholler of his a two and twentie yeres, he taught that the worlde was created, and it is one of chiefe Principles wherein they most disagree. Philo who was as another Plato, saith that Plato had learned it of Hesiodus. And Plutarch who sheweth himselfe to haue perused him throughe leafe by leafe, speaketh of him in these wordes. There are (saith he) some studiers of Plato, which by racking his words, indeuour by allmeanes to make him denie the creation of the Worlde and of the Soule, and to confesse the euerlastengnesse of time, notwithstanding that in so doing they bereaue him of that most excellent treatise of his concerning the Gods, against the despisers and skorners of whome in his time he wrote. And what needeth anie thing to be alledged for prooffe thereof, seeing that this whole booke of Timæus is nothing els but an expresse treatise of the Creation of the World: The same thing also doth Aphrodisius witnesse concerning Plato. In his booke intituled Athlantike, he termeth the worlde a thing Longago created. In his matters of State he saith that the worlde was settled and founded by God, and that it containeth store of good thinges, and that the troublesomenesse which it hath, is but a Remnant or Remainder of the former confusion. Also Socrates in his booke of Commonweale, termeth it *ἡ πρώτη ἀρχή* A Godhead begotten or created. And which of the auncient writers did ouer doubt, that Plato taught not the Crea-

Aristotle in
his eighth
booke of natu-
ral Philosophy
Epicurius in
Cicero.
Plutarke in
the Opinions
of the Philo-
sophers, and
in the creati-
on of the
Soule.

Aphrodisius
as he is alled-
ged by Simpli-
cius vpon the
bookes of
Heauen.
*τὸ πρῶτον πᾶσι
ἔστιν*

tion of the World, considering that he hath made descriptions, both of all the parts thereof, and of the Gods themselves: And also that he saith that the world was created corruptible of it selfe, but yet abode immortall and uncorruptible through the grace of God which upholdeth it: But let vs examine the racking which Proclus offereth vnto him. Plato (saith he) affirmeth in his Commonweale, that whatsoever hath a beginning hath also an ende: Nowe the Worlde, as he saith in his Timæus, shall haue no ende: Therefore it followeth that it had no beginning. If another man should reason after that maner against Proclus, Proclus would laugh him to skorne: for he shifteth the termes: and yet our Soules which he concludeth to be without ende, faile not to haue had a beginning. But though we were neuer so well contented to let him passe: yet both Plato assoile him in one worde. The world (saith he) is corruptible of it selfe, for every thing that is compounded, may also be dissolved: but it is not Gods will that it should bee corrupted. And mine ordinance (saith the euerlasting) is of more power to make thee to continue, than thine owne Nature is to make thee to perish. The which thing he speaketh yet more shortly in another place, saying that the world hath receiued an Immortalitie at the hande of the workemaister which made it. Now, then, seeing that by Nature it may perish, surely by Nature it had a beginning: and the power that hath preserved it from perishing, is the very same that made it to be. Proclus addeth: Plato propoundeth a Question (saith he) whether the Worlde was created after the patterne of a thing forecreated, or of a thing without beginning. Therefore he doubted whether it were eternall or no. What a conclusion was this for a great Philosopher? I aske whether men be bred of themselves or created of another; & therefore I uphold that they be bred of themselves: as who should say he in disputing, it were not an ordinarie matter to set dolone both the Contraries, for the affirming of the one & the denying of the other. Again, if it were begotten or created, after the example of a thing afore created could it be beginninglesse, seeing that the patterne thereof had a beginning? And if it were created after the example of a thing vncreated, can it come to passe that it should be euerlasting, seeing that it is not the very patterne it selfe? No: but as I haue said afore, we admit hozned arguments against the trueth, whereas in defence of the trueth the perfectest demonstrations suffice vs not. Also in another booke intitled of a String he saith thus: Plato in his booke of Lawes saith that Commonweales and Artes haue infinite times bene utterly destroyed by Waterfloods and Burnings, and therefore that men cannot certainly say from what time men haue first growne into Commonweales: Ergo, he beleueed that the World had no beginning. Nay, he saith these things in his Timæus, which is the booke whereof thou

Plato in his
common-
weale.

in diuinitate
vnde dicitur
et apud p. 2.

canst

canst not doubt, but that he treateth there expresselie of the Creation of the World. And he repeateth the same againe in his booke of Commonweale matters, hauing said afoze, that God created Heauen and Earth, the Starres and Gods. Now then, seeing it is one selfesame Author that speaketh these things, and in one selfesame place, and one immediately after another: is it not certeine that he ment not to match cleane contrarie doctrines together? What is to be said then, but that he spake there after the maner of the common multitude, who (as Aristotle saith) doe call the things infinite, which they be not able to number? As Moyses himselfe speaketh, who calleth the things eternall, euermlasting or endlesse, which are of very long continuance, notwithstanding that he made a booke expressely of the Creation of all things? But in dede it was a surmize of the auncientnesse of the World, which Plato (as it should seme) had brought home out of Aegypt, accordingly as the report of Solon sufficiently declareth, who telleth him that the Aegyptians had Registers of nine thousand yeres, that is to say (as Plinckarke interprets it) nine thousand Moones.

But let vs come to Aristotle, to whome this opinion doth properly belong. For although some of his Schollers being ashamed on his behalfe, would faine beare him on hand that he was of another opinion, or at leastwise that he held it as a doubtfull point; yet notwithstanding his sentences in that case are too certeine, too cleere, and too manifest, for them to goe about to cloke his opinion. But seeing he was so bold as to remoue the former bound settled by the authoritie and beleefe of all that went afoze him: needes must it be that he had very expresse termes, and very certeine Demonstrations. And I pray you let vs see what maner a ones they be? From the moouings that are here beneath, he leadeth vs to the moouings that are aboue, and from them to a first mouer. Hether to he is well. But afterward he will haue this first mouer to moue euermlastingly, and therefore that time should be euermlasting also. Neither the ground nor the consequence of this argument are oughtworth. Howe will ye pzooue that the first mouer moueth eternally? May contrarietie, mouing argueth a beginning. For in mouing there is a certeine point from whence the mouing is made, vnto another point whereto it tendeth: and enen according to Aristotles owne doctrine, fozenesse, afternesse, and continuance of time do folloowe fozenesse, afternesse, and continuance of mouing and that implieth a manifest contrarietie to the definition of mouing from place to place. And that time should be beginninglesse, what els is it to say, than that time is not time, and (as ye woulde say) an implying of contradiction of the verie worde it selfe? For what els is time according to Aristotle himselfe, than the number of mouing by fozenesse and afternesse

Against Aristotle Eternity

Aristotle in his 1. 3. & 8. bookes of natural Philosophie: in his first booke of the Heauens, and in his first booke of the breede of liuing things.

afternesse, by past and to come. And if it be a number, where is the infinitenesse thereof become? And if there be afore and after, where is the eternitie thereof? In another place he saith, that moving is eternall because time is eternall, and that the cause why time is so, is that it is alwaies ioyned to that which is past. I pray you what a childishnesse is this? By the same reason I may say that the moving of a Pil, or the stirring of any living wight is eternall: for in those cases every instant followeth immediatly in the necke of that which is past, no lesse than in the moving of time, and yet we be not ignorant that they haue a beginning. But like as there is a certeine first forthsetting in those, so is there also in the moving of the Heauen, who is the breeder of time. And Algazel answereth Auerrhois verie wel vpon this point, That loke what a point or picke is in things that hold on whole vnbroken off; the same is an instant or moment in things that immediatly or continually succede one after another: and that as a point or picke is the beginning of a line: so an instant is the beginning of time: and Auerrhois could not disprove this reason, otherwise than by flowing him for it. He replieth yet againe, and saith; Yea but if the World had a beginning, how shall the maker thereof be void of alteration? To such a question as this is, me thinkes he himselfe should answer thus: That the alledging of an inconuenience assaileth not the question. But good Sir Philosopher! By your seeking to bring vs to this inconuenience, you graunt at leastwise that God created Nature. And is it not a strainge oversight in you, that you wil needes tie him to the lawes of Nature, which is the maker of Nature? and measure the power and libertie of the Clockmaker, by the subiection of the Clocke vnto him? Art thou not ashamed to yeld lesse preheminance to God, than to thy king whom thou exemptest from subiection to his lawes, because he is a maker of the lawes? I pray thee what a thing it were, if thou shouldst vntertake but onely to measure Nature by thine owne wit? What a number of times hast thou found thy wit to stumble at the least things? How often hast thou found it against thy selfe? Now, if Nature goe beyond the reach of thy wit, how farre shall the very maker of nature outgoe it? Thou canst not shift thy place without removing, and therefore thou demest the like of God. But consider at leastwise that thy Soule or Minde not being limitted within any place, is the place of a thousand things, and that a thousand things are the place thereof. Again, thy soule cannot conceiue any thing, without passing from cōtemplation to action: no nor abide in contemplation, without change. Now thy desire is to haue God like thy selfe in this behalf. But if thou wilt not yeld thy selfe to other mens reasons; at leastwise yeld thy selfe to thine owne reasons. For whereas thou saiest, that beyond the Heauen there is neither emptinesse nor time, but that whatsoeuer is there, is exempted from all

maner.

Algazel,

Aristotle in
his first booke
of Heauen.
cap. 9.

matter of time, nothing, chaunge, and possibilitie; and that in that uni-
 uersall eternitie al things do leade a most happie and welcontented life:
 darest thou say lesse of God, whom thou thy selfe doest place farre above
 all those things? The very brute Beasts would bable after that maner
 of the nature of the Soule, yea and moze to the purpose too. For wheras
 there is no comparison betweene God and thee, they yet haue a thing
 that doth somewhat resemble thee. For thou chaungest in doing, because
 thy doing is another thing than thy being, and the thing that thou aimeest
 at is out of thy selfe; which thing cannot chaunge for thee, and therefore
 thou art faine to chaunge for it. Also thou chaungest in beholding, for the
 thing which thou beholdest, and thou which beholdest it, are two: and to
 be short, in beholding, thou doest after a sort suffer at the thing which thou
 beholdest, and in doing, thou sufferest at the thing which thou doest: but
 vnto him which is the maker of all things, to be and to behold, to behold
 and to doe, to doe and to will are all one thing. For euen in willing a
 thing he hath done it, and his willing thereof is after a certeine and de-
 terminate maner, (I vse humane words for vttering of my meaning.)
 To be short, vnto him that beholdeth al things in himselfe, nothing can
 spring vp that shall be new. Let vs now put the case, that the forealled-
 ged inconuenience be most to purpose, and let vs see at leastwise if thou
 canst skil to auoide it in thine owne opinion. If God (saist thou) do make
 any thing new, he must needs chaunge his minde. Add yet thou sayest
 therewithall, that in all things which are done here beneath by naturall
 causes, there is a certeine influence of God, at leastwise of the vniuersall
 influence vnder the which thou putttest all things. So speakest thou, so
 speaketh Auerrhois, so speaketh Proclus and the rest of you thereof. Now,
 seeing that God doth euery day a thousand newe things here beneath,
 I demaund of thee whether he doth them vpon newe deuise, or vpon euer-
 lasting forepurpose? If he doe them vpon newe deuise, thou stumblest at
 that which thou wouldest eschew: for (by thy reckoning) God doth that
 which he did not afore, namely, in shewing forth his influence anelwe,
 and his producing (by that influence) the thing that was not afore. And if
 he do them vpon everlasting forepurpose, then confessest thou that which
 thou meaneest to denie: to wit, y God determined euerlastingly to make
 or doe things by his power, and that according to that determination, he
 gineth to euery thing in their times, whatsoeuer he had foreallotted them
 of his goodnesse. For what difference makest thou in the case betwene
 one Plant, and all Plants: betweene the Plant that is newe sprung vp
 to day, and the Plant that was withered a thousand yeres agoe? be-
 twene the whole worlde, and the least thing contained therein, if thou be
 faine to admit a newe deuise, as well for the least thing as for the grea-
 test? Nay thou hast deuised thee a God that is turned about vpon his
 wheele

Proclus con-
 cerning the
 Influence of
 the first cause.

Whole, a God that hath but a little more wit than thy selfe, and a little more strength than thy selfe: and yet such are thy speeches of him sometime, that I cannot tel whether thou wouldest be contented to be likened to him or no.

Let vs se his other Reasons. All the auncient Philosophers (saith he) sauing Plato, beleued that time is without beginning. A strange case, that he which taketh so great pleasure in controlling of men that went afore him, will now needes sheld himselfe vnder them; But I haue alreadie proued that that saying of his is false. And againe what greater contraries can there be, than time and eternitie? Also, The Heauen (saith he) is a diuine body, vncorruptible, the dwelling place of the Gods wherein there hath not any corruption beene sene that can be remembered: Ergo it is eternall. But how will he proue this Diuinitie, and this Quintessence of his, Whence will he proue this vncorruptible nature? What will he answer to this saying of his owne, that the Gods and Godheads dwell aboue Heauen, & vtterly without the compasse or reach of time: Is not this a setting downe of that thing for a ground, which is the thing that resteth to be proued, and (to speake after his owne maner) a craving of the principle? But if we beleue Pluarke, who firmeth that Aristotle held opinion that the Heauen is a mingled nature or heate and moisture together, shall it not be corruptible of it selfe as wel as the grounds are whereof it is composed? he addeth that auncient Grækes called it Aether (as ye would say Ayr) because it runneth about continually. And what will he answer to Plato, who saith that the Heauen or Skye is called Aether, of his brightnesse, in which respect also he calleth the Starre of Mars Aiton. Also what will he answer to all the former Philosophers, who are of opinion that the Skye is as Cristal composed of water? And finally what is this Running about: but a departing from one place to another: Soothly great reasons to maintaine eternitie, for if a man do but breath vpon the they vanish into smoke. And therefore Plotin in his booke of the World, and Damascius in expounding Aristocles booke of the Skye, and Proclus in his second booke vpon Platoes Timæus, haue very well noted, that for the prouing of the eternitie, Aristotle hath set downe many things which neede none other disproofe than bare deniall, and which would be as hard for him to proue, as to proue eternitie it selfe. What is to be thought then, if euen by the propositions of Aristotle himselfe and of his Schollers, we proue against him and his Schollers, that the World had a beginning: The World (say they) is eternall, as yet as eternall as it is, it dependeth vpon God. In that point they all agree. The disagreement among them is in this, that some of them make the depending thereof vpon God to be as vpon an efficient cause, and some as vpon a finall cause, and euery of them oweth Aristotle

saith to Aristotle,
Plato in his
Cratylus.

saith to Aristotle

Plotin in his
booke of the
world.

Damascius
vpon the
booke of the
Skye.

Proclus in his
second booke
vpon Timeus,
Aristotle against Aristotle.

Aristotle to his life as much as he can. Now, if it depend upon God as an effect dependeth upon his efficient cause, who saith not that an effect is after his cause, and that there went a working power afoze the effect distinguished essentially from the cause thereof. And where is then this godly ground of theirs become, that the World is eternall because no forworking power went afoze it? Or if it depend upon God as a final cause thereof, that is to say, if it were for him, & not fro him so as it was not a thing of his making, but a thing that he could not conveniently forbear: where soever an end is intended, is there not also a forercast? And where forercast is, can chance and necessity bear there any sway; And if God had no need of the World, was it not at his choice whether it should be or no? And being at his choice, can it be beginninglesse, seeing that the being thereof dependeth upon another than it selfe? Again, if the World depend upon God as upon the end thereof, the working power which they themselves require in the creation of all things shall either haue gone afoze it or not. If it must needs haue gone afoze it, then was it not from euercasting, for this worde forego being a betokener of time, excludeth the world from eternitie or euercastingnesse. Or if there needed not any forworking power to haue gone afoze the world, but that it be simply an illue proceeding from the force of the cause, why should it not proceede as well in time as from euercasting, seeing that the said force or power is directed by Reason and by Will? And why then hold they this principle, That the World cannot be of creation, because that if it were so, some cause must needs haue gone afoze it? Again, whence hath the Skye his beginning of moouing, but from an instant? And what soener could be neuer so little a while without moouing, why might it not be without moouing a longer while, seeing that the respect is all one, both of eternitie vnto all times, and of infinitenesse vnto all places? Wherefore whereas Aristotle saith that the World (notwithstanding that it is eternall) dependeth upon God; he graunteth consequently that it is not eternall. Secondly, contrarie to the teaching of all that went afoze him, he deliuereth vs three first grounds; namely, Matter, Substance, or stuffe, forme, shape, or fashion, and Priuation, want, or bereauing, and his Scholes are so greatly delighted therewith, that there is nothing els to be heard spoken of in them. But if these be the first beginnings or grounds of things; where is then there eternitie? And if they keepe a circuite in going round about; how can it be that they had not a beginning? Also how can a substance, be imagened to be without forme, shape, or fashion, or forme, shape, or fashion to be without a substance, seeing that euen mishapnesse it self is a kind of shape, and also that a shape is nothing els than the forme or fashion of a substance? Moreover, what greater absurdity can there be, than to make a beginning of being, which hath by it selfe:

As in way of end.

selfe no being at all, nor can haue any being but in another thing, as if
 a man would make blindnesse to be the beginner of sight, or darkenesse
 the beginner of light: Againe, seeing that neither substance nor shape haue
 of themselves any being at all: how can they cause other things to be?
 Or how comes it to passe that two things which haue had no being at al
 doe meete together in one essence or being, but by vertue of the soueraine
 Weer, who hath willed and determined that it should be so? And if his
 willing or determining be the cause of the being of them, who is he that
 did set or appoint him the terme wherein to do them: But to excuse one
 vntrueth, a man telles a thousand, and to shift off on error, he falleth into
 ten thousand: and yet it cannot be eschewed, but that the trueth will
 sparle out of the Contrarietie of vntruthes, as fire sparles out of the
 knocking of one Flintstone against another. In his booke of Problemes
 (which seeme notwithstanding to be of many mens gathering, he saith
 concerning the gennding of liuing things, y the final things, as Wormes
 Cuttsoles, and such other, are ingendred by the ordinarie alterations of
 time, the greater by the greater alterations as things that haue neede of
 greater beginnings or grounds, and that there hath in time past bene
 such an alteration, as of it selfe hath ingendred them, yea euen the nota-
 blest liuing things and man him-selfe, supplying therein both the come
 of the efficient cause, and also of the materiall, both at once. And it may
 be that that cause why Varro saith that Aristotle belaued that there
 was no beginning of liuing things, or that liuing things haue bene from
 euer without beginning. Also in another place he saith, that there was
 such an alteration at the same time that liuing things were first brought
 forth, and that if it behoue Nature to bring forth any mo of them, there
 must be such another alteration going afoze, namely, by a rare Coniun-
 ction of some Starres. And in another place he saith further, that if Man
 and other liuing wights had a beginning, it was either in egge, in seede,
 or in twoyme, and so forth. What a number of Monsters are here for
 the stablishing of one Monster, and yet he hath not alledged any thing
 which is not against him-selfe. The lesser Coniunctions (saith he) doe
 breede the smaller liuing things, the meane breede the meane, and the
 great ones breede the great. Well, be it so. Yet these coniunctions meet
 not but by the course of the Starres; and that course is a mouing, and
 euery mouing hath a beginning: and therefore it followeth that the
 wights had a beginning. Againe if the mouing of the Sky and of the
 Starres be euerlastingly, the Coniunctions thereof are euerlastingly al-
 so, as Aristotle him-selfe concludeth, and so on the contrarie. For if it
 haue turned about from euerlasting, the Coniunctions haue likewise in-
 countred from euerlasting. But euerlastingly they could not encounter:
 for the final ones, y meane ones, & the great ones are not all at once toge-
 ther,

Aristotle in
 problemes
 Sect. 10. Probl.
 64.

Sect. 10. Prob.
 15.

Aristotle in
 his third booke
 of the breeding
 of liuing
 wights.
 Lucrece: The
 Wormes of
 the Earth
 grew fit for
 rootes.

Aristotle in
 his xij. booke
 of Metaphi-
 sicks Chap. 7.

ther, but they come severally one after another with the space of certeine hundred yeres, and with diuers revolutions betwixt them: whereas if they were eternall, none of them could goe or come afoze another. Therfoze it followeth that there is a beginner of living wights, and a beginner of the goings about the Skye and of all the whole order which we see: And that is euen God himselfe.

How much better had Aristotle done, if he had hild himselfe to that which he saith well in other places, namely, that soasmuch as the most things cannot haue a perpetuall continuance in the particular, that is to say in in themselves, by reason of being too farre distant from their beginning: therfoze God hath continued them by the spreading forth of their kind, and to that end hath made them male & female and ordeined copulation betwixt them. For if we make the liuing things without beginning, doe we not make them to be euerlasting? And if we ground their beginnings vpon some revolutions of the Skyes; can those Reuolutions be euerlasting? Also, how shall they haue bene brought forth, in full groweth, or young, seeing that at the bringing forth of all things, the things are tender and vnperfect? And if the things be not euerlasting, where then is the euerlasting mouing of the Heauen: that is to say, where is Aristotles eternitie become? The same followeth also that which he saith in another place, namely that he which did first gather men together, was the authoz of very great good. For in acknowledging that there was a time wherein folke liued like the men of Brasilie, or like the wandring Nomades, he acknowledgeth also an infancie of the World. For els what should let that men haue not bene either euerlastingly dispersed, or els euerlastingly vnited together? And how comes it to passe of Aristotle, that there haue not bene Aristotles from euerlasting? Againe, who shall chuse out the very instant in eternitie for the breeding and bringing forth of any thing, particularly, but he that is the Lord of eternitie it selfe?

Aristotle in his *Metaphysics* commendeth godlinesse, and behighteth blessednesse to them that follow it, teaching vs that it consisteth in Contemplation. Now, seeing that this Contemplation or beholding is the meane to make vs blessed; it must needs be the beholding of a thing that is right blessedfull: but blessedfull it cannot be, if it consist in these inferior things which are base & subiect to so many miseries and tormoiles: Therfoze he meaneth the Contemplation which is the beholding of the ouely one God. Also in other places he saith that our Soules are of a diuine nature, that they be immortall, that they come into vs from without, and that they be (after a sort) a kin of the Gods: and his Disciples would be offended at him that should say, that their Maister doubted of the immortallitie of the Soule. And whereto is all this, if the World be eternall? If it be eternall, either our Soules also be eternall, that

Aristotle in
his second
booke of Ge-
neration and
Corruption.
Cap. 10. 2nd
in his booke
of Common
weale.

is to say without beginning, or els they be not eternall. If they be, how happeneth it they haue imprisoned themselves in these our bodies? Or if they be so imprisoned at the appointment of another: who shal that other be but God? And if God appoint or allot them to this newe state in time certaine, who hath made one eternitie subiect to another? And what is then become of this Parimé of theirs, that the World is eternall because God maketh not any thing there a newe? Moreover, if they be euermlasting, who hath made them proportionable to their bodies, that is to wit, infinite Soules to infinite Bodies? And then what becomes a gainie of this other rule of theirs, that Nature cannot abide any infiniteness? Or if they be euermlasting and yet of some certaine number, going and coming into new bodies by course: is not that the opinion of Pythagoras, and Aristotle doth so greatly mislike? And if our Soules at their departing out of our bodies, doe goe to the enioying of the blessed immortallitie, doth it not followe, that from after the passingouer of that reuolution, men must moue without Soule, dispute without reason, and iudge without minde, yea and that euen Aristotle himselfe speaketh and reasoneth without wit? To be short, what boteth it to be godly or religious, if our Soules acknowledge no better thing than themselves? What auaileth it to looke for the blessed Contemplation, if they be perfectly blessed of themselves? But perfectly blessed they be, if they be eternal. And whereto then serueth the reuwarding of them with immortall life, if they haue the eternitie or immortallitie already? What els then is his vpholding of the world to be eternall, than a turning of the whole world upside downe? But there are (saith Aristotle) Godlinesse, Blessednesse, and Immortallitie: then doth it follow that our Soules are not eternall. And if they be not eternall, then haue they a beginning, and that beginning haue they, either of God, or of the world. Of the world they haue it not: for (as I haue said) were the world eternal, the Conversions or turnings about therof should be eternal too, & consequently so should our soules be also, as which should be byed of their power. But now are all things mortall that are ingendred by those conversions, as Aristotle himselfe graunteth. But we put the case that they haue an originall notwithstanding that they be immortall. Therefore it remaineth that the same is from God. Now, they could not proceede from God as beames of his substance: for all of the Philosophers vphold that he is a single & vndiuided substance, vnted in it selfe and most perfectly one: but we be subiect to alteration, to ignorance, to euill affections & such other things. It remaineth therfore (and other wise it cannot bee) that our Soules are the worke of Gods power. Now, if our Soules (which after a sort doe comprehend the World and all things therein) be the effects of Gods power, which through his goodnesse uttereth it selfe when he listeth: shall not the world

it

it selfe and the senselesse and transitorie things which serue vs, yea and our bodies also which are but the Cotes, or Instruments of our soules be so in likewise: Now then, let Aristocles Disciples chose whether they will giue over the eternitie of the world, or the immortallitie of their Soules: the euerlasting turning about of the wheele, or the immortall settlednesse of blessed state: for both of them together cannot stand.

But surely his Disciple Theophrastus seemeth to haue perceiued these inconueniences and contradictions well, when he proceedeth so farre as to say that God created the world, yea euen of nothing. And so doth Algazel the Saracen against Auerrhois, vnto whom he saith, that God for the creating of the world needed neither stuffe nor newe aduise-ment, but that like a most perfect workeman, hauing all things in a readinesse, he tooke his owne leasure for the performance of his worke when it pleased him. And yet it seemeth that Aristotle towards the end of his life repented him of that doctrine: insomuch that in his booke of the world, he saith that God is the breeder and preseruer of all things in the world after what maner soeuer it be. And euen in his Metaphisickes, hauing reiect-
Nos a 1714.
ted the opinions of many men concerning these things, he saith thus. He that saith that God or the seueraine Minde is the Cause and Author not onely of liuing things, but also of Nature it selfe and the World, and of all the order therein, seemeth to speake discretely and weladvisedly, and they that speake otherwise, speake vnadvisedlie. And they that are of the former opinion, haue verie well set downe that Cause for the ground of all things that are, as the which is such a beginning as giueth mouing to all things. And in his booke of Wonders, (if it be his) he speaketh yet more euidently: saying, that naturally the Sea should couer the Earth as higher than it, but that God hath caused the Sea to withdraw it selfe, that the Earth might be vncouered for the vse of man & of other liuing wights. And this is in effect a commingbacke to the opinion of his predecessours, from the which he would so faine haue departed asore. Now, soeuer the case stand, all the auncient Philosophers doe either conclude the Creation of the world with vs, or els yeelde vs arguments into our hands wherewith to conclude it against themselues. To be short, when Aristotle who was the first that stepped out of the high way, saith that the world is without beginning, he seemeth to be Aristotle no more, he doth so often gainsay himselfe and offend against his owne rules. And where he chaunceth to say that the world was created, he seemeth to be minded to yeelde himselfe to vs. And where the case concerneth not (at leastwise expressely) the one nor the other: he leaueth vs many Conclusions, which do quite onerthrow and destroy the said opinion of his, & make him whether he will or no, to conclude on our side.

The Latins fell to Philosophie somewhat later than the Greekes, The Latins,
by

Theophrast in
his booke of
Sents, Sauors,
or Simelles.

Cicero in his
first booke of
Inuention, &
in his first
booke of the
Orator.

Cicero in his
second booke
of the Nature
of the Gods.

Cicero in his
Lawes.

Varro.

Seneca in his
first booke of
the happy life,
Chap 31. and
32. and in the
first booke of
his naturall
Questions:
and in his
Epistles.
Macrobius li.
1 Saturnaliū.

by reason whereof they had the more cause to overshoot themselves in the case of Eternitie: but yet we see that the most part of them followed the opinion of Plato. That man (saith Cicero) that first gathered together men afore dispersed, was surely a great Personage. And (as saith Pythagoras) so was he which did first giue names to things, and which first comprised within a certaine number of letters, the sounds of mans voice which seemed to be infinite, & which marked the Courses & proceedings of the wandring Planets, and which first found out Corne, Cloth, building, defences against wild Beasts, & the rest of the things that make our liues the more ciuil. What els is this than an acknowledging of a beginning. For if men were from euermlasting, did they not from euermlasting speake? Did they not from euermlasting giue names to things? Could they not inuent euery thing from euermlasting. Yes: and therefore he concludeth, We be not created by haphazard, but surely there was a certaine Might or Power which had a care of Mankind, and which would not haue begotten him to fall into the mischiefe of endlesse death, after he hath outworne the great and innumerable aduersities and toyles of world. Now, if we were created, and that there be a soueraine power which hath had care of Mankind, surely then hath there bene a beginning, seeing that the said power had a care of vs either when as yet we were not at all, or after the time that we were. And in another place he saith, That God created and furnished man, and that it was his will that he should haue the souereintie of all other things. That the world, the Sea, the Land, and all other things obey Gods tokens. And if at any time he bring in an Epicure alledging such worshipfull reasons as this, With what engines and edgetooles did your God build the World, and such other, either he sendeth him away with such answer as he deserueth, or els by holding his peace, sheweth sufficientlie that he deserueth no answer at all.

Varro the best learned of the Latins, maketh an vniuersall Historie deuided into three times. The first (as I haue said already) is from the Creation of the world, vnto the first Olimpiade. This man being a man of great reading, found the Creation of the world to haue bene but late a fore yea so late, that he ioyned it immediatlie to the time of the first Olimpiade. Likewise Seneca found all things to be new, and acknowledged in manie places that God created the whole worlde, and man peculiarly to serue him. And euerm since the beginning of the Worlde (saith he) vnto this day we be guided by the intercourses of daies and nights, and so forth. Macrobius passeth yet further, and saith that the world cannot be of an long antiquitie, considering that the furthest knowledge that is to be had thereof, reacheth not beyond two thousand yeres. As touching the Poets, whose speeches doe for the most part represente vnto

but be the opinion that was admitted among the common people: Virgil is full of excellent sentences to that purpose; & Ovid hath made a booke expressly of that matter. And even Lucrece also who professeth ungodlinesse, saith that beyond the Warres of Troy and Thebes, there was not any iote remaining to remembrance; than the which, he could not better haue declared the World to be but young, howbeit that (after the manner of his owne sect,) he fathereth that thing vpon chaunce, which all the wise men ascribe to the euermourning prouidence. Plinie is the onely man whom I wonder at, that being so curious a searcher of Nature, he could not conceiue that which is printed in euery part of it, and which euery man might of himselfe learne by his owne reading therein. He maketh a long Calender of the first inventors of things, as of Letters, of Houses, of Apparell, and of very Bread. He reckoneth by the Companies that haue sited from place to place for the peopling and replenishing of Countries. And can there be a greater proofe of newnesse than that? Sometimes he saith that the Earth is become wearie, and sometimes that it is waxed barrene in yielding of fruite and Mettalles, because it groweth olde. But in one place he saith expressly, that mens bodies by little and little become a smaller stature by reason of the witherednesse of the world which waxeth olde. And is not this a reporting of the Skye to be like a wheele, which gathereth heate and chafeth with rotolung and whirling about? And what imposeth this waxing old, but that it had also (as ye would say) a birthtime? What meaneth the wearing thereof away, but that it had erst bene new? What is ment by the chafing of it, but as the temperature thereof is altered? For if the World be eternall; why is not the wheele thereof eternally in one heate, and men eternally of small stature? Or if at least wise it be of verie auncient continuance, why were not men become Pygmies long agoe? And if the contrary bee to bee seene in Nature, what remaineth but to confesse that the World is but of late beginning? To be short, the Stoikes (as Varro witnesseth of Zeno) taught that the world was created of God, and that it should perish. The Platonists affirme that it is created of God and mortall, but yet is sustained from perishing of God. The Epicures graunt that it had a beginning, howbeit by haphazard and not by prouidence. The Peripatetikes say in their conclusions, that it is without beginning, and in their premisses they utterly deny it. The greatest despisers of God, as Plinie and such other like, doe write in their Prefaces, that the world is an euermourning God; & throughout the whole treatises of their booke, they vsay it againe. Now then, after so many graue witnesses, and after the confessions of the parties themselves, is there yet any of these pretended naturalistes to be found, which dareth thinke the contrary Will?

But now since the conning of our Lord Iesus Christ into the Earth,

Virgil.
Ouid.
Lucretius the
Poet.

Plinie.

Plinie. lib. 7.

Plin. lib. 1.

The Stoikes.
The Platonists.
The Epicures
The Peripatetikes.

Plinie.

The operations of the
Platonistes.

this doctrine hath bene received throughout the world, so as the thing which had aforesometimes bene disputable among the Heathen, is now admitted as an article of faith, welneere among all nations and sects on the earth. It may be that the miracles which were sene then in Heauen, in Earth, in the Sea, vpon men, and vpon the very ffeendes, made the world to perceiue that there was a Creator of the world. For who could doubt that the creating of a new Starre, the restoring of a dead man to life, or onely the making of a blindman to see, was not the worke of an infinite power, yea euen as wel as the building of the world, considering that betwene being and notbeing, betwene life & death betwene the hauing of a thing and the nothauing, the distance is infinite? And it may be that the signes which we haue sene from Heauen in our time, do serue to make the blasphemers vpon earth vnercusable. But whereof soeuer it came, the verie Philosophers themselves began to make a ground principle thereof: in so much that the Greekes, Persians and Arabians, and likewise after ward the Turkes and Mahometists, did put it into their beleafe as a thing out of all controuersie. To be short, there is not at this day any ciuill or well ordered people, which haue not their Chronicles and Histories of times, begun alwaies at the Creation of the world, wherein they doe all hold of Moyse, and agree all with vs Christians, sauing in the controuersie of some fewe yeeres.

Of all the Philosophers, onely the Platonists continued in estimation: and all men reiected the newfound opinions of Aristotle, and they stood at defiance, rather with the Gnosticks than with the Christians. Saine Austin saith concerning the Philosophers of his time, that their opinion was, that God was before the world, howbeit not in time, but in order and by way of vndersetting onelie: like as if a foote (saith he) were euer in one place, the print thereof should also be euer there. Vnto whom it may be answered in one worde, that like as abilitie and intent of going went afore the going it selfe, both in the man and in the foote, so in God also, the power and intent of creating, went afore the Creation. But it is best to heare of their owne words. Plotin in his booke of the world findeth himselfe not a little graued in this case, and he maketh very little account of all Aristotles suppesalles. If we say (saith he) that the Skye is euerlasting as in respect of the whole bodie thereof: how can that be, seeing that the liuing Creatures die, and the Elements passe from one into another, and that (as Plato affirmeth) the Skye it selfe is in continually wheeling? If we say that the Elementes and the liuing wights continue their perpetuities in their kinds: why doth the Heauen continue his perpetuic rather in number and particularitie? If the cause thereof bee, that nothing can slip out of it because it containeth al things: how can that reason agree to the Starres and Planets, which do not containe

Plotin. Ennead. 1. lib. 1. cap. 1. and 2.

all things as the Heauen or Skye doth, and yet we affirme them to be euerlasting? And if nothing impeach it without, what shoulde let that something may not impeach it within, seeing that all liuing wights doe naturally perish through the distemperance of their parts, notwithstanding that they liue euen while they be a dissoluing? And what insueth hereof, but that both sortes of bodies, as well Coelestiall as terrestriall, do perish? yea and both Heauen and Earth likewise, sauing that the Coelestiall indure a longer time, and more slowly than the Earthlie? Certainlie (saith he) if we tooke this world eternitie (as well in the whole world as in the parts thereof,) not to betoken an euerlastingnesse (that is to say, a perpetuities or continuance without beginning or end) but only a difference of continuance, there would be the lesse doubtfulnesse in the matter. But all shall be out of doubt, if we fater the same eternitie vpon the wil of God, which of it selfe is able enough to vphold the World, for so shall things haue their continuance according to his pleasure, some in their kindes, and some particularlie in themselves. Now, if the World were eternall; were it not impossible that it should be otherwise than it is? But if it haue this being from the will of God, is it not discharged of that necessitie? And what shall then become of this saying of his, which he setteth downe in diuers other places, namely that the World is of necessitie, because it should behoue a second nature to accompanie the first, vnlesse we vnderstand it to be spoken of the necessitie that is conditional, and not of the necessitie that is absolute as they terme it. Againe, the same will which made the World to be, and hath given continuance to the parts thereof, some after one sort and some after another, & hath disposed of them as it liked it selfe, shal it not also haue made them when it liked it selfe? Whosoouer then saith, that the being of the world, as well in the whole as in the partes, dependeth vpon the will of God, taketh from the world all necessitie of being. And he that saith that there is no necessitie that it should haue bene from euerlasting, (let vs vse those words for want of other,) saith therewithall that it is not euerlasting.

In his booke of Eternitie and of Time, he saith that eternitie & time differ in this respect, that eternitie is verified but of the euerlasting nature, and time is to be verified of the things that are created: So as eternitie, is and abideth in God alone, whom he calleth the World that is to be conceived but in minde or vnderstanding, and time abideth in the world that is subiect to the senses: adding neuerthelesse, that the world (to speake properly) was not made in time, after which maner we also doe say that it was not made in time but together with the time. But when he hath deliberately scanned all the definitions of time made by the former Philosophers, and hath searched all the corners of his wit to find out the best, in the ende he concludeth thus. Wee must needs come

backe (saith he) to the said first nature, which I affirmed heretofore to be in eternitie, I mean the vnmouable nature, which is wholly all at once the infinite and endless life, and which consisteth whole in one, and tendeth vnto one. But as yet there was no time at all, or at leastwise it was not among the Natures that consist in vnderstanding, but was to come afterward, by a certeine maner and kinde of posterioritie. Now then if a man will vnderstand, how time proceeded first from the higher Natures which rested in themselues; good cause shall he haue to call the Muses to his helpe, for the vttering thereof: For it may be that the Muses also were as then. Therefore let vs say thus, Afore such a time as Forenesse issued foorth and had neede of afternesse; Time, (which as then was not) rested in God with the residue of all things that now are. But a certeine nature bent to many doings, that is to wit the Soule of the world, being desirous to haue more than the present, began to moue it selfe, and so from thence immediatly issued time, which passeth on continually and is neuer the selfesame. And we beholding the length thereof, haue imagined time to be the image of eternitie. And what is ment by all this contemplation, but that a certeine Soule or minde proceeding from God, that is to wit the Spirit of God, did moue and cary the world about. That with that mouing and of that mouing, time was byed and brought forth? That afore that mouing, there was a settled state or rest, as eternitie afore time: And that (as he himselfe saith there) Time and Heauen were made both at once, and eternitie was afore them both.

As touching that it is demanded what God did afore the world: dooth not Plotinus himselfe furnish vs with sufficient answer, in that he saith that God was not working at all but resting in himselfe, with and performeth verie great things: And is not the like concluded by the goodly doctrine of Gods prouidence, whereof he treateth in booke expressly bearing that title: for if it be possible for the world to be eternall as well as God: where then can there be any prouidence? For what else is prouidence, than the will of God vttered forth with Reason, and orderly disposed by vnderstanding? And if Gods will be required: where is then the necessitie of being, which in other places he attributeth to the world? Also where is this saying of his become, that our Soules are immortall? and that some of them are eternall and afore all time? And likewise this, that afore God had created the world and breathed a soule into it, it was but a dead corse, a mingle-mangle of earth and water, a darke matter, a thing of nothing, and (at a worde) such a thing as euen the Goddes themselves were abashed at it: and that after that God had shed this Soule in the world, both life and mouing were thereby breathed into the Starres, Planets, and Liuing lightes. For seeing that from nothing, notliuing, and notmouing, there is

an infinite distance to being living and moving: Doth it not follow also that there is infinite ods betwene him that is, lieth, and moveth, that is to say God, and the thing that waiteth to have being life and moving at his hand, that is to wit the formentioned Chaos. And what is it that hath bounded, or filled by this distance, but onely the wil of him who onely is? And if will were the doer thereof; then was it not of necessitie: And if it was not of necessitie; then where is the eternitie thereof?

Porphirius disputing of the Minde or Understanding, the which becometh the beginning, ground, or wellspring of the World, saith that it was bred of God from everlasting, by a certeine eternall or beginninglesse breeding, even such a one as was afore all eternitie. It was not bred in time (saith he) for as yet there was no time at all: and after that time was made, the world can scarcely be said in verie deede to bee, if it be compared with the foresaid Understanding or Minde. This is all one with the saying of Trismegistus in a certeine place, where he calleth this minde, a true, everlasting, and first borne Sonne of God, and this world Gods yonger Sonne: the one begotten of his verie nature, and the other of his will.

Proclus and Simplicius keepe a great coile in maintenance of the eternitie of the world, and have made bookes thereof against Philoponus; but al their reasons are sufficiently refuted, by the thinges which I have discoursed against Aristotle. But seeing they mainteine Gods Providence and the immortallitie of the Soule, do they not reiect eternitie whether they will or no? And whereas Proclus writing against such as uphold that there be infinite worlds without number, saith that such infinitenesse is against reason and knowledge; and that the admitting thereof excludeth God, and abandoneth al things to fortune: why should he rather admit infinitenesse of time in this one world than infinitenesse of number in many, specially seeing he alloweth Gods providence? And whereas Simplicius condemneth those to Hell which believe not the Providence upon the Reasons of Epictetus: doth he not consequently condemne the defenders of the eternitie of the world to the same punishment? And when Auerrhoes himselfe saith that it is our duettie to magnifie God by prayer and sacrifice, and that it is planted even in nature to offer sacrifice, is he not contrarie to him selfe? for to what end reverence we God, if we be nothing beholden to him? neuerthelesse my alledging of these thinges is not as though I knewe not wel that the Platonists, yea and even these aforesaid Philosophers also, do call the world everlasting and unbegotten: but to shew that the very surest of them have wavered in this opinion: insomuch that they have left vs principles contrarie to their conclusions: and after all their long skirmishes, they find no rest but in our Camp. And soothly the most part of them be

Porphi-
rius.

giuen to acknowledge certeine Degrees of eternitie. Whereof the first should be, that which is measured by a continuance of that which is euermore of it selfe, and becommeth neither the longer for ought that is to come, nor yet the shorter for ought that is past; and that is it which is to be ascribed alonely vnto God. The second as the measure of such things as haue assured and being stable, and yet haue also a certeine succession in their operations, of which sort are the vnderstanding spirits or Angells; and this is properly called Ayneffe. The third as the measuring of durablenesse continued by fozenesse & afternesse, hauing a beginning but not an end, & this they call Time, attributing it properly to the world. And what els is this than to speake y thing by circumstance, which we vtter in one word? For to what purpose call they a thing eternall or euermore, if by the termes Eternall and Euermore, they meane temporary? After which maner the Emperour Iustinian speaking vnproperly of his owne Lawes, said he hoped that they should be eternall and euermore.

Iustinian in
the preface to
his Digests.

As touching the opinion of Epictetus the Stoike and of Plurake no man can doubt except he quite and cleane disanull their bookes. GOD (saith Epictetus) hath ordeined that there should be Winter and Summer, good seasons and bad: he hath giuen to the Earth both fruitfulness and barrennes, and his disposing of things so by contraries, is to mainteine the harmony of the whole. He hath brought vs into the world, giuen vs bodies and members, and assigned vs heritages and fellowheires. It is he that hath made both the sight and the colours, and neither sight nor colours were ought worth, if it were not for the light, and therefore hath he also made the light. Thus from point to point he leadeth vs to this conclusion, that God made the world and all that is therein. Plurake saith thus: If God were not maker of all things, then should he be restrained in some things, and so were he not Lord of all. But he is to be acknowledged for Lord of all, and therefore of consequence he is the maker of them all. And here might a great number of the forealleged sentences of the selfesame Authoys be alledged againe.

Plutark in his
Psychogonic.

Galen in his
third booke of
the vse of the
Partes of
mens bodies.

But what will we say if Galen (who in common account is the most heathenish of all writers,) after he hath thoroughly ript vp both man and the world it selfe, be in the end constrained to come backe to the same point? I make here (saith he in his booke of the vse of partes) a true Himne in the honour of our Maker. Whose seruice I belecue verily consisteth not in the sacrificing of hundreds of Oxen vnto him, or in burning great heapes of Frankincense before him, but in acknowledging the greatnesse of his wisdom, power, and goodnes, and in making the same knowene vnto others. For whereas of his owne free will he hath vouchsafed to garnish and beautifie all things in the best maner

that

that could be, and hath not enuied so great a benefite to any thing, I hold it for a prooffe of perfect goodnes: and so farre praised be his goodnes. Againe, to haue found out the meanes how to adorne things so richlie, sheweth a soueraigne Wisedome, and to haue brought to passe and perfected all that euer he had forepurposed, betokeneth an incomparable might and power. And in his seauententh booke, who so considereth (saith he) the composing and knitting together of euery liuing thing, shall finde that it carieth in it a prooffe of the Creators wisedome. And seeing that in the middes of that Puddle of humors ech liuing wight hath a Soule dwelling, indued with so great force and vertue: he ought of reason the more to wonder at the greatnes and excellency of the Minde that dwelleth in heauen. And who is he (had he saide afoze) which looking but onely vpon the Skinne of a thing, wondereth not at the cunning of the Creator? Yet notwithstanding he dissembleth not that he had tried by all meanes to finde some reason of the composing of liuing twights, and that he would rather haue sathered the doing thereof vpon nature, than vpon the very autho: of nature. But yet for all that, in the ende he concludeth thus. I confesse (saith he) that I knowe not what the Soule is, notwithstanding that I haue sought verie narrowly for it, neither can I yeelde a reason how the Babe is formed in the Mothers Wombe. Well doe I se that in that case there is very great Wisedome, and therefore I am of that opinion that it is not for any man to meddle with the searching out of it, but that it ought to suffice vs that our Creator hath willed it to be after that fashion. For shall we presume to seeke a reason of the dooing of that thing, which (without making of an Anatomie) we should neuer knowe to haue beene done? It is all one as if he should say, that Nature whereat we wonder so much, is nothing els but whatsoener it pleaseeth God to commaund.

Gallib. 11.
& 17.

Galen in his
booke of the
breeding of
Children.

Galen in his
fifteenth booke
of the vse of
Pottes

And now what remaineth moze but to heare Apollo (that is to say, the very Deuill himselte) who being prayed to say an Himne to the great God, beginneth it with this verse.

Which made the first Man and called him Adam: which verse Iustine the Martyr affirmeth to haue beene commonly sung in his time.

After the confession of wickednesse it self, if we list also to heare the confession of Ignorance, there is not at this day so brutish a Nation, which either by reading it in the great letters of the Heatiens, or by tradition from their predecessours, retein not the opinion that the world was created: howbeit that the case doth stand with them as it doth with the diuersity of Portraiture drawen out, the first from the liuely patterne it self, the second from the first, a third from the second, & so forth on vntil the last counterfeite retaineth scarce any feature at all from the first original paterne. Of the nations which we call

Sanage of *Wilde*, some affirme themselves to keepe and reuerence the places where they surmise to haue bene the originall of the Sea, of the Sonne, of the Moone, of the first man and of the first woman, &c. Other, some holde opinion that there came one from the North into their country which heighthened the Vallies and releued the Hilles, and replenished their Country with Men and Women whom he had created, and that the same partie giueth them frutes of all sortes abundantly. Who (whensoeuer they prouoke him to wrath,) will change their good soile into barran land, and take from them the fatnesse of the heauen. May ye not see clearely here the creation of the world, the sinne of man, and the curse which God hath giuen to the earth for mans sake: And as for the partie whom they speake of, it is a mingling of the storie of the Creation, which the storie of some partie that first brought people from the North into those Countries to inhabit them euen long time after, ioyning the creation of the world with the peopling of Countries, as things not farre diuers, accordingly as is done in diuers Histories. And I pray you how many euen of our Neighbour Nations that inhabite the bittermost borders of the world, could euen at this day answere moze fitly to this question.

Now seeing that the World and all the partes thereof do sing out the creation, seeing the wisdom of the world teacheth it vngodlines (euen whether it will or no) auoweth it, Ignorance seeth it, and all together in all ages both taught, auowed, and perceiued it: may not we with the allowance euen of the bloudest and of the wickedest, pronounce this definitiue sentence, That the World had a beginning, and that it had it at such time as it pleased God the Creator thereof: But there remaineth yet one point to be discussed; namely, whereof God created the World: and that is matter enough for another Chapter.

The tenth Chapter.

That God created the World of nothing, that is to say, without any matter or stuffe whereof to make it.



I Cannot tell whether I may wonder moze at the good insight of the auncient Philosophers in the knowledge of many naturall things, or at their blindness in the knowledge of the author of them, in that they set it downe for a definitiue sentence, that nothing in all the worlde is made of nought, and therefore that the great workmaister himselfe could not make any thing without matter or stuffe whereof. For in effect it is a measuring of the builder and his building both by one rule or skantling, and an abasing

abasing of ϕ power which they themselves confesse to be infinite, unto the state of our infirmitie. God (say they,) cannot make any thing without matter whereof. And why? Because a Mason cannot make any building without stiffe whereof. As who would say there were a more absurde kinde of reasoning in Logicke, than to conclude from the finite to the infinite, from the mightlesse to the almightie, from the transitorie to the everlasting. Say rather thou shouldest reason thus. Man, who is lesse than a Worme in comparison of the highest, draweth Golde out of the Rocke, or out of the dust of the earth: Of the same earth or stone he maketh such cloath, wire, and leaues of goldsoile, as no man would daue to haue come of so grosse a matter. Of the Greene Herb he draweth out whit flower for his sustenance: of the stalkes of flaxe and Hempe, he draweth out threde to make cloath of: of ragges he maketh Paper to write on: and of the excrements of the little Silkeworme he draweth out a great deale of Silkecloath. Againe, he turneth some one rude and rough kinde of stiffe into a hundred thousand fashions: of the least things he maketh very great things, and by the excellencie of his wit draweth most excellent things out of that where the most part of men (notwithstanding that they be men as well as he) sound not ne perceined not any thing at all: as for example, out of the flint, fire to warme him: out of the barrelline ferne and vile seaewe, glistring Glasse: out of a shelish that the sea casteth by, Purple to make Ornaments of. To be short, after a certeine maner, he maketh somewhat of nothing. Now, seeing that the weakenesse of mortall men can do so much, shall not the mightie power of the everlasting, be able to doe much more? And seeing that a thing of nought is able to doe so much, shall any thing be vnpossible to the maker of all things? But although this which I haue said might suffice the discreete, yet notwithstanding let vs discourse more largely this matter concerning matter or stiffe.

Soothly if God needed matter or stiffe to worke upon, either he himselfe made it, or els it was eternally of it selfe as well as he. If he made it, he made it of nothing: for in seeking the matter of matter, ye shal proceede to infinite; and so haue I the thing I would haue. If it were from everlasting, then were there two eternalles together, which is a thing repugnant to all reason and contrarie to it selfe. For nothing can bee more contrary to eternitie, than to say that there is a matter or stiffe which attendeth or waiteth to haue his shape forme or fashion at some workmaisters hand; or that there is an eternall thing which hath not any other life or being, than such as another eternal thing hath vouchsafed to giue vnto it. For let vs see I pray you what manner of thing they imagine this matter to be: They wil haue it to be a thing without shape but yet a receiuer of al shapes: they wil haue shape to be without ma-

He that graunteth God to be former fashioner or giuer of shape, doth therewith confesse him to be the ter Creator.

ter wherein to be, but yet as a mould wherein to fashion all matters, so as the matter should haue no being at all, but by reason of the shape or forme, as of the giuer of being thereto. But how can matter be without forme, seeing that euery deformeditie it selfe is a kinde of forme? And how can matter be alone by it selfe, seeing that forme is the thing that giueth being vnto it? Now then, to say that matter is without forme, is all one as to say that it is and is not, which were the saying of a mad man.

Yea (say they,) but how is it possible for somewhat to be made of nothing, sith there is an infinite distance betwixt somewhat and nothing? Nay, I say rather, what is it which is not finite, in respect of him that is infinite? I meane in respect of him whom thou thy selfe affirmest to haue bounded the selfesame matter which thou doest take & teach to be infinite: But if thou listest to consider it, thou shalt perceiue that thou confessest a thing no lesse vncredible to thine own sence, than is the same which thou reiectest by thy sence. For when thou imaginest a matter without forme, and a forme without matter, thou speakest things that destroy one another. But whereas I say that God created the world of nothing, that is to say, without hauing any thing whereof to make it: in deed I say a thing that is wonderfull, howbeit which hath not any repugnancie in it selfe. Now, there is great difference betwene speaking aboue reason, and against reason. For trueth and mans reason are not inclosed within the like and selfesame boundes. But forasmuch as thou hast graunted that God is the author and worker of Nature, I would faine knowe how thou canst be so bolde to denie, that he hath put life and mouing where none were afore, and that he hath made both sight and light, hearing and sounds, speech and vnderstanding, where erst was more than death, more than blindnesse, more than dumbnesse, and more than dulnesse, that is to say, more than the bare priuation of bereauing of those things, considering that neither to be nor euer to haue bene are much more wants than simply not to be. Now, betwene liuing and not liuing, seeing and not seeing, and so forth, there is an infinite distance as well as there is betwene being and not being, which distance can not be filled vp but by an infinite power: and loke where an infinite power is, it is alike mightie towards al things. Therefore it followeth that sith thou attributest vnto him the making of thy sight, of thy life, and of thine vnderstanding, thou canst not deny him the creation of the things I haue light, life, & vnderstanding in them. Which if thou graunt in one thing needs must I grant it alike in al. For to giue life, & to giue being, to giue forme or shape, and to giue matter, and to giue them to one thing, and to giue them to al things, are al workes of one selfesame power, how diuers soener the degrees of them seme vnto thee at the first sight. We therefore that confessest God to be the former or giuer of shape, doth also confesse him

him to be the creator of all things. Nay, I say more, that when thou termest God the souereine or highest being, (as Aristotle doth) or him that essentially and in very deede is, (as Plato doth:) thou saist (though unwittingly) that he is the Creator, that is to say, the author of the being of all things.

Aristotle in
his second
booke of
things aboue
nature.

If we looke into nature, the thing that holdeth the first place in thing, of order, is commonly the cause of all the things that fall vnder it. Among hot things, some be hotter than some, but yet fire, which holdeth the highest degree in heate, is the cause of heate in all things, and beareth it selfe into all without diminishing of it selfe, and by imparting it selfe to the is still increased: insomuch that the striking of a flint inforceth the casting forth of a thousand sparkes, whereof euery one were enough to set the whole world on fire. In light some things, one light lighteth another, and by imparting maketh it selfe after a sort infinite: and the Sunne which is as the fountaine of light, extendeth and spreadeth it selfe out infinitely without disseuering, & after a maner createth light where was nothing but darknesse. Also in humane affaires, Kinges impart their dignities to Princes, Princes to their Vassalles, and Vassalles to their Subjects: and when they giue any man a qualitie which he had not afore they terme him their Creature, as hauing made somewhat of nothing, in respect of the qualitie wherewith he was indued afore. To be short, sentes or sauours are shed forth, and Sciences are taught from one to another, and from one to infinite: yea and euen diseases, which are nothing els but corruptions, ingender one of another without diminishing themselves. Now, as for Heate, Light, Sauour, Science, and Dignitie, they be but qualities, termed by the degrees of the first, second, and third qualities yea and mozeoner dead, senselesse, & liuelesse: and yet notwithstanding, loke which of these qualites holdeth the first place, the same both naturally bring forth all the rest, without diminishing it selfe. And that we then thinke it strange that God, (who is the Being, which euen by their owne confession holdeth the chief & first place of all Beings or rather alonely can they in very deede be said to be) should by his being bring forth all other things:

Yea say they, for we see not any thing brought againe to nothing, and therefore needs must they haue bene created of something. Nay, if worldly things should returne to nothing, considering how transitorie and fleeting they be alreadie, how short a time could the world indure, or rather how long agoe had it come to an end? But it was Gods will that it should continue. And therefore thou shouldest rather say thus: I see that the Trees, and the greatest Beastes, yea and men themselves doe spring as it were of nothing, and are resolved againe into as good as nothing. I see them multiply, liue, and do wonders. Of one selfesame seede I see spring both flowers, leaues, & fruite, and of another, the wonderfulness

of.

Of eies, the substantiallness of bones, and the finesse of vitall spirits. Againe, I see all these things vanish away I wote not how, so as there remaineth nothing of them but a handfull of dust. And shall I now be so blockish as to say, that he which of so little and in so little hath made so many wondrous things that were not afore, could not make the little it selfe? Or that he which created the life the sence and the moving, could not create a drop of water, a blast of aire, and a handfull of earth? Nay, I will reason thus rather: That if God were not able to create the very matter of matter it selfe, surely he could neither give forme or shape to the matter, nor create such things of the matter. Yes will they say: for it appeareth that all things returne as it wer into one common matter, whether we follow the auncient Philosophers which reduce them to the Elements, or that we followe the late writers which reduce them into oyle, Salt, Water, &c. Bee it so: and then oughtest thou to conclude thereupon, and seeing there is but one matter, there is also but one God, unto whose power thou oughtest not to deeme any thing impossible, seeing that of that one thing he maketh so many things, not onely diuers, but also contrary. For he that of one selfesame thing maketh both fire & water doth he lesse than he which maketh that one thing it selfe?

The particu-
lar Creation
of all things.

What wilt thou say then if I make thee to see that there is not that thing which hath not in it selfe a peculiar creation, or a property created, which cannot be attributed to the matter whereof it consisteth, but is a greater thing than the matter it selfe, without the which, neither the matter, nor the elements, nor all the things that thou drawest out of the were any thing at all? And sith thou wilt needes play the Philosopher afore thou doest beleue, I demaund of thee whether things in their nature haue their being from matter or from forme? If from matter: why is a Plant rather a Plant than a mettall, seeing that (by thine owne saying) matter being but one, is no more one thing than another, ne inclined to one thing more than to another, nor bounded within any one particular substance otherwise than by forme or fashion? And sozasmuch as thou hast taken so great paines in resolving or bringing things backe againe into their first matter; whence cometh it that thy extractions or the things which thou drawest out of it, haue so diuers or contrary operations, if besides the matter it selfe there be not another substance which giueth them theirs?

If things haue their being from forme; I demaunde againe whether forme be a substance or no. If it be not a substance, how can that which is not a substance make a substance, and how may an accident or incommen make an essentiall difference, and cause life, sence, and moving to be where they were not afore? And if it be a substance (as most Philosophers teach in expresse wordes) yea & a very perfect substance, as which

perfecteth

perfectly the matter and maketh it to be that which it is named to be: must it not needs follow, that he which gaue this forme shape or fashion to the matter, created a substance which was not afoze, yea and a much more excellent substance than the matter which thou surmisset to haue bene afoze it? Now, why should not he that was able to create the better, be also able to create the lesser good? Rightly therefore both Aphrodiceus in his booke of the Soule say, that the forme shape or fashion which the Craftsmann giveth to his worke, is no more a substance than the art, craft, or running whereby he giveth it: but the forme which Nature giveth no lesse substance than nature it self is. Let vs proceed further. Of the Pettals, thou esteemest Gold & Silver: of the Herbs, thou esteemest some for food, & some for Whiscke: of the Beastes, thou esteemest some to eat, & some to serue thee: of men, (which yet notwithstanding make all but one kinde) thou admittest & acceptest some for one purposa & some for another. Now if thy esteeming of them be for the matter whereof they consist, how is that matter but one? If it be for the forme, as in respect whereof Gold is not the same that Leade is, is not that forme a substance? And if it be a substance; shal it not follow y^e he which gaue that shape forme or fashion to the matter, is also the Creator of the matter it selfe? And seeing there is such difference of Pettalles, Hearbes, Beastes, and Men; doth it not follow that there are as many diuersities of Creation? And whereas he hath created all these diuersities of substances, wouldest thou make him to faile in that one the basest of al? What shall I say to it, that some one thing shall haue diuers powers, vertues and operations in diuers parts thereof; so as it shalbe cold without and hot within, white in the outside and red in the substance, colde in the leafe and hot in the roote, laxative in the pith and costiffe in the barke? As for example, the rinde of the Orange is hot, and the meate within it is cold, the leaues of flowers of the wild Vine do cole, and the inner part of them both burne. Physicians report that the Lungs of a Hare healeth folke that are short winded, that the bloud of him breaketh the Stone, and that the beare of him stauncheth bloud. Haue not these diuers parts diuers formes, besides the vniuersall forme of the thing whereof they be the parts? And are not these diuers formes as many diuers substances, and consequently as many Creations? The Adamant or Lodestone draweth Iron to him, and sheweth continually the Northpole, and yet is disapointed of his force by Carlicke. The Amber also draweth all light things vnto it, Foxlilies laid to a mans heele maketh blisters in his bladder; Agarick purgeth fleagme, Rhubarb Choler, and Elleborus Melancholie. If these operations come of the matter alone, tell me how that may be. And why bee not the same operations common to all things? Or if (as thou saist) they come of a secreete propertie, doth it not then come of the substantial forme, seeing that

Aphrodiceus
in his first
booke of the
Soule.

*the rinde of the
orange is hot, and
the meate within
is cold
the leaues of
flowers of the
wild vine do cole
and the inner part
of them both
burne
the lungs of the
hare drawe iron
to it, and shew
the north pole
yet is disapointed
of his force by
carlicke
the amber
draweth all light
things vnto it
foxlilies laid to
a mans heele
maketh blisters
in his bladder
agarick purgeth
fleagme
rhubarb
choler
elleborus
melancholie*

nothing can be said to be that which it is, or to haue any peculiar propriety, but by reason of the substantiall forme: Thou wilt perchance say, that it is the mingling of the Elements together that giueth forme or shape. I say: for if it be that mingling, where is then the foresaid common matter become? And what mingling together or what medley or mixture can be made of one selfesame thing? And if thy meaning be that the foresaid matter is a diuers compounding of the Elements together, then is thy matter a forme compounded of diuers formes. For wherein do the Elements (being so contrary) differ one from another, but in their essentiall formes? And if it be a mixture or Composition, where is then the eternitie therof? Moreover, we see that in Plants, Beasts, and Men, the Composition that is made of the mixture of the elements, abideth euen when they be cut downe or killed. For put a blocke into the fire, and the moisture that was in it when it grewe a Tree boileth out with the heate, the aire thereof steameth vp into smoke, the fire matter thereof burneth out in an oylie substance, and the earthly part thereof falleth downe into ashes. And in all liuing wights aswell as in man, the outward lump (which thou wilt haue to be composed of the mixture of the Elements,) remaineth whole after they be dead. But as for the Soule whereby the things haue their life, sence, and reason, which Soule is the peculiar forme both of Trees, Beasts, and Men each after their kinde: that appeares no more when the thing is once dead. And therefore it followeth, that besides the matter (which is linelesse) and the mixture of the Elements, there is also a substantiall forme, which maketh the thing to be a Tree, a Beast, or a Man; and without the which it is not a Tree but a blocke, nor a Beast or a Man, but a dead Carkelesse or Carrion. Furthermore, when a Tree is dead, there remaine still certaine vertues both in the barke, and in the wood, and in the leaues thereof, which vertues are not onely diuers, but also sometime contraries, and those vertues proceede not of the matter, but of the substantiall forme. Whereof it followeth, that besides the forme of the Plant which fadeth by the death of the Plant it self, there are also other formes peculiar to euery part thereof, which abide after that the forme of the whole Plant is perished. Now if the mixture of the Elements cannot make the forme whereby the vpper kindes differ one from another, as the sencelesse things from the things that haue sence, & the things that haue but onely sence, from the things y haue reason too, can it make the difference that is betwene the vnderkindnes y are comprehended vnder euery of the vpper kinds, or betwene the particulars that belong to euery vnderkind, or betwene the seuerall parts y are in euery particular? If the mixture of the Elements (say I make not a Tree to liue, that is to say to be a Tree, shall it make it to heale, both some certeine diseases, and also some certeine parts of it,

some

*In composition that
made of the mixture
of elements in
a body, as in a plant
it is to be preserved
as by the root
or in the wood*

some certaine parts of man? And if it make not a Beast to haue senses, that is to say to be a Beast: can it make it to be a Lion, an Elephant, or a Stagge? And if it make not a man to haue life, sence, and moving: can it make him to speake, and to reason, one of one thing and another of another, each man according, to his seuerall inclination? But how shoulde the Elementes giue life, which they themselues haue not? or free moving, they themselues being caried vp and downe whether they will or no? or also sence, being themselues but the objects of our senses? Then must we conclude that the difference of the vpperkinds from the vnderkinds from the Particulars, and of their parts one from another, consisteth not in the matter whereof they be made, but in their forme, & that the same forme is the peculiar substance of euery thing, and that looke how many sundry sorts of formes there are, so many sundry sorts of creations there haue bene, all proceeding from the power of the former giuer of them. And so, he that attributeth vnto God the forming or fashioning of the World, must whether he wil or no attribute vnto the power of creating it also. For without creating of a newe substance (what matter soeuer ye presuppose to haue bene afore) he had not created the World in such sort as it is. And he that was able to create any one of them, was able to create them all. For like might and power is requisite to the creating of an Inet as of an Elephant, of a Ponde as of the Sea, of a peece of the world as of the whole world.

They procede on still with their Chimere. God (say they) draweth the forme out of the Abilitie of the matter. Let vs examine this doterie yet further. Abilitie (saith Aristotle) is the beginning of moving and of change. Also there are (say his Disciples) two sorts of Abilitie: the one which worketh the said beginning in the other, and that is God, and the other which suffereth the moving and change at the others hand, and that is matter or stuffe, which by the moving wrought into it by the other, receiveth his perfection which is termed forme. Now, I demand whether this passive Abilitie of the matter, bee a qualitie or a substance. They dare not say it is a substance, for were it a substance, then even by their owne doctrine it were a forme also: & where soeuer is a forme, there is also an act, and that is moze than an abilitie: but matter (as they say) is a mere abilitie. And if they say it is a Qualitie, (as Aristotle himself affirmeth:) then followeth it that God draweth a substance out of the qualitie of an accident. Now, he that draweth the very Essence or being of things out of the passive abilitie of another, can much moze drawe it out of his owne active abilitie or workful power. For what he be barraine of himself, which maketh a qualitie (yea and lesse than a simple qualitie) fruitful in bringing forth so many things? And seeing y Qualitie & substance & all the highest kinds of Contraries be (as they teach) further

differing;

The Peripateticks.

Simplicius v.
pon the na-
turals.
Syrian vpon
the Superna-
turals.

differing one from another than fire from water, and also that qualitie and accident are nothing of themselves: shall it not followe that God is able to create substances of nothing: Surely it is the saying of Trismegistus in many places, that God created the World and all that is therein, and man with all his parts by his most fruitfull word and also that the will of God was the breeder of the Elements. Pythagoras and all the old Divines affirme, that God or the onely One is the beginner of all things, yea even of the first matter, as Simplicius reporteth in alledging the record of Eudorus. And Syrian the Maister of Simplicius saith, that in that behalfe Plato followed Archenectus and Brotinus, which agreed with Pythagoras. And in very deepe he telleth us, that to speake properly, Matter is no Essence at all, nor can be conceived otherwise than by a bastard reason, that is to wit by imagining it void of all shape, and consequently also void of all being!

As touching Aristotle, he maketh matter to be the first beginning of all things. But if he beleued the world to haue bene beginninglesse according to his owne teaching; where is this beginning become? Also he disproueth the Chaos with very lively reasons, and to scape that, he holdeth himselfe to the eternitie, which is quite and cleane against him. But howsoever the case stand, it is fully agreed vpon among his most appoynted interpreters, that these names of Matter, Forme, and Priuation, serue not to betoken things truly being the same wherof they pretend the names, but onely are inuented to teach their schollers, after what manner things are bred & corrupted, by putting off one shape & putting on another: And whereas he saith that the power of all life seemeth to be partaker of some diuine thing, & better than the Elements, and that the Soule of man hath his being from without, and not from the elements or from matter as the body hath: And yet all Soules are formes, and all formes are substances: Doth he not make God to be the creator of substances, yea and of better substances than the elements? Again, when he saith that the knitting parts that is to wit the bones, the skin, the sinewes and such like may be made of the mixing together of the elements, and that the knitting parts as the Head, the Leg, the Arme, and so forth cannot be so made, but are made by nature and heavenly skill; inasmuch that the proper essence and forme of the knitters, proceedeth neither of heat nor of cold, of moisture nor of dryth: Doth he not acknowledge in euery seuerall part a seuerall forme and substance which cometh from some other where, than of the matter or of the mixtur of the elements? And thus he saith in another place, that it were possible to haue such a coniunction of the heavenly bodies, as might produce not onely an efficient cause, but also even matter it selfe for the creating and bringing forth of liuing things, yea and of mankinde also: why should he haue thought it incredible, that

Aristotle in
his second
booke of the
breed of li-
uing thinges.
Chap. 3.

Aristotle in
his 4. booke
of Meteores,
Chap. 10.

Aristotle in
his second
booke of the
breede of li-
uing wights,
towards the
end.

that God who dwelleth verie farre above such Coniunctions, should be able to do the like? Also we see that Theophrast the greatest Clark of all his Disciples, findeth himselfe so granced in his booke of Sauors or Sents, by reason of the particular natures of things, that he bursteth out into expresse words, and sayeth that God created all things of nothing. And Algazel the Arabian disputing against Auerrhoes, saith that the cause of all things, did also make matter it selfe. Also Aphrodiseus declareth in his Problemes, that the Philosophers were faine to referre the effects and vertues of many things, to some other thing than to the Elements. And if they could not father them vpon the Elements, how could they father them vpon matter or stufte, seeing that the Elements haue power and force to do, whereas matter hath abilitie but onely to suffer or to be wrought vpon. And if they could not father them vpon matter; vpon what else should they father them than vpon God, who hath created both the propriety and the substance of them together?

Arist. in his
probl. sect. 10.
probl. 64.

Aphr. probl. 1.

The Platonists that wrote since the coming of Christ, haue given liberty to their owne braynes, to gad out into a thousand imaginations. But whereas Plotin telleth vs that Gods actions and effectes, are contemplations which imprint in nature the seedes of all things: he teacheth vs to thrust farre from vs such brutish questions as these: namely, Of what kinde of stufte did God frame the world? And with what tooles did he it: which are further off from the nature of the Godhead, than our doings are from mere contemplations. For what else is contemplation (according to their owne doctrine) than to be wholly seuered from matter? He speaketh often of the first matter, but how doth he describe it? He saith that the verie matter it selfe which is ioyned to the forme hath not any true being, and he termeth it being of a Notbeing, that is to saye, a thing, that in deede is not; and that doeth he to distinguish these transitorie natures from the verie Being of God, which he termeth The Super substantiall Being. But as for the first matter, he calleth it The verie Notbeing, that is to saye an imaginative thing which hath not any being at all in deede; as if yee would say (as he himselfe addeeth) a certeine vnshapednesse, which is the cause of all mishapennesse, the chiefe default or want: which is the cause of all the defaults or wants that are in particular things: the verie euill, which is the originall of all euils; and to be short, a thing that can neither be knowen nor imagined, otherwise than wee imagine what Darknesse is by the knowledge of light: namely an vtter absence of all light.

The Platonists.

Plotin in his
book of Contemplation &
of the One.

Yea, but (will some man say) Although it be not an Essence, yet ought it at the least to be a Qualitie: and by his terming of it an Euill hee seemeth after a sort to make it a qualitie. Nay like as (saith he) when we call the first of all Beings by the name of Goodnesse, wee meane not

Plotin in his 2
book Enne. 2.
Whence euill
commeth.

ap.

that

Enned. 1. li. 4.

Plotin in his
booke of Pro-
vidence, &
Enned. 6. li. 1.
Chap. 17.

Porphyrie
vpon Timæus

that that Goodnesse is in him a Qualitie, but a verie substance, yea, and more than a substance: So when wee call Matter by the name of Euill, our meaning is not that it is a Qualitie or hath any Qualitie in it; But that it is no Qualitie ne hath Qualitie in it: For had it any Qualitie in it, then should it be a Substance, and consequently a shape or forme too; but it is not any forme at all. That in effect is the summe of his booke concerning euill and the originall thereof. In his booke of Matter hee declareth that there was a matter, (for hee would not els haue made bookes thereof in vaine;) but yet he sayeth that the same was neither essence, qualitie, nor quantitie, nor had any essence, qualitie, or quantitie in it: ne differed any whit from priuation, sauing in this respect, that priuation is verified as in respect of some subject or substance that is bereft of some thing that is peruliar or incident vnto it, whereas Matter is an vniuersall and vtter want of all things, that is to say, a thing farre worse than priuation. And yet for all this, he will not haue it to be vtterly nothing at all, but as a wast or emptie space, a thing without boundes, a being without being. And what or where then shall that be? At length he findeth it in the world that is to be conceived but onely in vnderstanding, that is to say in God, in whome he will haue it to abide as a forme or patterne of the vniuersall masse of all things. What a ranging is here abroad to fall alwayes into one selfesame path again? Might he not with more ease haue confessed plainly, that God is both the forme and the materiall cause of all things, that is to say, the Creator, forme and shaper of all things by his wisdom and power? Again, whereas in other places he telleth vs, that Matter being it selfe no essence at all, cannot be the cause of the particular beings of so many sundry things; nor hauing no life, bee the cause of life, but that both life and being are breathed into all things from without, euen from the soueraigne minde: doth he not iumpe with vs, which saye that God created all substances of nothing? And if he could creat that which was, and giue vnto it both being and life: could he not also so beare the thing that was not, that is to say matter? Atticus and his adherents woulde needes beare Plato bolue by reason of certeine sentences of his Timæus and of his Commonweale maters misunderslood, that matter was eternall as well as God, howbeit that the same being void of reason, was brought vnto reason by him that is the verie reason it selfe. With these fellows we our selues shall not neede to deale, but onely heare Porphyrieus dispoing them after this manner: If neither God (saith he) be of Matter, nor Matter of God, but both of them be Beginnings alike; whereof then cometh it that there is so great ods betwixt them, sith we holde opinion that God is Good, and the verie worker or Doer, and contrariwise that Matter is Euill, and but onely a Sufferer? The cause of this

this difference cannot proceede from the one to the other, at leastwise if our saying be true: namely, that the one of them is not of the other. And much lesse proceedeth it of any thirde, considering that wee acknowledge not any higher cause: which beeing admitted, it followeth that these two so disagreeable Beginnings met and matched together by chaunce, and consequently, that all things are tossed and tumbled together by Fortune. **Againe**, If God (saith he) be apt to the beautifying and orderly disposing of Matter: and Matter be apt to receiue beautie and orderliness at Gods hande: I demaund from whence this mutuall aptnesse and disposition commeth? For considering that they bee so disagreeing and so full of contrarie one to another: surely, they could neuer haue agreede of themselues, but must of necessitie haue had a Third to make the attonement betwixt them. Now I am sure you will not saye that there was any Thirde to commaund them: Neither will I beleue that they fell to agreement by aduenture.

To be short, seeing that Matter is not sufficient of it selfe to bee in happie state, but needeth Gods helpe thereunto: but GOD is of himselfe abundantly sufficient, both to be, and to bee happie: who seeth not that GOD is of more excellencie than Matter, and that Matter is not of it selfe so much as able to bee: For were it able to bee, it were also able to be happie. And therefore it is not to be denyed, but that he whome wee confesse to haue perfected Matter, was also the verie first maker and Creator of Matter. **But how could hee make it of nothing?** Let vs heare once againe what the saide Porphyrie sayeth vnto this point. Handycraftes (saith hee) haue neede of instrumentes or tooles. For their working is outwarde: and they haue not their matter or stufte at commaundement. But the naturall Powers as more perfect, and beeing within things, doe perfourme all their dooings by their onely beeing. After that sorte the Soule by his essentiall life, doeth nowrish, growe, ingender, breathe, feeles, and so forth. So likewise, the Imagination, by the onely one Inworking of it selfe, giueth diuers qualities and mouings to the bodie, all at one instant. So also the bodilesse Spirites themselues, (as the Diuines report) doe worke wondrous things by their imaginations, without instrument or action. Much rather therefore shall the workemaister of the whole worlde who is a Mynd, giue substance to the whole by his owne onely beeing, that is to wit, to this diuidable worlde, himselfe beeing vndiuidable. For why should it be thought straunge, that a thing which is without a bodye, should produce things that haue bodyes, considering that of a very small seede there groweth so great a Beast, composed of so manie, so great, and so differing partes? For though the seede be little, the reason of the seede cannot bee small, seeing it woorketh so great thinges

neither on the other side can it be great, forasmuch as it vttereth & sheweth it selfe euen in the smallest parcels. Now, this reason of the seede needeth matter to worke vpon, but so doth not the reason of God; for he needeth not any thing, but maketh and frameth all things; and notwithstanding that he bring forth and moueth all things, yet abydeth he still in his owne proper nature. Now, when as the sorest and learnedst enimie that euer Christians had, acknowledgeth this doctrine in good faith and in so expresse wordes: who dareth open his lippes any more against it? Dare the Epicures with their notes do it? How can they alledge any reason for them selues, being by their owne opinion made by haphazard at aduenture without reason? Shall the naturall Philosophers do it, with their temperings & mixtures? First, let them examine their Maister Galene, concerning the things which I haue alledged out of him in the former Chapter: and if that will not suffice them, they shall heare him yet againe in this Chapter. Certesse as it cannot be denyed, but that as he laboureth by all meanes possible, to father the causes of all things vpon the Elements, and vpon the mixture of them together: so is he driuen at euery turne, to acknowledge somewhat in them which he is ashamed to father vpon them. In discoursing how the babe is formed in the mothers wombe, he findeth himselfe turmoyled with many opinions. But yet in the end, Soothly (concludeth he) I see so great a wisdom, and so mightie a power, that I cannot thinke that the Soule which is in the child that is begotten, maketh the shape thereof, considering that it is altogether voide of reason; but rather that it is formed by that which wee call Nature. In his booke of the tempering of things, a place that serued best for the exalting of the powers of the Elements to the uttermost; he berie sharply reproveth those which father the cause of the forming of the partes of the bodies of liuing things, vpon the qualities of the Elements. Notwithstanding (saith he) that these Qualities be but instruments, and that there is another that is the framer or fashioner of things. In his booke of the opinions of Plato and Hippocrates, he maketh the vitall spirite to be excellentest of all things that haue a bodie: and yet for all that, he will not haue it to be either substance or the dwelling place, but onely the instrument of the Soule. And in his booke of fleshes he proceedeth further, and saith, that in treating of Leachcraft he spake often according to the common opinion: but that if it came to the point of vttering the opinion that he himselfe held, he declared that both man and beast haue their beginning from aboue, and that their Soules are from Heauen, and finally that the Soule proceedeth neither from the qualities of the Elements, nor from any of all the things that we see here beneath. Now, if the Soule of man, or of the verie Beastes, proceede not of the Elements: how should it possibly proceede

Galen in his booke of the fashioning of infants in their mothers wombe.

In his second booke of Temperings.

of the Matter: And if it procede not of the Matter, must it not needs procede of the forme, or rather must it needs be the verie forme it selfe? And what els is so excellent a forme, than an excellent substance? And from whence is that (by his owne saying) but from a former fashioner or shaper? And what els shall that former be, than a Creator, seeing that euen shaping, is a creating of a substance?

Now therefore, let vs conclude for this Chapter, both by vnsoluble reasons, and by the testimonies aswell of our enemies as of our friends; that God both was able to create and also did in deede creat the Worlde of nothing, that is to say, by his owne onely power, without the helpe of any thing whereof to make it. And (to comprehend in fewe wordes whatsoeuer I haue treated of heretofore) that God of his owne goodness, wisdom, and power, did make, shape, and create the Worlde: that is to say, That (if a man may so say) he is the efficient formal and materiall cause thereof, without that he needed either helpe, patterne, or stufte to make it withall. And now let vs consequently see the final cause: that is to wit, how and to what ende he guideth it: which shall serue for the next Chapter following.



The xj. Chapter.

That God governeth the Worlde and all things therein by his Providence.



Aristotle was wont to say, that the diuersitie of Questions ought also to haue diuersitie of Answers. Some (saith he) do aske whether Fire be hot: and these must be made to perceiue it by touching it; for their sense is sufficient to shape them an answer. Some demand whether their father & mother be to be honoured; and such are not worthie to be disputed with, but rather to be rebuked right sharply. And others desire to haue it proued to them by apparant reasons,

Ignorance
next cousin
vnto guyle.

reasons, that there is a prouidence which ruleth the worlde. Such kinde of folke (saith he) should be answered by a whip or a hangman, and not by a Philosopher. His meaning was in fewe wordes, that there is not any thing so sensible and naturall, nor any thing whereof the feeling is so fresh in our senses, or so deeply printed in our nature, as Gods prouidence ouer the worlde: and that we ought to thinke it more sure, than the things which wee see with our hands, or than the things whereof our owne Conscience conuicteth vs. For in that he ordeineth a greater punishment for him that doubteth of Gods prouidence, than for him that resisteth sense and nature; he doth vs to vnderstand, that the fault is vntollerable, as that which is either a manifest guyle, or at leastwise an ouergrosse ignorance, which the Lawyers affirme to be next cousin to guyle. And in verie dede, if the denying that there is any God, be a bellying of a mans owne senses, and of his owne nature, and of the whole worlde it selfe, as I haue said afoze: I cannot say but that the graunting that there is a God, & yet not withstanding to denye him the gouernment of things, is more vntollerable than the other; considering how great iniurie is offered vnto him in confessing him after such a sort, as to attribute vnto him eyes without sight, eares without hearing, might without mynd, mynd without reason, will without goodnes, yea and a Godhead without properties peculiar to a Godhead: In respect whereof the auncient Philosophers called the Godhead it selfe *Θεοῦ ὁ Νόμος*, that is to say God or Prouidence, because the one cannot be imagined without the other. And therefore in their iudgement, as much an Atheist was he that denyed Gods prouidence, as he that denyed the Godhead it selfe. I demaund of any man which confesseth that there is God, I say euen of the sauagest of them all, whereby he knoweth it? He will aunswere, by the orderly conueyance of things which hee seeth both aboue & beneath; by the order which they keepe without sayling, and by the tending of so innumerable contrarieties to one marke: the Heauen heating the earth, the Ayre moistening it, the Earth bringing forth Hearbs, the Beastes feeding vpon the same, and all seruing for the vse of man. It is all one therefore as if he should say, that he knoweth him by his Prouidence, and by the interlinking of all things together which he hath marked in them all. Again, he will say he hath perceiued, in Pettalles (as yee would say) certeine wombes which nourish them and bring them forth; in Plants, a certeine vertue which draweth their nourishment from the earth, and with verie good proportion distributeth the same abroad from branch to branch, and from leafe to leafe: and which (as though it had a kinde of vnderstanding of the owne mortalitie) bringeth forth a seede at such time as the decay thereof approacheth: and in Beastes also, that one member doth for another, and euery of them for the whole; a desire

to

to increase their kinde; Dugges to glue suck; and a skillfull care to nourish and preferue their young ones: And he hath considered that none of all this could be so layde for afozehand by it selfe, and therefore that there was some other thing about them. Thus must it needs be, that he is led againe by the consideration of the prouidence, to the knowing of God. Now, if the prouidence which we haue marked, do make vs to saye that there is a God by mounting vp fro the effects to the causes of them; doth it not followe that Prouidence is the peculiar effect of God, & that he which denyeteth that, denyeteth the Godhead it selfe, forasmuch as the Godhead is not to be knownen but by the Prouidence?

If God haue no care of the world, I aske of thee whether it be for that he cannot, or for that he will not? If he cannot, how canst thou say he is almightie? Or how canst thou say he is infinite, seeing thou knowest the bounds of his power? Again, how canst thou call him wise, sith it is the propertie of wisdom to guide things to some certeine end, and not to leaue any thing subiect to fortune? And seeing that his power & wisdom haue extended to all things for the creating of them, who shall keepe them from extending to all things for the ordering and maintaining of them? Besides this, the Plant hath no reason to guyde it selfe, nor to preferue it selfe against that which is to come, and yet notwithstanding thou seest there a mynde which furnissheth out all the partes thereof, and a wisdom which watcheth ouer it against that which is to come. The Beast also hath no more reason than the Plant, though it both seele and moue. Yet is there an Intwit in it which the Beast knoweth not of, which Intwit concocteth, digesteth, and distributeth that which the beast hath eaten, and disperleth it forth into his partes by iust proportion, watching for it when it sleepeth, & thinking vpon it when it thinketh not thereon. It perceiueth (I wote not how) that it hath need of Earth, of Ayre, or of Pest to lay the yong ones in: it prouideth afozehand for the time to come, and shifeth countries according to the seasons of the yeare, choosing them out naturally, without failing at any time. In all these things there shineth forth a certeine prouidence, which yet for all that, the beast neither knoweth nor conceiueth. Thou thy self which art indelued with reason, hast a forecall, and by that forecall doest the things which other wights do by nature, or rather which nature (that is to say the foreordination of the Creator doeth for them,) the more whereof thou hast, the more also doest thou prouide afozehand. For as little a woyme as thou art, thou inuentest a thousand trades and artes, which are euerichone of them so manie points of Wisdom, and consequently as many prouidences. As much as thou canst, thou makest all things to scoope to thy lure, thou applyest the raine and the drought, the heate and the cold, to thine owne commoditie: thou turnest the doings of thy neighbors,

neighboꝝ of thy Citty and of thy Commonweale to thine owne profite and honoꝝ: yea and if it were possible, thou wouldest apply the heauen, the earth, the sea, and oftentimes euen God himselfe to thine owne benefite. How then who prouideth foꝝ the Plants and foꝝ the brute beastes in whome thou seest so great prouidence though they themselues haue none at all, but onely he which made them? Or who directeth the Arrowe to the marke, the Arrowe (I say) which seeth not the marke, but the Archer who hath eyes foꝝ it? And cannot he prouide foꝝ all, which giueth prouidence to all? And he that giueth it thee in such soꝝt as thou thereby makest all things to stoꝝpe to thy Lure, whereas yet notwithstanding thou madest them not, and of whome thou scarcely knowest the names, is not he able to gouerne euery one of them accoꝝding to their nature, and to direct them, yea and thee too, vnto the end that he hath purposed, seeing he hath made them? Againe, if God be not able to prouide foꝝ things, & to direct them to their end, how say we that he surmounteth all that euer we can imagine, sith we cannot deny, but that he which prouides afoꝝe-hand is of moꝝe abilitie than he that cannot. And if we can imagine any thing to be greater than he, why should not we ouer selues be that thing? And if euen in man, the abilitie of prouiding be better than the vnabilitie, seeing we vphold that whatsoeuer is excellent in our selues, (which yet notwithstanding is but in measure and by participation,) the same is infinitely and originally in God: Why do we not graunt that God by his infinite wisdomme can direct all things to his end, as well as euery thing can by their particular wisdomme which he hath printed therein, prouide foꝝ the things which the nature thereof requireth? To be shoꝝt, seeing that prouidence is nothing els but a wise guyding of things to their end, and that euery reasonable minde that woꝝketh, beginneth his woꝝke foꝝ some end, and that God (as I haue said afoꝝe) the woꝝkemaister of all things, hath (oꝝ to say moꝝe truely) is the souereigne minde, equall to his owne power: doth it not followe that God in creating the woꝝld, did purpose an end? And what other could that end be, than himselfe and his owne gloꝝie, considering that the end wherunto a thing tendeth, cannot be lesse good than that which tendeth vnto it: and againe that as farre as his power extendeth in abilitie to create the woꝝld at the beginning, so farre doth his wisdomme extend in abilitie to guide and direct it to that end? And seeing that the beginner and the end of things (the Archer (I meane) and the marke that he shootes at) are both one, that is to wit, God himselfe: can any thing crosse him oꝝ incounter him by the way, to hinder his attaining therevnto? Well then thou seest now, that thou canst not denye God the gouernement of the woꝝld, vnder pꝛeteuce that he is vnable.

What prouidence is.

All working of an vnderstanding minde is to some end.

But you will say, that he will not vouchsafe to haue a care thereof.

Wolp

How come you I pray you to be so prouide to his wil? Hath nature taught you? Nay, thou seest in the Plants a ceraine inclination to nourish all their parts: in beastes, a charishnesse to bying by their yong: in men, a desire to prouide for their children and household: and in all folkes a regard to the maintenance of the things which they haue either made or manured. And him that doth otherwise thou esteemest to be, not a barbarous person or a wilde beast, but a verie block or a stone. How then shall not he which hath giuen such inclination to all things, yea, euen to the verie senselesse creatures by his touching of them, shall not he himselfe (I say) haue it for them all? Darest thou bereaue him of that which thou takest to be a praise to thy selfe: or darest thou father that vpon him, which thou takest to be an iniurie to thy selfe? Nay, like as this care is a sparke of goodnes, so he that is the goodnes it selfe and the wellspring of all that euer is good in all things, sheddeth forth this care into all things by his goodnes. He (say I) which hath vouchsafed to creat vs, wil not disdain to pferue vs. But forasmuch as it was his will to create vs to some purpose, (for if nature do not any thing in vaine, how much lesse doth he that created nature?) he will also guide vs to that purposed end, by his wisdom.

Let vs see what things wickednes can alledge against so manifest a doctrine. First of all steppes me forth Epicurus, and denyeth that he sees any prouidence at all in the world, but thinkes to marke many things to the contrarie in the whole world: whereby he will nedes gather that there is no prouidence, no no: (if he durst say it) any God at all. For if there were a prouidence (saith he) why should Mountaines occupie any part of the Earth? why should there be any world beastes? why should there be any Sea? And of that little dry ground that is, why should two partes be inhabitable, the one for ouer great heate, and the other for ouer great colde; and the third part be in daunger to be inhabited also, were it not that men plucked by the Byers and Thornes that woulde ouergrow it? Why falleth the Snowe vpon the Corne, & the frost vpon the Vines? Why blowe the windes both on Sea & Land? To be short, why happen sicknesses and diseases according to the seasons of the yere, & finally death? And at a word, why is man borne in worse case than the least thing that creepeth on the earth, and hath neede of many things which all other wights may well forebare?

Nay, he should rather haue said, I see a thousand mouings in the heauen, whereof euery one hath his peculiar end, and yet tend all neuerthelesse to one selfesame general end. I see them all caried by one vniuersall mouing, notwithstanding that euery of them inforce themselves to the contrary by their own proper courses: & that this vniuersall motio is moued by one power, which power so ouerruling them, must nedes be

Obiections against Gods Prouidence. Alphonse the tenth King of Spaine said that if he had bin with God at the creatio of the world, it should haue bene much better ordered than it is: and God punished him for so saying. Roderick of Toledo in the sixth chap. of his 4. booke.

of sufficient power to rule them all, considering that euen with one twinkling of an eye, he ruleth euen the same Heauen that carrieth al the rest about. It followeth then that there is one principall mouer, which gouerneth the Heauen and all the diuersitie contained therein. Againe, I see that the Globe of the Earth & of Sea together, is in respect of the Heauen but a litle point, or (as Pythagoras said) but as one of y least starres: that the Moone ruleth the Tydes of the Sea, & the Sunne the seasons of the Earth, & they both are disposed by the course of the heauen. Whereupon I conclude, that he which ruleth the heauen, ruleth both the Sunne & the Moone, and that he which ruleth them, doth also rule both the Sea & the earth. For how is it possible that he which ruleth the whole, should come short in ruling any part of the whole? Or how should the force of him be impeached by the Earth, which gouerneth those by whome the earth hath her force: Insomuch that if (to my seeming) his prouidence appeare more lightsomely in the Heauen than in the Earth, (which yet notwithstanding is not so,) and I cannot yeld a reason of all the things which I see: I will consider with my selfe that I haue scene many instruments made by men as I my selfe am, whereof I see plainly the effects, but I conceiue not the causes of them: Also that in other some I perceiue well the vse of some partes of them, namely of the greatest and notablest parts, but as for the smaller parts, as the Wires, Nails, pinnes, Riuetts, Buttons & such like, I haue thought them to be but bywozkes, and yet without them the residue could not hold together, nor performe that which they were made for: and although they were taken all asunder, and shewed me seuerally one by one; yet could I hardly conceiue them. Yea, and mozeouer, that I my selfe haue made some, whereof my Seruants and Childzen haue not perceiued the reason at all, but woulde haue burned them in the fire as seruing to no vse. And therefore I will praise God in the things which I know, wonder at him in the things which I conceiue not, and rather thinke my selfe (who am as nothing) to want wit and vnderstanding, than misdeeme him that is the maker of all things to be faultie in his prouidence. But sith folkes must be answered to their follies, least they should thinke themselves wise: and that the wisdom of these folke consisteth all together in putting sooth questions, and in answering to nothing: let vs examine these goodly demaunds ouer from point to point. If there be a Prouidence (say they) whereto serue the Mountaines: Nay, say rather, if all were of one sort, where were then Prouidence: For what els is Prouidence, but a disposing of many sundrie things to some one ende: And how can any such disposing be, where there is but one selfesame thing euery where throughout? Wrote beaste that thou art? So would an Ant speake of thee. It would aske whereto serued the rising of thy nose aboue thy face, or of thy browes

The obiection
of Mountaines

browes about thine eyes, or of thy ribbes about the rest of thy bodie: all which are higher about thy bodie, than the Mountaines are about the Plaines of the earth. Thou esteemest greatly of the beautie that is in thy face, and of the proportion that is in thy bodie; insomuch that thou fallest even in love with them in another; and yet thou wilt finde fault with it in the whole world, as a deformitie and want of order. But thou Lucrece, durst thou (I pray thee) be so bolde as to speake so of a Painter? Would it not offend thee if another man should speake so grossely of thy bookes? If a man should finde fault with the shadowing of a picture in a table; it would be answered that the Shadowmaker ought not to presume about the Pantopie. For without the blacke, the white could haue no grace: neither could the bright be set out, without a dimming: nor difference and proportion of parts appeare, without a medley of contrary resemblance: nor finally, the cunning of the Painter be perceiued without diuersitie of colours. Also he that should finde fault with the art of thy booke, hauing red but some peeces of it here and there, should by & by be answered by the Lawyer, That a man cannot iudge of the Lawe, without reading it wholly throughout. And if there happen any absurditie; by & by there starts me vp a whole world of Grammarians, which inforce their wittes to the bittermost to excuse it, and to finde some elegancie in thine incongruities. Alledging that that which is vnseemly in the part, beautifieth the whole worke, and the shadows more than the perfect colour, and the dimme more than the bright, when they be fitly placed. All the commendation of these painted things, consisteth in their diuersities, insomuch that if thou see a Playne overhanged with a shadye Rocke, or a dankish denne at the head of a Riuer springing out of it: thou likest the better of the table for it, and praisest the Painter the more for his skill. Surely it is not possible that the Playne should please thee more than the Hills, or the Riuer more than the Rockes, but that neither without other could please thee at all. Now, if thou diddest consider the World as the worke of God, and the Mountaines & other partes which thou mislikest, not in themselves but as they be small peeces of that worke: doubtlesse thou wouldest say as much thereof. And therefore sith thou canst not at one view behold all the whole world together, to iudge of the proportion of the whole masse and of the severall parts thereof at one instant: learne to commend the cunning of the workmaister in the things which thou thinkest thy selfe to vnderstande, rather than to call it into question, for the things which thou vnderstandest not.

But let vs see further what reason thou hast to complaine. Thou wouldest thinne both Rayne, Hayle, & Frost. Behold, the Mountaines furnish thee with wood and Timber to house thee, to shelter thee, & to make thee warme. Thou followest the commoditie of traffick: & behold, they serue thee

thy turne with Riuer from East, West, North, and South, making way from the middell of the Land to the Sea, and ioyning the Coastes of Sea and Land together. The ambition of thy neighbours is suspected of thee, and thine perchaunce is noysome vnto them: the high Mountaines are as bounds to separate Nations asunder, and to keepe them from incroching one vpon another. I omit the Wines & fruites which they yeeld forth, the cleere waters which they shed out, the flockes and herds of Cattell which they feede, and the pleasant dwellings which they conuey in them. If thou couldst finde as many things in thy bare plaine alone, I would giue thee leaue to complaine of the Mountaines. Nay, on the contrarie parte, if thou haddest felt the discommodities of the Playnes of Lybia; or but onely of the Playnes of Beawfic, or of the Desert of Champayne, thou wouldest by and by wish that all were Mountaines; and yet notwithstanding, if all were plaine, or all were hilground, thou couldest not tell how to commend or discommend either of them both. Now then, let this stand for an answer to all those Philosophers which take vpon them to controll the parts of a worke which they conceiue not whole. For, to blame the whole worlde for the Mountaines sake, or the Mountaine for the Woods that growe thereon, is all one as if ye should finde fault with the whole man for lesse than a Wart or a haire; when as yet notwithstanding, in an olde man thou honourest the same haire which the Barber cutteth off and casteth into the fire, yea & thou honourest the olde man for the verie same.

Wyld beastes. But let vs procede with the rest of their arguments. Thou complaine of the wilde Beastes; And who hath made them wilde but thy selfe? Nay rather, thou shouldest wonder at the prouidence of God, who (as Appolonius hath wel marked) hath printed such an awe of man in them that they hurt him not vnlesse they be assaulted or pinched with extreme hunger. And therein what do they moze than man would do in like extremitie? But thou hast yet further cause to wonder at his prouidence, in that the Beasts which might hurt thee, go single alone by themselves, and haunt the Conerts and Caves of the earth, and make but small increase; whereas the Beasts which are for thy benefite, how huge and strong soeuer they be, come home familiarly to thee, submitting themselves in whole flockes and herds to a Childe, and increasing into thousands within small time. Tell me in good earnest, is it a worke of fortune, that the Beasts which may annoy thy life do shunne thee, and that those with whole life thou maintainest thine owne life, should come and offer themselves vnto thee?

But the Sea displeaseth thee for occupying so much of the Earth. Wert thou a dweller in the sea as thou art on the land, the Earth would displease thee for occupying so much of the Sea. And yet what a deale thereof is

is still empty, which were fit to be inhabited? Know thou, that thou art beholden to it for the great number of living wightes which it fostereth for thee, for the great number of Townes and Cities which it enricheth for thee: for the Pauigations whereby it shorteneth thy way and yeeldeth thee Trafficke: and for his vapors wherewith he maintaineth the ayre and maketh the earth fat. For put the case that the Sea were dyped by at an instant: what a number of Cities thinkest thou should be seene desolate and Nations desert, when men shoulde bee in case with the drought, as fishes are that be left on dype ground at the going away of the tyde? Why shouldest thou not rather commend the beneficialles thereof the more, in that not thinking it enough to lend it selfe to thee to do thee service other wise: it also teacheth thee the mightie prouidence & prouident might of him that made it, when thou seest it ouerdröpe the earth, and threaten it with drowning euerie minute of an houre, & yet is not able to passe his boundes: or when thou seest it seeke to inuayon a great Countrie round about as though it were to embrace it; and yet to staye at a verie narrow balke, or els to winde it selfe into the botwels of the Land at a narrow chanell: whereas notwithstanding an infinite sort of little Isles are settled in the middell of the deepe, like a sort of smal motes in a Pond. For, seeing that thou seekest thy commoditie and profite thereby, thinkest thou not that he also seeketh his glorie? And though thou haddest none other profit by it, were it not verie much for thee to haue had it as a ground and matter wherefore to magnifie him?

The Windes perchaunce do make thee to hate it: for thou must needs haue a saying to them too: and yet on the other side, if it holde calme, thou art wearie of it. But couldest thou without them haue knownen the tenth part of the Earth? How couldest thou haue discovered the land of Perow and the Isles of Moluckes? Nay, how couldest thou haue come to the nearest Isles vnto thee, without them? How, if thou like of the Winde when it is fauourable to thee; why should not another man that hath to do in a contrary Coast, like welof it when it is contrarie to thee: And if both of you finde fault with the storminesse thereof: know ye that he which made it will be glorified thereby, in that he doeth thee to vnderstand, that he is able to mete with thee both on Sea and Land, & thou art taught to call vpon him, when the selfe same Winde which hath carryed thee at thy pleasure, is readie to dash thee against the Land.

But of that little of the dype ground which remaineth, two partes (sayest thou) be inhabitable. Who tolde thee so? Nay rather, why dost thou not conclude therevpon, that there is a Creator? Seeing that euen in thy time those parts were not inhabited? Surely the Winds whom thou blamest so much, haue taught vs that in those Clymates are goodly Countries, people of better health and greater strength than we, more beautifull.

The Sea.
Aristotle concludeth that there is a Prouidence, because the earth is vnconquered, which the Sea as the higher elemēt would else ouerwhelme. In his booke of Wonders.

The wynde.

The Earth inhabitable.

beautifull Cities, and moze delicate fruites: and we finde them so temperate, that we forsake the temperatest Countries here, to goe thither. The dayes and yeares are measured otherwise in one Countrie than in another: but yet in this varietie there is a constancie: and the one selfe same Sunne which maketh so many diuersities, doth thee to vnderstand, that he which made the Sunne could well make the other things. To be short, there is so great cunning in all these things, that thou hast bene inforced to make an Arte for the learning of them. And what else is an Arte, but the setting of diuers Rules in order together? And if Arte be so needefull for the knowing of them; who wil not say that there is much moze Arte in the thing it selfe?

Thou blamest the Thornes Byers and Bushes for couering the earth: but thou considerest not into how many mischieses ydenes plungeth thee. Thou blamest the Frost and Snowe for hindering thy Husbandrie, whereas in deed they twitch thee by the eare, to put thee in mind that the foyson of the earth commeth of God. Thou blamest the Rayne for wetting thee; whereas yet notwithstanding it moisteneth thy grounds & maketh them fat. At a worde, thou playest the babe, who thinkes his Purge does him wrong when he kemes his head or puts on his clothes, or rather when sometimes hee plucks a firestick from him, or takes a knife out of his hand: that is to say, thou miscomprewest al the good which the bountifull prouidence of God doth vnto thee.

The birth of
Man.

But in the ende (saist thou) why be we not able to helpe our selues as soone as we be bozne? Why be we subiect to so many diseases, and in the end to death? I will not nowe presse thee with that which I will speake of hereafter: namely, that for all these things none is to blame but thy selfe: for even in the same things which thou findest fault with, I will shewe thee still to thy face, the prouidence of God. The babe is bozne without abilitie to help himselfe, and hath none other skill at all but to crie. Contrariwise the brute Beast is no sooner come from his Damme, but he is able to goe. Be it so. Yet notwithstanding, of all these babes (which to thy seeming are but as soylone things) none dyeth for want of nurse or nourishment, though there be nothing but paine & care in bringing them vp. Therefore it must needs follow, that even from the beginning, a certeine prouidence hath watched ouer them, which hath ingrafted this kindly affection and carefulnesse in the mothers breaust; and the lesse that babes can do for themselves, the moze manifestly doth Gods power shine forth in prouiding for them. As for the brute beastes, it was not requisite for them to be brought into the world in that sort, forasmuch as being vnable to conceiue reason, they had no interest at all in the knowledge of those things.

Sicknesses &
diseases.

As touching diseases, if thou blame the seasons of the yere for them; thou

thou maist aswell blame the fire for burning thee, which yet notwithstanding thou canst not forbear: For the fault is in thine owne vniuersall creature, and not in their nature; and in thine owne unrulinesse, and not in their distemperance. The selfesame heate wherewith thou findest fault, ripeneth the Corne, Wine, and Fruits wherewith the most part of the world are fed. And if thou thinke that any man be thereby cast into an Age we: he might haue forborne to haue gone into the Sunne, but he could not haue forborne the shining of the Sunne vpon the earth. But if fathers of householdes haue roddes at hand to correct their children withall, and that a parte of their gouernement consist therein: thinkest thou it strange that he that hath set vs in the world, should haue meanes to hold vs in awe, & to bring vs home to him? What wilt thou say to a number of diseases, which are as certein fruits of some vices & sinnes? as one of Drunkennesse, & another of Lecherie, and so forth? Or what wilt thou say to Hippocrates himselfe, who speaking of ordinarie sores & diseases, inioyneth the Physitian in any wise to consider well, whether there be any peculiar stroke of God in them or no: that is to saye, whether the sicknesse or disease be extraordinary, so as the proper and nearest cause thereof, be the hand of God vpon the partie? Now furthermore, if there be nothing but disorder and wretchednesse in this world; why blamest thou death, which maketh thee to depart out of it? If it be because thou hast goods which thou art loth to forgoe: thou must consider that if thy parents had not giuen place to thee by order of nature, those goods had now bene none of thine. If it be because Death maketh cleane riddance of most things: thinke also that in so doing it maketh place for other most that are to spring vp in their place. But yet if thou wouldest consider how often men go to seeke Death where it seemeth to be deuoluen most deere, & yet finde it not: how many meete with it at Bankets, at Feasts, at Mariages, at Triumphes, and where they would most fainest forget it: how many there be which dye yong and in good health: and how many liue soze diseased euen to the depth of olde age: how many returne safe from most cruell Battels, to dye in their beddes: and how many dye in battell or in some fray, which haue shunned strife and tumult all their life long: Thou shalt easily perceiue that our life and our death are not in our owne hand, ne yet depend vpon fortune, forasmuch as wee scape so many places where fortune seemeth to reigne: and that much lesse doeth our life & death depend vpon nature, seeing it is not with vs as it is with Trees & other lining things to whom there is set a certeine terme, which for the most part they fulfill and ouerpasse it not: but that our life & death depend vpon a higher cause, whose onely will disposeth & boundeth them, accordingly as is expedient for his owne glorie, for the order of the whole, yea and for our selues too.

Had it not bene better then (sayst thou) that man had been made immortal rather than mortall? And had it not bene much better also (I say) that the earth had rather bene fire than earth, or that the eare had rather bene eye than eare, seeing that the one is more excellent than the other, and in the opinion of the Philosophers it is better to haue qualities active than passive? Had the earth bene fire, where couldst thou haue rested? And if thine eares had bene eyes, what had become of thy speech, yea and of thy reason too? Powe therefore my friend, giue this world leaue to be a world, that is to wit, a disposing of diuers things, & an order of many degrees. Every kinde of thing hath his boundes & buttelles, accordingly as God hath liked to appoint thereto. The Plant is a Plant because it doth but liue and growe: if it had sence also, then should it be a Beast. A Beast is a Beast, because it liueth and hath sence: if it proceeded so farre as to haue reason also, then were it a Man. Man reasoneth, and discourseth because he is Man: and were he thereto vnchangeable, he were a God. He therefore that demaundeth why the Plant hath no sence, and why Man is not immortal in this world; demaundeth why the Plant is a Plant, and why Man is Man. To be short, the cause why it is so, is that it hath pleased God to set as it were y diuers strings of the World in tune to make one harmonie, insomuch that whosoever taketh away the diuersitie of things, taketh away the World it selfe.

Obiection of
base & vyle
things.

But this is a poynt whereon they greatly stand. Well say they, Admit that the diuine Providence haue stablished the world, yea, and that it haue an vniuersall care thereof: Yet to toyle it selfe in the carke & care of so many particular things, specially in this sincke here beneath, I meane in this elementall world which is subiect to so many changes; seemeth rather worthe of dispraise than of praise. Nay say I, but if it be a praise vnto God to haue created all things as well beneath as aboue; what discommendation can it be vnto him to preserve them all? And seeing he made them all of nothing, whence proceedeth their worthinesse or vnworthinesse but of his will? Why should the cloth of Golde be of more account than the cloth of Hempe, or the Silke of more account than the Linnen, to the Paynter that painted them both? If God gouerne the Heauen, why should he not also gouerne the Earth, whereon do go so infinite sorts of liuing things, in euery of the which, yea euen in the Flye and the Ant, the greatnesse of the Creator shineth forth more than in the very Heauen: namely in their so liuely life, so readie vse of senses, so nimble and free mouing, yea and in the verie littlenes of them, which in so small roome containeth so many great things together? For wee wonder more at the Clockmakers cunning in making a Clocke which a Flye may couer with her wings, than in making a Clocke of great com-

passe,

passe, where the very greatnesse it selfe diminisheth the estimation there
 of. If thou be afraide least the spirit of God soile it selfe in these cor-
 ruptible things; remember that loke with what minde Cincinnatus
 commaunded his men of Warre and ruled the commonweale, with the
 very same minde did he both til and dung his ground, and yet thou coun-
 test him neuer the more defiled or imbaled thereby. The selfesame Sunn
 which giveth light in the Skye, pearceth throught the darks Cloudes and
 foggie Mistes, dyeth by draughts and Sinks, and sheadeth forth his
 beames even into the things which seeme most filthie and lothly, and yet
 he himselfe is not blemished or defiled therewith. Now then, art thou a-
 fraid least God who careth for al things without care, moueth them with-
 out touching them, and attaineth to them without putting himselfe forth,
 is not able to walde these lower thinges without defiling himselfe by
 them? But it were moze conuenient (saith Aristotle) that God should
 deale with the great things himselfe, as the King of Persia doth in his
 priuie Chamber, and that he should leaue the care of the smaller things
 to his Princes. As who would say, that the Cardiner which hath sowed
 both the great Cabbages and the little turnippe, both the Courbe and the
 Melone, should make moze account of the one for the greatnesse thereof,
 than of the other for smalnes thereof. Or as though thou wouldest not
 also the moze wonder at the King, if without stirring out of his priuie
 Chamber, he could appoint al things to be done, or rather do al the things
 himselfe which other men doe. What is the thing (I pray thee) which thou
 commendest in Mithridates, but that he could call all his Souldiers ene-
 rie one by his owne name? Or in Phillip King of Macedonie but that he
 him selfe made the prouision for all his whole Hoast, even for their cari-
 ages and for fodder for their Beasts? Or in the great Captaines of our
 time, but that they can skill, not onelie to make Warre and to order
 their Cattelles, but also to set downe what the daily expences of their
 armies will come vnto, even to euery loafe of bread & euery bottle of Hay
 and welneere within one or two shot, how many shot of the Cannon will
 make a breach in such a wall or such a Bulwarke, and so forth? Or final-
 ly in this Captaine or that, lauing that this Captaine could skill to set the
 Sunne vpon the face of his enemies, & another to cast the winde, the dust
 or the smoke in their eies, & another to serue his owne turne by a Harris,
 and some other to draw his enemy into the miry & dirty Country? And
 what viler or baser things can there be than these afoze rehearsed? Fi-
 nally what is it that ye commend in the skillfullest warrionrs of them al,
 but that they could skill to serue their owne turne? Or in the most glo-
 rious Conquerours, but that they gat the victoery in the end? And so thou
 must needs graunt that whereas the Counterparties failed to do the like,
 it was not for want of courage or goodwill, but for want of power or skill.

Now, whatsoeuer is in the whole Worlde, is the Army or Host of God, an Armie or Host (I say) not which he hath gathered of his neighbours, but which he hath created with his owne hands: He knoweth al the Starres by name, for he made them. He hath provided foode for all liuing things, and one of them is no greater to him than another: for they haue no beeing at all any longer than he listeth. If he make warre here beneath, all his Armies are readie to do him seruice and to wage battell vnder his Banner, yea euen the ambitiousnesse of Princes to punish themselves one by another. If Nations war proud: he armeth against them the Grasshoppers, and the Locusts, the Horefroste & the Blastings, the winds and the Clappes of the Earth. In euery of vs he hath his inlookers to cha-
 stise vs, in our flesh, or corruptions, in our minde, our passions, and in our Soules, our sinnes and disorders. There is not so smal a thing, which serueth not him to very great purpose; nor thing so vile, which serueth not to his glorie, nor thing so enemy like, which fighteth not to get him the victorie, nor the thing so wrongfull, which executeth not his Justice, thing so much against him, which hitteth not the marke that he aimeth at. Therefore pleade not in his behalfe vnadvisedly for Gods Glorie. For the more stirring, the more chaunge, the more disorder there is here beneath, the more doth he shew the vnmouable decrees of his euermouing Providence, which (will they or nill they) directeth all the vnconstancies of this worlde to one certaine end. And if perchance thou be afraid least God should be tired with the paine and trauell: (for he hath neede of thine vngodlines to releue him) consider how thine owne Soule, without any toile to it selfe, and without thy prinitie, both at one selfesame instant both provide for the susteining of thee, and make all thy parts to grow, euery of them according to his peculiar portion & proportion, giuing sence vnto thy nailes and the beares of thy head, which are but outgoings & not parts of thy bodie. And if thou wilt know how this Providence is occupied without toile; consider how that thy Soule (not withstanding al the businesse which thy Soule doth without thy thinking thereon) forbeareth not also in the meane while to mount vp euen vnto heauen, and by the discourses thereof to turmoile the whole Earth, to lay for the maintenance and defence of the innumerable households, and likewise for the decay and ouerthrow of as many others, and to search into the dealings of the enemy, to make them to serue his owne turne, to treat both of Warre and Peace together at one time, and with the selfesame persons both at once. And darest thou now thinke that God is toiled in y things which thou thy selfe doest without toile? Or that he is tired with the governments wherein thou wouldest take pleasure? Or that he being a free and infinite Spirit, doth not that in a limited bodie, which thy Soule being finite in it selfe, doth in thy bodie where it is as in a prison? To be
 spozt,

thou, seeing thou presumedst to do thy will with things wherof thou canst not make one heare, shall God be unable to do his will with the things which he of his owne onely will hath made and created? The vertue that is in a kernel of a Plant, sheareth it selfe from the roote of the vttre, most bzaunches, yelding nourishment severally to the sticke or stalke, to the pith, to the barke, to the flowers, to the leaues, and to the fruite, to every of them according to the proportion and nature thereof. The Sunne it selfe in keeping his course, and without minding any such thing yeldeth heate to innumerable Plants, and to innumerable people, and yet heateth not it self one whit the more. Now, if a creature doe so: what shall we say of the Creator? What shall we say of him which is not the Soule of the Plant, or of the Beast, or of Man, but the maker of all things, yea which made them of nothing, who is not (as some Philosophers haue upheld) the Soule of the World, but rather (if he may be so termed) the very life and Soule of all life and Soule in the World? But as we see daily, if the Counsell of a Realme cannot cease one weeke, without confusion of the Commonweale; nor the Soule of a man or a beast, so beare working be it never so little, without the death of the partle, nor the life that is in Plants stay without withering of the Plant, nor the Sunne goe downe without procuring darkenesse, or suffer Eclips without some notable change: much more reason haue we to beleue, that if the world & all that is therein were not guided, upheld, and cared for by the same power wisdom and godnesse that created it and set in such order as it is: It would in one moment fall from order into confusion, and from confusion to nothing. For, to haue no care of it, is to mislike of it, and to mislike of it, is in God to vndoe it, forasmuch as Gods willing of it, was the very doing of it. Now, if Gods Providence extend it self throughout to all things, as wel in Heauen as in Earth: we cannot doubt but that it extendeth also vnto man. For what thing is there of so great excellencie, either on the Earth as mans bodie, or in Heauen as mans Soule? And in extending it selfe to man, it must needs extend it selfe equally to all men. For who is either great or small, poore or rich, in respect of him which made both of nothing? What odds is there betwixt them, sauing that whereas both of them be but slaues to him that setteth forth the tragedy, he appareleth the one in Cloath of Gold to play the King, and the other in a coarse Pilche to play the Begger, making them to chaunge their apparel when he listeth?

Behold, here commeth almost an vniuersall grudge. For if there be (say they) a Providence, how commeth it to passe that ill men haue so much prosperitie, and good men so much aduersitie? What some be so long unpunished, and other some so long unrewarded? And to be short, if one for his wickednes commeth to the Gallies, & another for the same cause

raunce obtaineth a Diademe or Crowne: This question hath combered not onely the most vertuous among the Heathen, but also euen the most Religious of all ages. But it were best to take heere a little breath, and put it ouer among diuers other things which remaine to be treated of in the next Chapter following.



The xij. Chapter.

That all the euill which is doone, or seemeth to be doone in the world, is subiect to the prouidence of God.



Said heretofore concerning God that all things teach vs that there is but one, and yet notwithstanding that all things together cannot sufficiently teach vs what he is. Also let vs say concerning Prouidence, that in all things we see a manifest Prouidence, but yet to seeke out the cause thereof in euery thing, is as much as to sounde a bottomlesse pit, if it be not much worse, seeing that the wil of God is the cause of all causes. Surely if a man will blame Gods prouidence, because it agreeth not with his owne opinio; he is a thousandfold to be more miiliked, than he that should finde fault with the maister of an household for the order of his house, where he hath not lodged aboue one night, or control the Lawes & counsell of a strange countrie, whereof he hath had no further experience than by resorting to the Lauernas & common Iunes: Or than the babe that should take vpon him to giue sentence of his fathers doings, or than the Warlet that should presume to iudge of the determination of a Court of Parliament, vnder pretence that he had held some mans Pale at the Palace gate: or (I wil say more) than the brute beast that should undertake to deeme of the doings of men. For what are we to be admitted to the Counsel of God, which cannot so much as abide the brightnesse of his face? And what vnderstand we further of him, than he vouchsafeth to reueale vnto vs? What Princes Counseler is so wise that he can giue his Lord good aduice, vntlesse his Lord doe first make

make him pziote to his purpose as wel present as past, and to al the other circumstances pertaining therto? Or what Husbandman comming from a farre, will pzeume to vnderstand better what tilth, what seede, what compost, and what time of rest such or such a peece of ground requireth; than he that hath bene acquainted with it all the daies of his life? And how far greater thing is it to create, than to til? But sozasmuch as God is reason it selfe, and we thzough his grace haue some sparke thereof: let vs see whether it be not so euident in all his doings, that in this point it inlighteneth euen the darkenesse of our reason. And if we perceiue it not so clerly in al things, let vs acknowledg our selues to be but men, betwē whom & God there is no comparison, wheras in very deede there were no difference betwixt him & vs, if we could thzoughly conceiue al his deuices.

Now then whereas it is said, that if there be a pzouidence, why haue god men so much euill, and euill men so much good, afoze we deale with the matter, let vs agree vpon the wordes. I aske of thee which men thou callest good, and which thou callest euill, and likewise what things thou meanest to be properly good or euill. If I should aske thee why healthy men haue so many diseases, and diseased men so much health, thou mightest with god reason laugh mee to skorne: for health maketh healthie, and sicknesse maketh sicke. But whereas thou askest me why god men haue so much euill, and euill men so much good, pardon me though I cause thee to expound thy meaning: for naturally I cannot conceiue, that eyther god men haue euill, or euill men haue good. For if by god men you meane rich men, men of honour, and men that are healthy, and that ye take riches, honour, and health to be the good things: then is your question absurd. For it is al one as if we should demaund, why bearded men haue beare on their chinnes, and beardedlesse men haue none. But if (as I heare the say) thou esteemest Solons pouertie to be better than the gold of Crassus, and Platoes honestie better than Dennyfis tyranny, and the Collick & the Stone of a wiseman with his wisdom, to be better than the health and soundnesse of body of the fole with his folly: then art thou deceiued with the faire name of good: for it is another thing than these goods, which causeth thee to pzeferre them and to esteeme them the better. Therefore let vs say that the good are those which seeke after the true good things, and that the true good things are godlinesse and vertue: and contrariwise that the euill folkes are those which are wedded to y things that are euill in deede, that is to say, to sinne & vngodlinesse, and let vs not confound things together, the good with the bad & the bad with the good. For what goods soeuer a man can haue, or (to speake after thine owne maner) whatsoeuer euils he can meete with, he cannot be good though he haue al the goods in the world, so long as he himselfe is not good; neither can he be in euil case, as long as he himselfe is not euill. As for
the

the goods which goe about to beguile vs vnder that attire; let vs say they be outward things, common to the one sort as well as to the other, for the which a man can no moze be termed good or bad, blefſul or wretched, than he can be called wiſe or learned for wearing a rich garment: And contrariwiſe that as all theſe falſe goods are instruments to the wicked to make them worſe, (as riches to corrupt both themſelues & other men, authoritie, to doe violence; health to make them the luſtier and ſtrouter to doe miſchiefe, and ſo forth :) ſo the euilles, which thou termest euils, are helpes to good men to doe good, and furtherers of them in the exerciſe of vertue, as pouertie to bziidle their luſts, baſeneſſe to humble them, ſickneſſe to meeken them, and all maner of comberances to dzine them to fly vnto God, and to teach them to ſuccour their neighbours in the like, when God ſhall haue dzawne them out of them: euen after the ſame maner that a ſickly bodie turneth all things that are miniſtred vnto it, into the vnſound humoz which getteth the vpper hand, whereas on the other ſide the ſound and healthy bodie turneth to his nourishment, euen the meats as are worſt of digeſtion.

That the falſe
goodes are
common both
to good and
bad.

Now then, let vs come to the point. Wilt thou knowe why riches and honour are common both to good and bad? It is becauſe that God (euen in ſpight of the wicked) cannot but be good, inſomuch that he maketh the ſhowers to raine and the light to ſhine vpon the one as well as on the other, notwithstanding that the one ſort do curſe him for wetting them or for making them to ſweate, and the other ſort doe bleſſe him for moiſtning and ripening the fruites of their labours. It is becauſe God deemeth it not agreeable either to his owne honour, or to the græſes and trauelles of his ſernaunts, to reward them with triſling things, leaſt they ſhould ſet their mindes vpon them; like as a father that keepeth his heritage for his ſonne, thinketh it not to be for his behoufe, to apparrel him in the luerie of his ſeruants and ſlaues. To be ſhort, it is becauſe he dealeth like a Prince, who maketh his pay commun to all his ſouldiers: but as for the Carlonde of Dike, he giueth it onely to ſuch as are the firſt that in ſcaling doe enter the breach, or get vp vpon the wall of a Towne that is aſſaulted. Likewiſe Kings doe caſt their largeſſe at aduenture among the people; but as for their honours & dignities, they beſtow them vpon thoſe whom they eſpecially fauour. It miſliketh thee that this man tilleth the grounde with moe ploughes than thou: but aduiſe thy ſelfe well, whether thou couldeſt find in thine hart to exchange the inward gifts of grace which God hath beſtowed vpon thee, with his Dren and his ploughes. Another is in greater reputation and authoritie with the Prince than thou art. But conſider thou therewithall the hartbitings, the enuie, the hartburnings, and ſuch other things which he endureth; and ſe whether the meaneſt degree in Gods houſe where thou ſerueſt,

seruest, being free and exempted from all those things, be not much better than the best roome about any King. The King for his service done by him, rewardeth him with Lands, fees, and offices: but if thou be so baseminded and wongful to thy selfe, as to foster thy bodie with the seruices and charges of thy Soule; consider that God being liberal and iust, intendeth to reward spirituall incounters with spirituall Garlands, and to recompence thee according to his owne honor, and not according to the basenesse of thy heart; and that so much the more, because that in every deede, he rewardeth not thy woorkes, but his owne woorkes in thee. Moreover, the reward is giuen, not according to thy desart, but according to the worthinesse of him that bestoweth it. The recompence of one selfe same seruice, is farre other at the hand of a King, than of a meane Lord. If thou say thou couldest be contented with a thousand French Crowns, Alexander would answer thee, that it might perchance be enough for thee to receiue, but not enough for Alexander to giue. And if thou wouldest haue God to giue thee no greater reward than plentie of Wine and Cozne, if thou knewest him well, thou wouldest be ashamed of thy selfe: for it is the fode that is common to al men, and not peculiar to those y are his. Neuerthelesse, if thou step not so farre, but art desirous to know what be the goods which good men haue in this world, (I speake of them that seeme not to haue them) Seneca telles thee, that they make their life allowable to God who knoweth them, in him they repose themselves, they haue peace in their Consciences, if he increase not their present state, they also doe abate their desires; their enemies commend their vertue, al the world bemoaneth their want, and those that haue the distributing of goods and honors, are blamed for leauing them vnconsidered. To be short the very asking of that Question (be thou a Christian or an Heathen man) is vnto them an inestimable reward; namely, that whereas concerning the most part of other men, it is wont to be demanded wherefore they be aduanced to riches, honor, and authoritie, and they themselves are oftentimes ashamed to tel how they came by them; euery man asketh how it happeneth that the good men are not rich, honorable, and in authoritie. Now, if thou haue the courage of a man, wouldest thou not chuse as Cato did, that men should rather aske why thou haddest not an Image of thine set vp in the open place, and why thou wast not admitted to that honour, than otherwise? Yes saist thou: But if God list not to giue mee them; why haue I at leastwise forgoone those which I had? Why hath he taken them from mee? It may be (saith Seneca) that if thou haddest not forgoone them, they would haue fordone thee. I tell thee that if he had not taken them from thee; they would haue taken thee from him. I pray thee howe often hast thou taken from thy Childe a puppet or some other toy that he played withall, to se whether he woulde be

Subbozne o: no: How oft hast thou plucked the knife out of his hand, e-
 uen when he cried to haue it still? And what euill meanest thou towards
 him, when thou weanest him from his Dugge: Now then, thinkest thou
 it straunge that God should cast thy goodes into y^e Sea, which els would
 haue helped to drowne the in destruction? How greatly did Platoes
 Shipwacke aduantage him, to make him wise? And that he should plucke
 the Sword of authoritie out of thy hand whereof thou art so desirous,
 which els (peraduenture) had slaine thine owne Soule: And that to pre-
 pare thee to another life better than this, he should serue thee with such
 fit meanes, as might make thee to be in loue with it: Thou wilt say y^e
 thou wouldest haue vsed them well: but what a number of men haue
 bene seene, which vnder the chastisement of pouerty were good men, whom
 riches and hono: did afterwarde marre and corrupt: Thou sufferest the
 Whistion to take from thee some kinds of meats which thou louest will,
 and to abridge the both of thy fare and of thine exercises, and of thy plea-
 sures, because he hath seene thy water o: felt sometimes thy pulse: and
 wilt thou not suffer God (who hauing created thee and shaped thee, fee-
 leth euerlastingly the pulse of thy Soule) wilt thou not suffer him y^e say,
 to bereaue thee of some outward thing which he himself made, and which
 would worke thy destruction: Thou commendest the Captaine, who to
 make his iourney the speedier against his enemy, dispatcheth away all
 bag and baggage from his Armie, that the Souldiers may go the lighter,
 and that the breaking of a Chariot may not stay him by the way: and
 canst thou not finde in thine heart that he which made thee and gouer-
 neth thee, should dispose of thy baggages: that is to wit, of thy purcha-
 ces o: inheritancees which thou hast gotten here belowe, to make thee
 the nimble against vice, and against the continuall temptations of this
 worlde:

But enuie pricketh thee. Why taketh he them not (saist thou) as well
 from this man and that man, as from mee? And why loueth he thee per-
 chaunce better than them? Tell me why the Whistion appointeth the a
 greater portion of Rhetwarbe, than him? Because such a one is more
 moued with one dramme, than another is with three. One is better pur-
 ged with a single Glister, than another is with a very strong Purgation.
 One man is sower warned of God by the losse of his crop of Grapes o:
 Coyne, than another is by the burning of his house, the losse of al his goodes,
 and the taking of his Children prisoners. So Iob saw the losse of his Cat-
 tle, the burning of his houses, and the death of all his Children, and yet
 for all that, he praised God still. What which was constancy in him, might
 haue seemed blockishnesse in another. But when God came once to the
 touching of his person, he could not then forbear to dispute with him.
 Now then, seeing that the things which thou termest euilles & mischieses,

are

are in very daie both Medicines and Salues, wilt thou not haue them ministred according to the complexion of the patient? And thinkest thou thy selfe wiser in discerning the disposition of thy Soule, than he that created it, thou I say which darest not trust to thine owne knowledge in the curing of thy bodie? The same is to be said of diuers Nations, wherof some one may happen to be afflicted a longer time and moze sharply with the Plague or with Warre, than another, and oftentimes also euen for y^e selfesame causes. For God knoweth both the comon nature of whole Nations, and the peculiar natures of euery seueral person. Some nature, if it should not be the scourge alwaies at hand, would become too proud and presumptuous: Another, if it should be it continually, would be quite out of heart and fall into dispaire. If some were not kept occupied with their owne aduersities, they could not refraine from working mischiefes to others. Another againe being moze giuen to quietnesse, is contented to sweat in tilling his grounds, and in trimming his Gardines, without conetung other mens goods so he may keepe his owne. In like case it is with Plants: some require dunging, some rubbing to make them cleane, some pruning, some new grafting againe with the same to take away harshnesse of their fruit, and some to haue their head cropped quite and cleane off. One selfesame Gardiner doth all these things, and a Childe of his that stands by and sees it wonders at it: but he that knoweth the natures of things will count him the skilfuller in his arte.

Yea saist thou, but though these euilles may be Medicines and Salues how may death be so? For what a number of Innocents do we see slaine in the world? What a number of good folke do we see put to the slaughter, not onely good in the iudgement of vs, but also euen in the iudgement of those that put them to death? Say rather, what is death but the comon passage which it behoueth vs all to passe? And what great matter makes it, whether thou passe it by Sea or Land: by the corruption of thine owne humors, or by the corruptnesse of thy Commonweale? Again, how often haue Iudges condemned some man for a crime, whereof he hath bene guiltlesse, and in the deniall whereof he hath stood euen vpon the Scaffold, and yet hath there confessed himselfe faultie in some other crime, vnknowne both to the Iudges and to the standers by? A manifest reproofe either of the ignorance or of the vniustice of the Iudges, but a plaine acknowledgement of the wisdom & Justice of the eternall God? And if God bring them to that point for one fault, and the Iudge for another, what vniustice is in God for suffering them to be condemned wrongfully by the Iudge, yea and to be punished with death or otherwise, for a crime wherof their owne conscience cleareth them as guiltlesse, when as God and their owne conscience doe iustly condemne them for some other? As for example, The iudge condemneth them for conspi-

The murdering of Innocents and guiltlesse persons.

racie

racie against the commonweale, whereas God condemneth them (perchance) for behauing themselves losely in defending the commonweale. The Judge vnder colour of offence giuen to the Church, and God for not rebuking the Churchmen freely inough. For I speake as well concerning Heathen folke, as Christians in this behalfe. And what a number doe we see, which confesse of themselves, and witnesse of their familiar friends, that by thy punishing of them, wherewith thou being Judge mentest to haue put them in feare and to haue restrained them, they haue taken warning to amend, and bene the moze quickened by and incouraged? And what els is this, but that as in one selfesame deede, God had one intent and thou another, so also he guided it to the end that he himselfe aimed at, yea and to a contrary end to that which thou diddest purpose? But what a thing were it if thou sawest the fruite that God diallith out of it? The Childe that beholds his Father treading of godly Grapes, could find in his heart to blame him for so doing, for he thinketh that they should be kept still, and cannot conceiue to what vse the treading of them should serue: but the Father knowing the goodnes of the Fruite better than the Child, (for he planted them, tended them, and prouided them) considereth also that within two monethes or little moze, they would wither and dye away, & therefore to preserve the vertue of them, he maketh no account of the eating of them, but treadeth them in the Presse to make Wine of them. And when the Childe comes after ward to discretion, he misseth at his owne folly, and acknowledgeth that at that time he plaied the very Childe, notwithstanding that as then he thought himselfe wiser than his Father. And after the same maner doth he when he sees him make conserue of Roses, of Violets, or of other flowers. He is sorry to see them mard (as he thinketh) and is readie to weepe for it, and he cannot be quieted, because he would make Possegates of them, which anon after would wither, and he himselfe would cast them away by the next morrow. Now consider I pray thee, whether without any further inducement, thou finde not thy selfe to resemble this Child. God who made the good men that which they be, hath no lesse consideration and loue towards them, than those which bewaile them. He knoweth to what end their life serueth in this world, also he knoweth when it is time to gather them, and to put to his Hooke or Sickle, to cut them downe, that they rot not vpon the tree or vpon the ground, and how long they may be preserved in their kinde. And thinkest thou it strange that he should take some when they be fresh & graine, to preserve them all the yeere long, or that he should make Conserues of their flowers to be kept a long time, or that he should of their Grapes make Wine? Thinkest thou it strange say I, that he should after a sort make their saluour, their sweete sent, and their strength, that is to say their godlines, their

their brightnes, and their vertue to live after them, which otherwise should be buried with them: And that they which for themselves could not have lived past three or four yeeres, should live to the benefite of the Church and the commonweale, not yeeres but worlds of yeeres: If thou be a Christian take for mee example the Apostles and a great number of the Martyrs which have suffered persecution: doest thou not even yet still drinke of that liquore of theirs: doth not their constant confesse make thee also to confesse Christ, and their death helpe thee to the endlesse life? Could Ignatius and Policarpus have lived above five or six yeeres more than they did: And yet what part of all their ages hath lasted so long or done so much good, as the last halfe howre wherein they died: Or if thou be a Heathen man, consider mee the death of Socrates or of Papinian? If Socrates had not drunk the iuyce of Hemlocke without gilt, hadst thou had those goodly discourses of his concerning the immortallitie of the Soule? Or wouldst thou have beleued it so easely? and thereupon have bene contented to forgoe thy life so freely for the defence of thy Countrey, or for the maintenance of the trueth? And if Papinian had not shewed how honorable a thing it is to die for doing right, and how farre the soueraigne magistrate is to be obeyed, should we not be bereft of a singular goodly example of stoutnesse and rightfull dealing? What thing did they in all their whole life, either so much to their owne honour, or so beneficiall to them that were to come after them, as their dying in such sort? Now therefore, let vs say we be but babes. And forasmuch as we perceine the wisdome of our father to be so great, whereas, we condemne him of want of skill, and forasmuch as our owne ignorance is so grosse, whereas we boasted of wisdome, let vs rather confesse our weakness in all cases, than presume to doubt of his sage providence in any thing.

But Cato of Utica would needs that God should yeeld him a reason, why Caesar ouercame Pompey: as who would say, that the veriest rascal in the Realme, should commaunde the high Court of Parliament to yeelde him account, why his case was overthowen. For all our great Quarrels and Complaints are lesse before God, than the least case of a poore Willaine is before the greatest Monarke of the world. Nay, he should rather have considered that private States are punished by order of Lawe, and Commonweales and publicke States by civill warres: And that the Commonweale of Rome was (even by his owne confession) so corrupted in manners, in government, and in the very Lawes themselves; that he might have had much iust cause to have doubted of Gods providence, if after her punishing of others for the like things, she herself had escaped unpunished: that the great men, what part soever they maintained, were members most infected, in so much as the wisest men of that

The Goddess allowed that case which had the upper hand. But Cato with the vanquished, against the Goddess did stand.

that age said, We see what part we ought to shun, but not what part we ought to take: And that as Caesar made warre openly against his Country, so Pompey couertly and vnder hand made his partakers to fight for the maintenaunce of his owne ambition, which was peradventure dis- countenanced to the common people, but could not be counterfett before God, who seeth the very bottome of our hearts. Now then shal we thinke it straunge, that to the intent to shewe the common people how greatly they be subiect to be deceiued vnder pretence of good faith and to teache great men how soe he misliketh that they should shrowde their lewde lustes vnder the Cloke of Justice, God shoulde suffer Pompey to fall into the handes of his enemies: And that to punish the pride of the Senate and the whole state; he should cause their Army to be vanquished, and let them fall into the handes of their owne Countreiman their naturall Subject? May howe could GOD haue shewed his prouidence moze manifestly, than by ouerthrowing that State by hir owne force, which thought there was not any Power in the worlde able to punish her: And by making her a bondslauie to her owne Seruant, which had brought so many Citties, Commonweales and Kinges in bondage vnto her? But it may be that Caesar himself scape the unpunished. May: to shew vnto Tyrannes that the highest step of their greatnesse is tied to a halter and that they be but Gods scourges which he will cast into the fire when he hath done with them, within a while after, he was slaine miserably in the Senate when it was full. And by whome? Euen by those in whome he trusted, which had fought vnder his Standard against the Commonweale, and which presuming themselues to haue deserued moze at his hand than they had indeede, meant to deserue also of the Commonweale in murthering him. Were we now as diligent in marking the proceedings of things done in Histories, as we be in noting the maner of speeches, the order of inditing, or the antiquities which the writer reporteth: We should finde the like prouidence of God in the chaunge of all States. But I content my selfe with this one afore mentioned, as the which is best knowne to all men, except I were minded to take some example of our present age to inlighten the matter withall. Now then whereas Cato slew himselfe through impatience, thinke ye not that if he had liued still, he would haue ceased to contend with God, and haue commended his Justice, and haue written booke of his singular prouidence? Yes: But the mischief is, that whereas we would not iudge of a Song by one note, nor of a Comedie by one Scene, nor of an Oratio on by one full Sentence, we will presume to iudge of the Harmony and orderly direction of the whole worlde, and of all that is therein, by some one action alone. Againe, in Musicke we beare with chaunges & breathes, with pauses and discordes; In Comedies, with the vnnecessary barous

Seneca in his
third booke
of Anger.
Caesar saue
Cimbrus Tul-
lius, who had
a litle afore
beene verie
hot in his
defence, and
others of his
owne confe-
derates in Ar-
mes stand
now with their
Swords draw-
en about his
Chaire of E-
state, and ta-
king part with
the Pompeies
after Pompei-
es decease.
The cause
why men find
it with
Proui-

barous cruelties of an Atreus, the wicked presumptions of an Ixion, and the lamentable outcries of a Philoctetes: and all this is (if we will say the truth) because we haue so good opinion of the Musician, that we thinke he will make all to fall into a good concord: and of the Comedie-maker, that all his disagrementes shall ende in some mariage: and of the Tragedie-writer, that ere he leaue the Stage, he will tie the wicked Ixion to the Whéle, or make the sands of Hell to torment the Atreus, or contrariwise cause God to heare the wofull voice and pitifull crie of the poore Philoctetes. And if God seeme erewhiles to hold his peace, and to suffer men to play their parts, ought we not to haue so good opinion of his wisdom as to thinke that he can tell when it is time to pay them their hire? And that although he let the wicked walke at large vpon the stage, and the goodly to ly in prison: he can also prouide to end the vniuersities of the one sort with iust punishment, and the wofull complaints of the other sort with ioyfull triumph? When a Tragedie is plaied as foze thee, thou art not offended at any thing which thou hearest. Why so? Because that in two howers space thou hast thewed vnto thee the doing of a ten or twelue yeeres, as the rauishing of Helen, and the punishment of Paris, or the miserable end of Herod vpon his murdering of Iohn Baptist. Insomuch that although thou be not acquainted with the story, yet the arte which thou perceiuest, and the end which thou expectest, make thee both to beare with the matter, and to commend the thing which otherwise thou wouldest thinke to be both vniust, and also cruel in the gouerner of the Stage. How much moze oughtest thou to refraine thy misliking, if thou considerest that the world is a kinde of Stageplay, conuerted to a certeine end by a most excellent maker? And what an excellent order wouldest thou see there, if thou mightest behold all the ages and alterations thereof as in a Comedy, al in one day? yea or but the successe of some one onely action for an hundred yeeres, which were lesse than the interuiew of two seruants in one Comedy? Thou hast seene Pompey overcome. Lo here a discord that offendeth thine eares. Thou hast seene Caesar to bring home his sword bathed in the bloud of the Senate. If thou be a Child, thou wepest at it: but if thou hast a man, thou pacifiest the Childe and attendest for knitting vp of the matter, and for the iudgement of the Poet: Whereupon the Chorus singeth, and then maketh a pause. All this while the Poet seemeth to haue forgotten Justice, and if thou depart out of the company at that point, thou canst not tell what to make of it. But tarry a while and harken to the note that followeth. Caesar is put to death by his owne men. See here how the discord is turned into a good concord. Thy Child saith that this proud Peacocks which haunted himselfe aboute all the world, is in one day stabbed in with infinite wounds. Whereby, how little a one soeuer thy Child be, he hath

some

Seneca in his
third booke
of Anger.
Cæsar sawe
Cimbrus Tul-
lius, who had
a litle afore
beene verie
hot in his
defence, and
others of his
owne confe-
derates in Ar-
mes stand
now with their
Swords draw-
en about his
Chaire of E-
state, and ta-
king part with
the Pompeies
after Pompei-
es decease.
The cause
why men find
it with
a Proui-

that age said, We see what part we ought to shun, but not what part we ought to take: And that as Cæsar made warre openly against his Coun- try, so Pompey couertly and vnder hand made his partakers to fight for the maintenaunce of his owne ambition, which was peradventure dis- countenanced to the common people, but could not be counterfetted before God, who seeth the very bottome of our hearts. Now then shal we thinke it straunge, that to the intent to shewe the common people how greatly they be subiect to be deceiued vnder pretence of good faith and to teache great men how soe he misliketh that they should shrowde their lewde lustes vnder the Cloke of Justice, God shoulde suffer Pompey to fall into the handes of his enemies: And that to punish the pride of the Se- nate and the whole state; he should cause their Army to be banquished, and let them fall into the handes of their owne Countreiman their natu- rall Subiect? May howe could GOD haue shewed his prouidence moze manifestly, than by ouerthrowing that State by hir owne force, which thought there was not any Power in the worlde able to punish her: And by making her a bondslaue to her owne Seruant, which had brought so many Citties, Commonweales and Kinges in bondage vnto her? But it may be that Cæsar himselfe escapeth unpunished. May: to shew vnto Tyrannes that the highest step of their greatnesse is tied to a halter and that they be but Gods scourges which he will cast into the fire when he hath done with them, within a while after, he was slaine miserably in the Senate when it was full. And by whome? Euen by those in whome he trusted, which had fought vnder his Standard against the Commonweale, and which presuming themselves to haue deserued moze at his hand than they had indeede, meant to deserue also of the Common- weale in murdering him. Were we now as diligent in marking the proceedings of things done in Histories, as we be in noting the maner of speeches, the order of inditing, or the antiquities which the writer re- porteth: We should finde the like prouidence of God in the chaunge of al States. But I content my selfe with this one afore mentioned, as the which is best knowne to all men, except I were minded to take some ex- ample of our present age to inlighten the matter withall. Now then whereas Cato slew himselfe through impatience, thinke ye not that if he had liued still, he would haue ceased to contend with God, and haue commended his Justice, and haue written booke of his singular pro- uidence? Yes: But the mischief is, that whereas we would not iudge of a Song by one note, nor of a Comedie by one Scene, nor of an Oratio- on by one full Sentence; we will presume to iudge of the Harmony and orderly direction of the whole worlde, and of all that is therein, by some one action alone. Againe, in Poesie we beare with chaunges & breathes, with pauses and discordes; In Comedies, with the vnmeasurable bar- barous

barous cruelties of an Atreus, the wicked presumptions of an Ixion, and the lamentable outcries of a Philoctetes: and all this is (if we will say the trueth) because we haue so good opinion of the Musician, that we thinke he will make all to fall into a good concord: and of the Comedie-maker, that all his disagrémentes shall ende in some mariage: and of the Tragedie-writer, that ere he leaue the Stage, he will tie the wicked Ixion to the Wheele, or make the sands of Hell to torment the Atreus, or contrariwise cause God to heare the wofull boice and pitifull crie of the poore Philoctetes. And if God seeme erewhiles to hold his peace, and to suffer men to play their parts, ought we not to haue so good opinion of his wisdom as to thinke that he can tell when it is time to pay them their hire? And that although he let the wicked walke at large vpon the stage, and the goodly to ly in prison: he can also prouide to end the vniuersities of the one sort with iust punishment, and the wofull complaints of the other sort with ioyfull triumph? When a Tragedie is played afore thee, thou art not offended at any thing which thou hearest. Why so? Because that in two howers space: thou hast shewed vnto thee the dying of a ten or twelue yeeres, as the rauishing of Helen, and the punishment of Paris, or the miserable end of Herod vpon his murdering of Iohn Baptist. Insomuch that although thou be not acquainted with the story, yet the arte which thou perceivest, and the end which thou expectest, make thee both to beare with the matter, and to commend the thing which otherwise thou wouldest thinke to be both vniust, and also cruel in the gouerner of the Stage. How much more oughtest thou to refraine thy misliking, if thou considerest that the world is a kinde of Stageplay, conuerted to a certeine end by a most excellent maker? And what an excellent order wouldest thou see there, if thou mightest behold all the ages and alterations thereof as in a Comedie, al in one day? yea or but the successe of some one onely action for an hundred yeeres, which were lesse than the interuiew of two seruants in one Comedie? Thou hast seene Pompey overcome. Lo here a discord that offendeth thine eares. Thou hast seene Caesar to bring home his sword bathed in the blood of the Senate. If thou be a Child, thou wepest at it: but if thou beest a man, thou pacifiest the Child and attendest for knitting vp of the matter, and for the iudgement of the Poet: Whereupon the Chorus singeth, and then maketh a pause. All this while the Poet seemeth to haue forgotten Justice, and if thou depart out of the company at that point, thou canst not tell what to make of it. But tarry a while and harken to the note that followeth. Caesar is put to death by his owne men. See here how the discord is turned into a good concord. Thy Child saith that this proud Peacocks which haunted himselfe aboue all the world, is in one day stabbed in with infinite wounds. Whereby, how little a one soeuer thy Child be, he hath some

some perceiurance of the forecast of the Poet. Doeſt thou not ſe then againe, that we be like Childzen, which would controll the Song of all ages by one Note, or a long Oracion by one Letter, whereas notwithstanding, our life as in respect of the whole world, is lesse then a shorte Minut in cōpariſon of a whole ſong? If thou be a Chriſtian, thou readest the Hiſtory of Ioseph. When thou readest how he was sold into Aegipt, thou canst not be angry enough with his brothers, and ſufficiently bewaile his poore olde Father. Again, when he is caſt into the deepe Dungeon in recompence of his chaſtite, thou couldest finde in thy heart to blame, not onely Pharao, but euen God himſelfe. But when thou ſeest him taken out of Priſon to read the Kings Dreames, and (within a few daies after) as a King in Aegipt, a ſuccour to his father in his olde age, and the raiſer by againe of his whole houſe at their needs: then thou perſwadest thy ſelfe that he which made him to reigne in Aegipt, did ſuffer him to be sold to the Aegiptians: that he which made him the deliuerer of his houſe, did alſo make him to be ſolde into bondage afore by his brethren: and to be ſhort, that the diſcorde which offended thee and the harmony which delighteth thee againe, procede both from one ſelfeſame Poſition. Howbeit, afore we conclude this matter, ſe once againe how much more byright thou art towards thy Prince, than towards God. Thou ſeest a great number of his Armie come home wounded: if thou be a man, it muſt needs grieue thee. Anon one brings thee home thine owne ſon dead: if thou be a Father, thou canst not forbear tears. A neighbour of thine aſſureth thee that he was ſlaine in doing his duty, in getting victorie to his Country. Though thou take not cōſort in it at the firſt byunt, yet at leaſt wiſe thou wilt not be ſo mad as to lay the blame in thy Prince. Within a while after, when thou ſalleſt to conſidering the fruit of the victory, then as it hath grieued thee to forgoe thy ſon, ſon wilt thou thanke God that he died in defence of his Country, and that he did his part in ſo noble a ſervice. Shal not God then haue as great preheminance in ſetting forth his glory, as Kings for the obtaining of their victories? God quer his Creatures, as Kings ouer their Subiects? Or ſhal not we haue as much patience in the death of thoſe whom we bring vp, when they die for his ſervice, as when they die for the honour of our Prince? Or ſhal we haue lesse truſt in him as touching his imploying of them to good purpose, than we haue in Kings Princes and Captaines, which know not the iſſue of their owne enterpriſes, or at leaſt wiſe for the moſt part know it not, ne haue any care of the life or death of them that ſerue them? Let this ſuffice for the anſwere to ſuch as vex themſelues either for their owne afflictions, or for the ſodaine death of thoſe to whom they loue and eſteeme. And let vs now conſequently ſe, if we can ſatiffie thoſe which are grieued, at the proſperitie and ſlow puniſhment of the wicked.

Thou

Thou saist that the wicked haue welfare at will. King Cyrus was not of that opinion, when for a punishment to the people of the Citie of Sardis, he commaunded them to spend their time in gaming and feasting. Nay, thou shouldest rather say, that they haue miserie, for all the good things which thou termest good, and which we count neither good nor euill, doe in the hands of the wicked turne into euill. Well (saist thou) howsoeuer they be termed, they haue great commodities in this worlde. What wilt thou say then, if their owne wicked disposition, and their owne sinne, do worke them more mischiefe than all the harmes & euilles which thou be wailest in the good men? With there is not a greater mischiefe than to be wicked, and that all the commodities which thou enuiest them, haue as little force against the euill which they harbor within them, as Heluet Mantles haue against the Colicke, or Diademes against the Headach, or Purple Robes against the Collicke, Gesse (if thou canst) what feare, and what Agewits they susteine in following their wicked lusts, as namely, this man in haunting of Harlots, that man in riding to commit a Robberie, one in poisoning his owne brother that he may succede him in the kingdome, another in ridding good Comwealemen out of the way, that he may mainteine himselfe still in his tyranny. Consider what misery they indure, afoze they can come to the performance of their euill, what they abide in the very doing thereof, and what a turmoile their owne Conscience maketh of it, after they haue performed it: and thou shalt see that it is a continuall Feuer, a strange vniquietnesse, & a sharpe sorow, so much alway the more dangerous, because the shamelessest of them all, dareth not betwray his disease to the Physitian. Alexander the Tyrant of Pherey, was wont euen in the chiefe of his prosperitie, to get himselfe within a Hote and to draw by y^e Bridge after him, when he went to lie with his Concubine. Dennis of Sicilie being afraid to put any Barber in trust with the trimming of his Beard, made his owne Daughters to supply that office: & growing afterward in ielosie of them, he singed it off himselfe with a burning firebrand. Another, as oft as he went to bed with his wife, searched her whether she had not a knife hidden in hir bosome or about hir. Thinke you not that the happiest of all these Tyrants, was more miserable than y^e person that was most oppressed vnder his tyrany? with what saunce thinke you did Dennis eate his dainties, when he imagined himselfe to haue a naked sword hanging continually by a heare with the point ouer the head, as he sat at his Table? And yet what a number were there at that time, which eniued the Purple Robes the Diademes and the daintie fare of those Tyrants, and which found fault with God for the ease and prosperity which he gaue them? Wabes that we be; We would chaunge our state with a halfe, that in playing the King in a Tragedie sweepeth the scaffold with

The slowe punishment of the wicked

Wickednes is
a punishment
to it selfe.

Seneca in his
Thebais.

Feare not: for
he shalbe pu-
nished, & that
right sore. He
shall reigne:
That is a pu-
nishment.

And if thou
doubt therof,
beleue his fa-
ther and his
grandfather

with a long gowne of cloath of Gold, which within a fewe howers after, he must be faine to deliuer home againe to the Upholster with payment for the hire of it: and in the meane time we consider not what ragged cloutes, what scabbes, what vermin, and what itch and skurffe lies hid vnder it, nor how that oftentimes in counterfetting the Palety of the King, he was faine to scrub, and in manacing others, to grinde his teeth in his head. But were we clothed but one hower with that which he beareth about him, and whereof he cannot rid himselfe, we would rather go naked than be so clothed. And whereas it spitethe thee to see Tirantes reigne, and to strout it out, and to triumph, yea and that some of them come to their Crownes by doing the same things for which othersome come to the Gallowes: doth it not greatly skill (thinks you) whether a man be tormented in a coate of Velvet or in a coate of Canuas? Whether he be manacled and fettered in gins of Gold or of Iron? or whether in so short a shewe, he play the great Lord or the poore Begger? Howe often hast thou scene the Cutpurse hanged with the purse about his necke and the thiefe hanged in the same apparrell that he had stolne? Be thou of high or low degree, be thou rich or poore, be thou Prince or Peasant, assume as thou hast given ouer thy selfe to vice and wickednesse, by and by thou art become their prisoner & slaue. And if it be so, what skilles it who thou be, if thou be not thine owne man? Or whereto serues thee all that thou art, but to be the more wicked, which is in dede to be the more wretched: But although vice be a punishment to it selfe, and that (as saith Hesiodus) it springe by with the very misdede it selfe: yet notwithstanding, many men cannot content themselves with Gods Justice, vnlesse they se the offender led by and by to the Gibbet: that is to say, vnlesse the punishment be speedie, an open example and visible, as who would say, that the Gibbet were but the beginning of punishment and not rather the end of it; or that they which are cast in prison for stealing, had not the halter about their neckes already, from the verie instant that they be taken, notwithstanding that sometimes forgetting their owne misery, they play together at Cardes and Dice.

Now contrariwise, whereas Epicurus doth ground his greatest argument thereupon; let vs learne thereby to haue Gods prouidence in the greater admiration. I demaund therefore what is the end of all Iudges in punishing, whether it be not the amendement of the transgressor, if he be not put to death, or els that he should be an example and warning to others by his death? If it be the amendement of the partie, why findest thou fault with it, for that he is not put to death? God is a Physician and not an Executioner. He knoweth better than thou, what hope of recovery there is in the disease. The partie (saiest thou) was vnruled in his youth. The Wine that is now milde and good, was a twomonths agoe

both

both hard and sharpe, and it will growe riper yet in time. Moreover, let the offender stie as farre as he list, yet is he in safe prison and vnder sure garde. God stands in no such doubt as thou doest: The offender can neuer scape his hands. No: but thou wouldest that God should at least, wise bond him with the broad arrow. Where? In the forehead. Why, art thou afraide that God could not knowe him againe, if he had once shifted his apparrell in some other priue place? And doubtst thou that his bonding Iron cannot pearce euen to the heart, which thou seest not? Nay rather, the selfesame Land which so want of tillage and husbanding brought forth Briars and Thistles, that is to say, vices and enormities, may by good husbanding beare good Wine and good Coyne, that is to say, Godlinesse and Vertue. And haddest thou once shamed him by the Pillozy or by Carting; might it not graue thee to haue made him pass grace? If the Athenians (saith Plutarke) had killed or defamed Themistocles for the outrage of his youth; or Miltiades for his rebelling in Chersonesus; where had the godly Victories become, which they obtained in the plaines of Marathon, on the coast of Artemisia, and at the River Eurymedon? Or had Constantine also bene rigorously punished, for the crueltie wherewith his former yeeres were disained, and that thou haddest then knowen afozehand, what things he was to doe afterward for the the aduancement of Christianitie; thou wouldest haue bewailed him. And why sauest thou some from punishment for great crimes in respect that one is a good builder, another an excellent Politician, and a third a man of learning, whereas thou knowest not what they wil proue afterward, and yet thinkest not that in so doing thou doest any hurt, but rather good seruice to thy Commonweale? But as for God, he knoweth which ground is euill of it selfe, and which it is that beareth Brambles & Thistles for want of husbanding. He knoweth what is in euery of our mindes afoze we our selues know it. The things which we are to doe in time to come, be as present in his sight, as the things that we haue done already. Neither Nero with his five yeeres good behauiour, nor Constantine, with the wicked disorder of his younger time, could beguile God, though thou which seest but the outward man, callest the one the Father of his Countrie, and the other an unkindly Murderer. He knoweth when the tamed Wolfe wil turne againe to his kinde, and when the churlish Dog will put off his churlishnes. He knoweth mens natures in the very seede, whereas we scarce know them in the flower. Whereas we play the blinde Barbers of the Country, in hauing recourse at euery instant to searing, cutting, launcing, and sawning of euery soe, he hath a thousand receits to heale vices withall, and a thousand kindes of scourges to correct offenders withal, according to euery of their complexions. And thinkest thou then that he neglecteth his cure, because thou seest not the

D

searing

tearing iron in his hand? **Q**; that his potentials (as the Surgions terme them are not stronger than thine actuals : And when thou seest the sinful person cured after that maner without launcing, yea and without scarre, oughtest thou not to commend the curing thereof so much the more?

But there are which amende not a whit the more for the delay of their punishment. Admit it be so : Yet what a number also are there which do amende: **S**ay, consider yet further, whether they be not suffered to liue to punish thee, thee I say which haste bene scourged by them already, and yet art neuer a whit amended. **T**hou wouldest haue thy father to throw his rod into the fire, and thou hast stil a curst heart that cannot yeld & aske forgiveness. Blame thine own stubboynnes that he burneth not the rod. Consider also whether it be not a greater punishment to them to liue after they haue done amisse, than to haue died in the deed doing, so much as they see that their slaughters haue not successe according to their wils but that all the mischief which they haue wrought is in vaine, so as they haue but prouoked God and the whole worlde against themselves to no purpose, and haue gotten nothing thereby but shame and reproach and torment of minde, and whether God doe not by that meane compel them to cry out, We haue wearied our selues in the way of wickednesse, vntill we can no more? **I**f God (say I) by his seeming to be slowe, doe both amend thee and punish the other both at once, doest thou not perceiue a wonderfull worke of Providence? Moreover, what is the whole continuance of all a mans life in respect of God, but one moment? Shorter than the time betwene the drinking of the Hemlocke, and the death of him that drinks it? and much shorter than betwene the killing of a man in the morning, and the being hanged for it in the afternone: if thou haue an eye to the chiefe end of punishments, namely the example of them that liue stil, to the benefit of the commonweale. I aske of thee whether thou thinkest not, that they were better warned by Neroes killing of himselfe a good while after his committing of so many slaughters and his setting of Rome on fire, hauing neither friend that could saue him, nor foe that would slea him, than if he had bene burned in the foresaid fire which he caused to be kindled? **S**ay, consider whether it ought not to be yet a better warning for thee, when thou seest that the wicked man is euen then held fastest by the necke, when he thinketh himselfe to haue escaped the hand of God; seeing there cannot be a plainer proofe, that no man can prescribe time for his wickednesse against Gods Justice. Again, when Maximian after the committing of so many cruelties, languisheth & pineth away by péecepeale in infinite miseries, I referre it to thine owne iudgement, whether he do not more apparantly preach Gods Justice against Tyrants and wicked Courtiers, than if he had bene slaine when he was young, as Domitian and Commodus were? And whether he seeme not to thee,

thē, to haue bene as a crier hired for the nonce, to make this Proclamation publickly with lamentable and languishing voice all his life long, Take warning by mee to doe Iustice, and not to dispise God? Or whether, when Dennis the Tyrant of Scicilie became a Scholemaster at Corinth, and fell to beating of Childzens Buttocks; it was not a better beating to him, than if he people had caused his Shoulders to haue bene rent from him vpon a Scaffold? and whether al the youth in the City were not better taught what the ende of Tyrannie is, by beholding him with his Roddes in his hand in the Schoole, than they should haue bene by seeing him put to death incontinently in the place?

And if thou thinke it not enough that Lyciscus doe rotte about the ground, yea and that he cry out that he rotteth for his treason, vnlesse the same Orchomenians whom he betraied, doe come to the beholding of it: Or if thou thinke it not enough that Nero make a miserable end, except Agrippina whom he vnnaturally murdered, do see her ries with the sight of it: or that Herod become a forlorne creature, vnlesse the Innocents whom he slew, be called to looke vpon him: besides that thou requirest a thing against reason, thou must also vnderstand, that God punisheth not after the maner of worldly Judges, namely to content them that haue suffered wrong, or to satisfie thy minde desirous of reuenge, or to purchase himselte the report and estimation of a good Judge at thy hand: but because he hateth the euill, which intendeth to correct, and wil also drawe good out thereof. And like as a discrete Father, when his Childe complaineth to him of some wrong done vnto him by one of his Seruants, doth not by and by runne vpon his Seruant with a cudgell, (for so should he make his Child cockish, and cause him not onely to doe the like for euery trifle, but also to take the staffe in his owne hand and to lay about him, whereas he would haue him to bridle his passions, and to referre the redresse of his wrongs to him being his father;) but rather taketh his seruant aside, and chastizeth him either before his fellowes, or before others of his Childzen which beare him not so much grudge or ill minde: euen so it is not to be thought straunge, if God doe oftentimes chastice the wicked farre from the view of the world, yea and sometimes also euen after the decease of them that made complaint against them. His intent is to punish their passions, but not to gratifie thine. He wilt teach me his Iustice, but he wil not haue thee to thinke that thou shalt haue him at thy commaundement, to strike whensoever thou wouldest haue him. If he should strike at thy appointment, then should he bee but the Executioner, & thou shouldest bee the Judge. But know thou that he executeth his owne Iustice and not thine. Yea (saist thou) but what Iustice is it, that childzen should be punished for their fathers? And (say I) what vniuersitie is it, if the Childzen be not considered for the good seruice of their fathers? A

Prince giueth priuiledges to some Citie, for the faithfull service which it hath done vnto him: and who wil not blame his Successor which shal take them away againe a hundred yeres after? Another Prince bereaueth a Citie of their Liberties and fraunchizes, for rebelling against him: who will thinke it any rigoꝝ, that their Childzen which come after them should be in the same state? The Prince doth it for feare least the Childzen hauing the same territoꝛie, should rebell as their fathers did. God standeth not in feare of men, but he saeth what they bee: and his knowing of them is not as we know y^e Aspioꝛme by his stinging of vs, oꝛ the Wiper by his biting of vs, but he knoweth them as oꝛe they be either Aspioꝛme oꝛ Wiper; and may he not then by that reason sometimes punish the Childzen, in the same respect that he punished their fathers? As for example, by taking away their authoritie if they committed tirannie, least they might abuse their authoritie still: Or by taking away their goods which they spent in riot & excesse, least they should set their mindes vpon these vices still: and so forth of other things? But why doo I terme it punishing? I should rather terme it curing. For what moze is al this, than we see daily done by Physitions, who in cases where the fathers were diseased with the Stone, the Gout, oꝛ the Droopie, doe forbid the Childzen the same things which they forbade their fathers, although the Childzen be not yet troubled with the same diseases? And what els are sinnes and vices, but diseases and sicknesses of the Soule? And what straungenesse is there in Gods doing, sith that thou thy selfe doest the very same? Thou Disinheritest the Childzen of them that haue attempted treason against the Prince: and if the Prince may do it for the defence of his state: how much moze commendable is the doing thereof, for the preservation of the parties themselves? But yet in this appeareth the mercifulnesse of God, that if the Child of the wickedest man in the world, refuse to be heire of his fathers sinne, and wickednes, and follow godlines and vertue; God doth not onely release him the debt due to such succession, that is to wit, the paine & penalty which is an vnseparable appurtenance of sinne, but also adopt him into the number of his own Childzen, to make him partaker of his heauenly heritage. Now then, what cause haue we to complaine, either of the prosperitie of the wicked, oꝛ of the aduersitie of those whom we account to be good men, seeing that all these things tend, not onely to Gods glorie and the benefite of the Commonweale, but also to the welfare and soulehealth of those whom we bewaile? And if we did consider yet further, how many there be whose miseries we bewaile, which foster a festered soꝛe in their bosom, how many there be whose prosperitie we enuy, which haue much cleaner hearts than the other, and do spit out al their venome outwardly, how many there be which haue their nailes whole, and yet do but little harme with

scratching,

scratching; how many there be which would teare all things in peeces, if their nailes were not pared very short, who for want of powre (I meane) or for want of coage to execute their naughtines. Some for the present time good men, and a thousand other such circumstances which are to be marked in every particular person: surely they which do so lightly charge Gods providence, would chaunge their opinion; and where it seemeth to them most worthy of blame, there would they the more wonder thereat and commend it.

But this is yet the greatest point of all: That although God punish euill neuer so much; yet it can not be denied, but that he leaueth euill still in the World, seeing we agree all in this, that sinne or vice is euill. Now if he be altogether good, how can he forbear to hate it? And if he be Almighty, how can he suffer it? And if he order and dispose all things, how doth he permit it? This Question shall be the clearelier discussed, where we proue how euill came first into the World; namely by the fall of man. And then shall we haue wherefoze to wonder at Gods Providence, who hauing punished vs by our owne naughtines, coulde still to turne the same both to his owne glorie, and to the welfare of mankind. To glance at it in fewe wordes; by the way, It was requisite (and otherwise it coulde not be) that there shoulde be some difference betwene the Creator and the Creature, to the intent that the Creature shoulde acknowledge it selfe to be a Creature, and yelde honoꝛ to the Creator who had made him of nothing. Nowe the Creator is the good that is infinite and vnderchangeable: and therefore the goodnesse that is in any Creature, could not but be finite and changeable, lasting so farre forth as it consented to depende vpon him alone. God therefore created man good, howbeit changeable good; free from euill, howbeit so as he might chuse the euill; and he Created him rightly minded, howbeit in such sorte as he might also go astray. And this man by turning away from the Wellspring of goodnesse, did thereby fall away from his owne goodnes; and by following his owne will in steade of Gods Will, he left his freedom and became a bondservant vnto euill. All they that are borne of this corrupted seed, retaine the faultines of that first fault, and cannot wit it vpon any other than the first man. Therefore if it be demanded why God created man free, and not vnfree, seeing his freedom made him bond, it is all one as if it were demanded, why hee created fire to be light and suttile, that is to say, Water, or why hee created water moist and colde, that is to say, Water, or the World full of so many varieties, that is to say, a World, and to be short, every kinde of thing, to be of this or that nature. For to haue free mouing and capable of Reason, is to be a man, and if we had not had it so, we would haue complained. Again, to haue free mouing and such

How God suffereth euill in the World.

why god permit
euill and sinne
in the world
because
out of euill
cometh good

as cannot be but reasonable, is to be reason it selfe, that is to say, to be God. Now God ment not to create a God, but a man to serue him like as when he intendeth to create Beasts for the seruice of man, he created them Beasts and not men. But wherein wilt thou more wonder at the providence of the everlasting G D D, than in that he not onely ordereth and disposeth the things that he hath created, but also the thing which he created not; insomuch that he draweth good out of the euill, yea and compelleth the euill (contrary to the nature thereof) to serue vnto God: If a Captaine were of such skill as to order all things in such wise in his Armie, that euery thing should serue to the attaineiment of his victorie; thou wouldest commend him highly, and it were in daide one of the rarest featues of Warre. But if he could moreouer gaine some part of his enemies Hoast, and make them to take his owne part, thou couldest not wonder sufficiently at his pollicy. What wilt thou say then of him, which could make them to fight on his side vnwitting to themselves, and yea even his enemies Hargwebusses should helpe to giue themselves the foile: Sothly even after that sort is it that God can skill to make both sinners and their sinnes to serue him. Cyrus (as appeareth by the Histories) was an ambitious Prince; and ambition (as ye know) cannot be wel liked of God. Now, to satisfy his ambition, Cyrus leuies a great Hoast against the Assyrians. If a man should haue told him it had bene to deliuer the Israelites, and to build up Gods Temple againe, as Elay had foretold, what thinke you he would haue said vnto it: Yet notwithstanding the ende of his Marres and of his warfare, fell out to be so in daide. Thus ye see how an ambitious person and his ambition serued God, without meaning any such thing. The Emperour Titus ment to bring Iewry to due obedience: and it had bene foretold, that of Hierusalem one stone should not be left standing vpon another. No doubt but that Titus his owne passion caried him; but yet see how God ouerruleth it. The same man which persecuted the Christians at Rome, goeth to reuenge Christs death at Hierusalem, and (as saith Iosephus) in that fact he took not himselfe as an Emperour of the World, but as the executer of Gods Justice against the Iewes, Iudas through Couetousnesse betrayed the blade of the righteous to death. But God by the shedding of that blode (if thou be a Christian) redeemed thee; and yet the holy Scripture saith, that the Deuill being in Iudas, did put that purpose into his heart. Ye see then that not the Couetousnesse of Iudas only, but also the Deuill himselfe serued God. Besides that Histories of the Bible be full of such matter. We might mark the like examples in the booke of the Heathen, if we were as diligent in obseruing them, as we bee in obseruing the arte of Rhetoricke or Logicke in the authors which we reade. For by reason of the great corruption which reigned at those daies in Rome, all men cried out that there was

a more able
man than
himselfe

63

was not any Commonweale there, appealing to God for defence against the iniustice of the Senate, at the same time that God executed iust vengeance vpon for it, by the iniust couetousnesse of Cesar. Likewise when Attila entered euen into the bowelles of Europe, all the Preachers of Christendome did nothing els but bewaile the wretchednesse of that time. We must thinke that when this great Robber cast lots in his Countrie of Scithia, whether he should leade the third part of that Land, he had another meaning than to refozme the world. Yet notwithstanding, all men acknowledged him to be a necessarie scourge of God, and to haue come in due season. Yea, and he himselfe considering that he had conquered much moze of the Countrey, than euer he hoped at the first to haue seene, insomuch that he had ouercome euen those which were counted the strength of the World: as barbarous as he was, he fell to thinke of himselfe, that he was the Scourge whereby God chastised the World. Not that God is not able to chastise vs himselfe whensoever he listeth; (for his Storehouse is neuer unfurnished of rodde to scourge vs withall, as of Plagues, Diseases, Famine, and such other things,) but that as a Maister of a household holdeth skorne to whippe his Slaues himselfe, causing either his chiefe Seruant or some other of their fellows to doe it: yea and when his owne Children offend him grievously, he vouchsafeth not to beate them with his owne hands, (for so should he do them too great an honour) but causeth (peraduenture) the groom of his stable to doe it, to the intent to shew them the iustnesse of his displeasure: Euen so doth God punish the wicked one by another, whom he coulde consume al at once in one holwer; yea & his Children also by y wicked, when not counting of them as of his Children, but being readie as it were to disherite them, he disgaineth to punish them with his owne hands. Thus therefore ye see, how God serueth his owne turne by the wicked and their wickednesse, to his owne glozie and to the welfare of those that are his.

Saluian in his
vij. booke of
Providence.

And as touching the offences whereinto he suffereth good folkes now and then to fall: what greater point of prouidence can there bee, than to turne them into instruments and furtherances of vertue? If God should hold vs alway by the hand, it is certaine that we coulde neuer trip. And it is not to be doubted also, but that we would thinke at the length, that it was of our owne Readinesse, and not of Gods vpholding of vs, not onely that we tripped not, but also that we tumbled not downe. For what made vs fall but pride? and what maner of pride, but that we thought we would be Gods without God, yea euen of our selues: Now, to make vs to knowe our infirmitie, wherein it is his pleasure to shewe his strength: sometimes he letteth vs goe alone by our selues for a while, and then humble we at the next iob y we meeete with. Neuer thelesse, this

The very
sinnes of good
men are re-
dressed to
their benefite.

tripping and stumbling saueth vs from a greater fall: for it maketh vs to call for his hand to hold vs vp. After the same maner dealeth the Surce with her Surcerhild that maketh hast to go alone too lone: she suffereth him to stagger & to reele til he cry; but yet in letting him go with the one hand, she holdeth him vp with the other; and sometimes he thinkes he goes all alone, when as she guideth him both with her eie and with her hand. Sometimes also when we be ouerlustie, God suffereth vs to fall into some sinne, both wittingly and willingly, and afterward maketh vs to feele such gripes and hartbitings for it, that euen the vice it selfe serueth vs for a Scholemaster, to driue vs to eschewe it. So the father suffereth his Childe to burne his finger in a Candle, onely of purpose to make him afraid of fire, that y^e little singeing of his finger, may keepe him from the burning of his face. There are examples hercof in S. Peter, in Dauid and in others, which receiued god by their trippes and falles. And I haue no doubt but that a greate sort euen of the Heathen haue felt in themselves how greatly their experience of vice in themselves hath profited them to the more earnest loue of vertue. So then, let vs not grudge at the prosperitie of the wicked; for vnto them it is a bane: neither let vs complaine of the miseries of the godly; for they be to their welfare. Let vs not reuerence the vizor of vertue in the wicked, for it is but an instrument of vice; neither let vs disdain the falles of the vertuous, for they be but quicknings vp vnto vertue. But rather let vs glorifie God which maketh the euill good whether it will or no, which causeth vice to doe seruice vnto vertue, and which guideth euen the most Anfull deedes, to his glory, the most vniust, to the executing of his iustice, and the most vncerteine, to the hitting of his marke. And notwithstanding that he do al this, yet can he not be blamed to haue wrested any thing in the world, nor to haue mainteined euill in any maner of wise, no more surely than the Soule or abilitie of mouing that is matched with a lame legge, is to blame for that the lame man halteth, though it yelde forth mouing into the legge, and guide the legge whither soeuer it wil for all the lameness of the legge. What shall I say more? If any doe yet still doubt of the things afore rehearsed, I will put him but to one p^{ro}ofe, for his answer whereto vpon leasure, I will beloeue him vpon his oth. If he be a despiser of God, let him call to minde if he can, howe much euill he hath susteined in the hauing of his goods, and how much euill he hath endured to doe euill. Let him remember how greatly he hath tired himselfe with his owne willes, tormented him selfe with his good successes, set himselfe on fire when he thought but to warme him, and wandered quite away when he ment to haue brought others to the bent of his owne bow. Or if he be one that feareth God, let him consider how much euill he hath left vndone, in forbearing to haue so great store of those false goods: how many

Euilles are in the world as things set one against another, after the maner as it is in the eloquence of wordes. The actions and mouings are of God: but the disorders of them and the haltings are of our selues.

many things he hath wished which he would haue eschewed, if he had foreknownen the issue of them which he sawe afterward: how greatly he had bene dzeaded and misliked of others, though he could not deuise to fo haue done better: howe often his falles and slidings haue serued to make him to take sure footing against sinne: how oft his wanderings out of the way haue made him to escape the lyings in wait & the thæueries of the world: how oft his owne wiles haue serued to turne him from the right: and how often his owne ouersights haue serued to bring him to his intended ende: and I doubt not but the heedefull marking of these things, both in others and in himselfe, will make him to perceiue that a certeine euermlasting pꝛouidence watcheth ouer our liues and all our doings. At leastwise vnlesse we will denie, that to leade the forecasses of others to another end than they purposed; to bring the vnadvised ouersights of others to better passe than they themselues could wish, and to make the wisdom of the wisest to doe seruice, not onely to his owne diuine wisdom, (if a man may so terme it) but also oftentimes euen to the vndiscretenesse of the meanest, is the woꝛke of Pꝛouidence.



The xiiij. Chapter.

That mans wisdom hath acknowledged Gods Pꝛouidence, and how the same wadeth betweene Destenie and Fortune.



NOW, like as men of olde time haue acknowledged the maker of the world, some in expresse termes, and otherfom by consequence: so haue they also easely perceiued the Pꝛouidence, which they haue deemed to depend vpon the same as an appurtenance thereunto. Insomuch that euen they which haue flatly denied the Creation, haue neuerthelatter granted the Pꝛouidence, by reason that they found it so clere and manifest a matter, howbeit that to deny the Pꝛouidence & to deny the Creation is al one.

Hermes espies it out euerywhere as well in the Creation of the whole & of the parts thereof, as in the order and maintenance of all things. And if it be demaunded of him what Pꝛouidence it is, to haue brought forth so many things which seeme needelesse.

The men of
olde times.

Merces in his
Aselepius, &
Cyrillius in his
second booke

needlesse and vnprofitable; his answer is readie shapen, That GOD created all things to his owne gloze: and that it is a glozie, both to him to haue created all things, and vnto all things to haue bene created by his hand. And if it bee asked againe, whence the euill commeth that is in things: He answereth, That GOD created them good, howbeit that (to speake properly) there is nothing purely good but onely God. As for the euill, it is come in vpon the good, like as all generation is accompanied with corruption. The Iron rusteth, thou wilt not write it vpon the Smith. The Wine sowreth, thou wilt not write it vpon y^e Vintener. The things that are created do corrupt, as little also oughtest thou to write it vpon the Creator. Why? Because that onely he is vnchaungeable, and it is meet that there should alway be some difference betwene the Creator, and the things created, betwene all, and nothing. Plato in that he teacheth the Creation, doth also sufficiently teach the Prouidence. For if Gods power, wisdom, and goodnesse bee equall, or rather all one thing, loke where his power is, there is his wisdom, and thither also extendeth his goodnesse. But his power extendeth euen to the the least things, for els they could haue no being at all: therefore his wisdom also extendeth vnto them to guide and governe them, and likewise his goodnesse without the which nothing could be preserved. And so, Gods prouident goodnesse and gracious wisdom doe watch ouer all things. Again, when as Plato setteth downe God to be the end of man, and man to bee the end of all things in the worlde and of the worlde it selfe: he sheweth sufficiently that as man tendeth to God, so doth the worlde also, but vnto that end it should not tend, vnlesse it were directed thither, and who directeth it thither, but he that first made it? To be hoxt, the particular formes of all things present and to come in respect of vs, but eternally present with God, can haue no abiding without a perfect knowledge and a steadie direction of all things.

But if any doubt hereof remaine yet still, let vs heare what the Platonistes say to that matter. Surely Plotin hath made two or thre bookes thereof, wherein he teacheth prouidence by all things from the greatest to the smallest, comming downe euen to the little flowers which we see vnblown in the morning and withered at night, as though he had ment to say the same thing that we reade in the Gospel: namely, Consider me the Lillies of the felde, and so forth. Vnto the ordinarie complaint concerning the prosperitie of the wicked, and the aduersitie of the vertuous; he answereth that the prosperitie of the wicked is but as a Stage play, and the aduersitie of the goodly is as a gaming of exercise, wherein they be tied to a streight diet, that they may winne the prize for which they contend. Vnto the Question concerning euill, he answereth that it is nothing els but a faining of goodnesse, which goeth on still diminishing

If the man
that suffereth
be good, also
Plotin. lib. 3.
Ennead. 4

ing it from degree to degree even to the uttermost, and that it proceedeth not from God, but from the imperfection of the matter, which he termeth nothing: and the euill, (which consisteth altogether in degrees and in failing of good,) is so farre off from diminishing Gods Providence, that it is rather the thing wherein Gods Providence sheweth it self the more, as without the which there were no Providence at all to be seene: and yet that therewithall, God is the author of all abilities to be seene, and the disposer or ouerruler of all willes. Which things (to auoide long discourse) are more conveniently to be seene in his owne workes.

His Disciple. Prophyrius departed not from the same opinion, howbeit that he was troubled with the like perplexities, that they be which dispute against it. Seeing that God (saith he) doth by skill ouerrule all things, an order them by incomparable proprietie of vertue; and that on the contrarie part, mans Reason being very small, is ignorant of most things how skilful and curiouse so euer it seeme to be of the truth: Surely we may then cal it wise, when it is not curiouse in serching such doubtfull and hard matters, as are matched with daunger of blasphemie, but rather graunteth that the things which are done, are very well as they bee. For what can our small reason finde fault with or reprocue in the doings of that great Reason, to esteeme him either lawfull or vnlawfull, seeing we vnderstand them not? And in another place, If we suffer a King (saith he) to dispose of his owne affaires as he listeth, shal we denie vnto God the ordering and disposing of the things heere beneath, which he himselfe created? And against such as sounde fault with the gouernment of the world which they vnderstand not, these are the very words. Soothly (saith he) there is not a more vniust speech, than that which presumeth to teach God iustice, nor a more holy speech than that which yeeldeth to the truth; and to thinke otherwise is a disease of minde and a great crime. For God not onely directeth all things at all times; to the behoofe, & full harmony of the whole vniuersally, but also is the cherisher preseruer & repaier of euery seuerall thing in particular. I pray you hath he not shewed (to Phisicians, who haue so much providence as he hath giuen to them skill,) the things that are to befall to the whole body of man, how that some members are to be cut off, some to be seared, and other some to be eaten away with Corrasives, for the health of the whole body? And yet when the Nurces or Mothers see the Surgion about to do it, do they not weepe & cry out right strangely, notwithstanding that they know it to be for the welfare of the chilles body? But what doth the Father the who is wiser than they, but comfort the patient, & hold the plaister redy to lay to the wound? God likewise for the curing of the whole hath ordeined that men should die, (What is the thing that Epicurus findeth fault with) & that they shuld be separated asunder, as a Toe is sometime

Porphirius to.
Nemertius.

Cyrillus in his
second and
fith bookes against
Iulian.

de colla. 104
de tractat. 104
de mod. 104

cut.

cut off for the sauing of the whole body. And could we enter into the minde of God, we should vndoubtedly knowe why and to what good end he hath from the beginning barred some things from beeing, because he forsaue they should be too hurtfull, and vnto other some hath giuen death in recompence of their godlines. The summe of all is, that nothing is done but by the prouidence of God, howbeit that many things seeme repugnant to his wisdom and goodnes, as the cutting-off of a Leg, or the searing of a member seeme repugnant both to the healing of the whole bodie and to the purpose of the Surgion.

Synesius the
Platonist.

Also as touching the aduersities of good men, See here what Synesius the Platonist answereth. The aduersities (saith he) which we thinke we indure without our deserts, doe helpe vs to weede out our affections out of our ground, which is too much inclined to them, and by that meanes the inconueniences which make fooles to doubt of Gods Prouidence, doe confirme wise folke the more therein. For what man would bee contented to part hence, if he found no aduersitie here? And therefore it is to be thought, that the Rulers of the lower Regions (he meaneth the ffrends) were the first founders of these prosperities which the common sort maketh so great account of, of purpose to bewitch men with them, and to lul them a sleepe here. Hierocles also hauing made a long discourse, concludeth that if we fall into any aduersitie whereof we cannot coniecture the cause, it behoueth to consider that we be ignorant in all things, and yet we must not procede so farre, as to say that God is the author of euill, or that he hath not a care of vs; for those (saith he) were ouergreat blasphemies.

Hierocles.

Aristotle in his
Morales to
Nichomachus
and Eudemus

Aristotle speaketh not any otherwise either in his great Moralls or in his little Moralls, howbeit that he be more graueled in his Metaphysiks. Howsoeuer the case stand, in his booke concerning the worlde he granteth vnto God the care of al great things. And think you it becometh man to set bounds to the wisdom of God who hath limited the natures of al things, & to appoint what God shal esteeme great or smal, befoze whom nothing can be great or smal? Peruerthelesse whereas he saith that the worlde dependeth vpon God as the end thereof; the best of his Disciples do by infallible consequence gather thereof the prouidence of God. For seeing that the Worlde dependeth vpon him and tendeth vnto him, the beginning of that direction cannot procede of any other, than of him, to whom it tendeth. Againe, seeing that (as he saith in other places) al kind of things tend to some one particular end euery one peculiar to it selfe, & all meete together in one vniuersal end, and yet al of them haue no reason or vnderstanding to appoint that end to themselves, or to holbe themselves within that bound. It followeth then that there is a certeine prouidence which hath that reason for al & euery of them, and y^e the same reason reflecteth

resteth in God vpon whom all of them depend, as Aristotles best learned interpreters are constrained to confesse. To be short, the quicke sentence which is attributed vnto him, which is, That such as require a p^roofe of Gods p^rouidence are to be answered with the lashes of a whippe: doth giue vs sufficient credit of his opinion.

Of the opinion of Theophrastus we cannot doubt. For he that granteth the creation of a thing, cannot doubt of p^rouidence, considering that power and goodnes are alike equall in both of them. But behold here the expresse words of Alexander of Aphrodise in his booke of P^rouidence. That God should haue no will (saith he) to care for the things heere beneath, is too farre disagreeing with his nature, for it is the propertie of an enuious person. And that he should be vnable, were too vnseemly for him, for he is able to doe more than he hath yet done. Therefore let vs not doubt of him, either the one or the other, but let vs rather conclude, that he both can and will haue care of all things that are done heere belowe. And in another place he gathereth this very conclusion, That all our welfare lieth in the seruing of God, and that the feare of him is a gift of his, in that he vouchsafeth to extend his p^rouidence vnto vs.

Alexander of
Aphrodise in
his booke of
Prouidence.

Of the opinions of Plutarke and Seneca, their owne bookes doe expressly tellise: namely Plutarks treatise concerning the slow punishment of euill doers, for him, and Senecaes bookes concerning benefits, and a treatise concerning P^rouidence, for him. So likewise doth the wise Philosopher Epictetus vpon whom Simplicius hath written. For after many forespēches concerning the greatnes and maiestie of God, and the weakness of man, they assaid to yelde a reason of all things that offended the weaker sort in this case, yea euen to the very accidents and to the thunderclaps. I desire my readers to take the paines to reade them whole, that they may see how conformable the things which Christians teach, are to the wisdom of the best sorte among the Heathen. Whereunto they may for an income, adde this Oracle of Apollo himselfe reported by Porphyrius.

Seneca con-
cerning Bene-
fits, lib. 2. Cap.
4. 5. 6. 21. 31.

*No man to hide himselfe from God by cunning can denice,
No man by sleights or subtle shifts can blind or dim his eyes.
All places he fulfilleth, He is present eueriewhere,
And giueth life to every thing that mooues and life doth beare.*

And as concerning all other people of the Earth, in whose behalfe the Poets (which are full of such sayings every where) may answer, as Orpheus, Homere, Hesiodus, Aratus, Sophocles, Phocylides and such others: surely in as much as we see that all Nations haue some Religion, it is a visible p^resident, that Gods p^rouidence is beléued and receiued of al with one accord. For in vaine doe men serue God, if he see it not, in vaine do men pray to him if he regard them not, in vaine complaine they

Porphyrius in
his Collecti-
ons of Philo-
sophy.
Oppianus
Dei t^ractat^r in
vite.

they to him, if he iudge them not; and to be thort, in baime doe we cal vpon him both on Sea and Land, (where counsell and casualtie seeme most to take place) for the mainteining of our welfare, and the preserving of vs from harme; vnlesse we be thoroughly perswaded that he beareth vs, and that he ruleth Heauen and Earth and all things in them from aboue, yea and euen the very hazard of warre as Caesar termeth it, wherein fortune seemeth to beare greatest sway. But alsoe we giue our determinate Judgement, we haue yet two Aduocates to heare, namely the Aduocate of Fortune, and the Aduocate of Destiny. For (saith the one) if al things passe vnder the guiding of prouidence, what becommeth of fortune which we see in so many things? And (saith the other) what freldome then hath man? must it not needs be confessed, that a certeine destinie compelleth euery man to doe whatsoeuer he doth?

Against For-
tune.

Proclus vpon
Timeus.

If ye meane Fortune as she is painted by the Poets, blind, standing on a bowle, and turning with euery winde: it is as easie to wipe her away as to paint her. For who seeth not that there is an vniforme order, both in the whole world, and in all the parts thereof, and how then can one that is blind be the guider thereof? Also who vnderstandeth not, that to moue things belongeth to stedfastnesse and not vnto vnstedfastnesse: For how can that thing rule & wield others, which is caried away it selfe? Or how can he hold the sterne who flotteth himselfe vpon the water? Seeing then that there is so certeine order in al things: it followeth that fortune beareth no sway in any thing, and therefore that there is no fortune at all. But if by the word Fortune they meane as Proclus doth, a certeine diuine power that gathereth causes farre distant one from another, al to one end: surely in that case we be moze friends to fortune than they be. For we admit it, not onely in things vncertaine wandering & wauiing, but also euen in the things that are most certeine, yea & in al things whatsoeuer, as the which is but God himselfe disguised vnder another name.

Now then to speake properly, what is Fortune? It is a Substance: Cuen by their owne confession, it hath no being but in the disorder of other things. Shal we terme it an Accident? Howe should the accident worke so diuers accidents? What is it then, if it be any thing at all? Surely it is a word that signifieth nothing but respectiuelly, that is to say, as hauiing respect of some things or persons that are spoken of, and it hath no ground or being but of and in our owne ignorance. That which is fortune to the Childe, is no fortune to the Father: that which is fortune to the Seruant, is none to the Maister: that which is fortune to the foole, is none to the wise man: that which is fortune to the wise man, is none vnto God. According to the measure of our knowledge or ignorance, so doth fortune increase or abate. Take away ignorance from men, and fortune is banished from al their dealings. The father letteth a thing fall

Iuuenall.
There wants
no God at all,
where wisdom
doth aduise:
we fooles
haue fortune
deicide, and
plast aboue
the Skyes.

in his
way.
know
was
A Ma
to the
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or a C
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and o
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in go
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tion o
quali
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seme
gular
of al
certei
make
a plan
from
from
Fortu
to ma
them
to put
which
them
And
Dyat

in his Garden, to see whether his Child will bring it to him or steale it away. The Child thinks it to be false by chance, and his father who knowes to what end he did let it fall, smiles at him. And so the thing that was chaunce or fortune to the Child, was of set purpose in the father. A Maister sendeth forth diuers Seruants diuers waies, all to one place, to the intent that of many, some one at the least may escape to come home againe. They meete there all together. At the first sight the things which was forecast by god order, seemeth to them to happen by aduenture. A Captaine hauing deuised to take the Gate of some Citie, causeth a Cart or a Chariot to be broken vpon the Drawbridge as it were by some mischaunce, that his ambush may in the meane while breake forth and enter the Towne. The Warders fall to beating of the Waggoner for it, and othersome excuse him as ouertaken by misfortune. And so the thing which was a pollicy of Warre in the Captaine that deuised it, is a chaunce or fortune to the Towne that will not the ground of it. A wise man to giue a glike to another wise man, or a Captaine to beguile a Captaine, or an enemy to delude his enemy, ciphereth a letter grossely for the nonce, and sendeth it such a way as he imagineth that it shalbe surprised. He that lighteth vpon it is glad of so good aduenture, and thinking that he readeth the secrets of his aduersaries heart, buildeth al his affaires in god earnest vpon things contriued to deceiue him. And so the thing which was a rare deuise in the one, is a rare aduenture to the other. Now if among men, which are all of one kinde, and haue like reason like portion of reason, there be such odds betwene age & age, betwene quality and quality, and betwene wit and wit; that the same which in one is prouidence, is fortune in another: Shall we thinke it strange, that the thing which seemeth fortune to vs that are but blindness and ignorance, should be singular prouidence as in respect of God? Or that he which is the onely cause of all causes, should haue the skill to assemble them together to some one certaine effect, how farre distant soeuer they be? As for example, if he make thee to find a Treasure in digging of the pit, or to scape a fall from a placher in going to walke vpon it, wouldst thou steale that benefite from the goodness of God, who brought thee to the one place, or saued thee from the other? I say from God who is thy maker, to father it vpon blind fortune which knoweth thee not? And why should it be harder for him to match two causes together that are farre asunder, than to haue made them so farre at odds one from another? Or than it is for thy selfe to put woode to fire, and fire to water, and thy meate into the water, which are causes so farre distant, and yet notwithstanding thou ioynest them together to one certaine end, which is the nourishment of thy body? And what things are further distant in thy minde, than a Chariot, a Drawbridge, and an Host of men; which things notwithstanding thou couldst

Cicero.
Error, & Blindnes and the not knowing of things and causes, haue brought vp the names of Nature and Fortune.

couldst skil to bying fitly together for the taking of a Citie? Thus loke wherein thou doest chiefly place fortune there doth the rarest and most wonderfull point of Providence most evidently shew it selfe.

Against
Desteny.

But now comes me the other Advocate; who to bying vs vnto Destinie, and to acertaine necessitie of al things and of all doings, maketh his hand of all the things which we haue alledged against fortune. There, for let vs see how we may walke betwene fortune and Destiny, so as we may shunne chaunce without falling into necessitie, and perceiue whether the same be Providence or no. If all things (say they) be guided by God to some one certeine end, yea euen those also which seeme casual; then can they not be turned any further way. I willingly graunt them that. And if they cannot be turned, then are not mens doings free, but of necessitie. Nay, this consequent is vtterly false, because the things which haue free will to endeuor themselves contrary to Gods will, haue not free power to restraine his wil from ouerruling them. But let vs lay forth this matter moze at large, that it may be the better vnderstood. We see in the Sky the great number of Starres that are fixed, and many also (as the Planets) which haue euery of them their peculiar moouings turnes and courses seuerally to themselves. Now, the highest Heauen, by his vniuersall moouing carrieth al the Starres about, as well the mouable as the vnmouable, without any stopping or interrupting of their particular moouings, whereby be made innumerable figures aspects and respects, which I leaue to the Astrologers to declare. The Sunne maketh the day and the yere, the Moone maketh the moneths and the quarters, the Pleiads & Wiads make the Seasons, the Dogstarre maketh the heat of the Sommer, and so forth. Let vs put the case that the highest Heauen stood still, & that the lower Heauens kept on their peculiar moouings: or let vs put the case that he went on, and that all the rest stood still, and then shoulde there be none of the said figurings and aspects to be scene. But let them all alone as they bee: let the highest Heauen by his moouing cary all the Starres about, and let euery of them continue the hauing and executing of his owne peculiar nature, the moueable, as moueable, and the vnmoueable as vnmoueable, and euery of them indeuer accordingly against the Vniuersall, and then shall we see the wonderfullnesse of the Heauen, which by an vniforme kinde of moouing that leaueth to euery Starre his proper and peculiar moouing, yeldeth euery day diuers formes in the Sky, which cause alterations in the ayre, which thing neither his owne sole moouing could doe if the residue of y Starres stood still, neither could the courses and moouings of the Starres bying it to passe, if they were not caried about by the moouing of him. Now let vs see how this example agreeth with our matter. God by his wil and power hath created all powers, and disposed all willes. That his power ouerruleth

ouerruleth all powers, all men confesse. For who is he that maketh a
 clocke and cannot rule it? But that his will should direct all willes to
 such end as he listeth, without forcing them from their nature which is
 to be free; there is the doubt. God so bid that he which created nature to
 do him seruice, should be vnable to vse þe seruice thereof without marring
 it. God then (say I) guideth all things to the performance of his will, the
 mouable by their mouings, and the vnmouable by their stedfastnes: the
 things indewed with sence, by their appetites, & the reasonable things,
 by their willes: the naturall things by their thraldome, and the things
 that haue will, by their freedom: And the frerer that they be, the greater
 is his glorie, as in dede it is a moze commendable thing to cause liber-
 tie to yeeld freely to obedience by gentle handling, than to hale it by force
 and compulsion as it were tyed in a chaine. If the willes of all men
 were carried by Gods will without hauing their owne peculiar mo-
 uings: the power of God could not shine forth in them so much as it doth
 now, when all willes inforce themselues seuerally against his will, and
 yet neuerthelesse euen in following their own sway, do finde themselues
 led (they wote not how) whether soeuer it please him. Neither shoulde
 we see the said diuersities of figures in the Heauen, which breede so di-
 uers effects, of Warres, of Peace, of decayes, of prosperitie, of aduersi-
 tie, and such other; which serue all to the Providence of the euerlasting
 God: but we should see euery where one vniforme will holding all other
 willes fast fettered, and carrying them whither soeuer it listeth: and the
 moze streightly that they were tyed vp, the lesse should we esteeme of his
 power, as who would say he stood in feare to let them loose. Againe, if
 we imagine all those willes to haue free scope, to followe their owne ly-
 kings without any gouernment of higher power to ouerrule them, and
 restraine them when they intend to breake out: we should vndoubtedly
 see diuers endes in things, whereas now they tend all to one: And liber-
 tie would turne into losenesse, losenesse into disorder, and disorder into
 destruction; whereas the world doth necessarily require order, and order
 requireth all things to be referred to some one certeine ende. God there-
 fore to shewe his power in our freedome and libertie, hath left our willes
 to vs; and to restraine them from losenesse, he hath so ordered them by
 his wisdom, that he worketh his owne will no lesse by them, than if we
 had no will at all. Let vs enforce our selues as much as we list against
 his will, and yet euen our disobedience shall turne to the fulfilling of his
 will. Let vs goe Eastward when his wil goes Westward, and yet doth
 his moving conduct vs still. But albeit that God do lead forth & guyde
 the one will as well as the other: yet notwithstanding right happie is
 that will which indenoureth to follow, and unhappie is that which must
 be haled and dragged. Likewise in a kenell of Hounds, euery of them
 runneth

Gods fore-
fight or For-
knowledge.

If it be pre-
destined (saith
one (that
thou shalt re-
couer thy
sicknes, it is
in vaine for
thee to send
for the Phisi-
cion. If it be
thy destiny
(answereth
another (to
haue children
it is in vain
for thee to
company with
thy wyfe.

runneth according to his naturall inclination, and yet all of them serue the purpose of the Hunter. Also in an Hoste of men, one fighteth for honour, another for spight, a third for gaine, and all for victorie to the Prince that sent them into the field. Take from the Hounds their naturall inclinations, and from the Souldiers their particular willes and dispositions; and ye doe away Hunting, and the Armie must needs disperse.

Yea (say they) but God saw all things and all the courses of the world, from everlasting al at one instant, and things cannot fall out otherwise than he hath foresene them. It seemeth therefore that nothing is casual, nothing at the choyce of our wil, nor any thing that is not of necessitie. Yes: for as God beholdeth all things with one view, so doth he also behold euery of them working according to their seuerall properties. He seeth the mouing of the Heauen, & the particular mouings of the Sunne and the Moone to bring forth the Eclipses of necessitie: he seeth men consulting of warre, of peace, of alvance and other things, willingly; and he seeth the Plants spring vp and grow naturally. Hee himselfe hath set downe the second, third, yea and fourth causes, and hath linked them one to another, to doe what he will haue done: but the thing that deceueth vs in this case, is that we consider not that our willes are among these causes & that according to their freenesse such as it is, they worke freely in the doings of this world, lyke as all other causes worke euery of them according to their peculiar mouings, inclinations, abilities, natures or kynds. After the same maner the man that is acquainted with his household matters, wil deeme aforeshand which of three parts his eldest sonne will choyse, and which his second will choyse, though he be farre off from them, because he knoweth their natures & inclinations; and yet for all that, he inclineth them not to the doing of the one or of the other. Againe, another foreseth that a Prince will keepe peace or make warre, because he knoweth him to be either of a quiet or of an vnquiet dispositiō. Euen so is it with God: sauing that he being nere & innermoze to al things than the things themselves are, doth know them most perfectly, whereas wee haue nothing but by conjectures, and those very weake. To bee shor, as in respect of God the things are of necessitie, which as in respect of themselves are thinges of casualtie; the cause whereof is, that the matter which in the things themselves is to come is present to his sight everlastingly; & his foresaying of things to come, is not in the causes of them as it is vnto wise men, but in himselfe who is the cause of al causes; & therefore he seeth not that thou shalt do this or shalt not do that (as of a thing to come) but whatsoever thou art to do, he seeth thee doing it from everlasting; naturally if it be to be done naturally, & willingly if it be to be done willingly; & yet thy will is no lesse subiect to his will,

will, than thy nature is subiect to the power that created it: neither is ϕ freedome of thy will (such as it is now after thy fall) any moze compelled in taking deliberation, than thy nature is cōpelled in growing or thunn- ing. When I speake here of frēwill, I meane not to deale with this Question whether it lye in vs to chōse the way of Saluation or no. For as it is a thing ϕ surmounteth the whole nature of mankind, & excedeth the proportion of our weake vnderstandings: so must it of necessitie en- sue that we must be dꝛawen by some hygher cause from aboue, as in a case that concerneth the forsaking of our selues and of our owne desires, and not the following of them. Againe, I intend not to take away the extraordinarie motions which God woꝛketh in vs, when he bleseth vs somtimes beyond the inclination of our nature, by breeding that in vs by a secrete operation, which was not in vs of our selues, But I speake pe- culiarly of these inferiour doings, which are proportionable to our wit & to the capacitie of our reason; in which things our Frēwill (as maymed as it is) hath abilitie to exercise it selfe, notwithstanding that it be vtterly lame and vnable to mount by any higher. After that maner therefore may we wade betwēne the Fortune of Epicurus & the destinie of Chry- sippus, by Providence; & betwēne casualitie and necessitie by the will of God; and betwēne Loosenesse and Bondage by leaving their mouings frē, which yet neuerthelesse shall come to the end which God hath listēd to appoint vnto them, whatsoeuer windings & weathings they seeme to themselves to make in the meane tyme. And as touching the destinie of the Astrologers, who make all things subiect to the whēlings about of the Skye, and make all things to be as much of necessitie as the mouings thereof; we will leaue them to plead their case against that great Lear- ned man the Countie of Mirandula, praying them to consider at least wylse whether ϕ great stude & paynes which those great Clarkes haue taken to dispꝛoue this destinie, can by any meanes be sathered vpon destinie.

Nowe then, for a small conclusion of this whole discourse, let vs say that God is a soueraine Beeing, & a soueraine mynd, and that Beeing and Mynding are al one in him; and therefore that as in creating things the might and power of his Beeing extended euen to the least things or els they had not bin at all: so the Providence, forcast and direction of his mynd extend to all things, or els they could not continue. Let not the con- fusion of things which wee see here below trouble vs, for the greater the same is, the greater both Gods providence shew it self therein, as the skill of a Physitian doth in the intricatenesse of a disease. But who is he that can limit the sight of the Euerlasting God? Suerly not the prosperities of the wicked, for they be but visors: nor the aduersities of the godly, for they be but exercises, nor the Deaths of the guiltlesse, for it is but a powdering of their vertues to preserue them to the

ble of posteritie. Nay, let not euen sinne it selfe, which is the verie euill in deede, cause any grudge of minde in vs: for God created nature good, but euill is sprung thereof. He created freedome, and it is degenerated into Losenesse. But let vs praise God for giuing vs powers, and let vs condemne our selues for abusing them. Let vs glorifie him for chastising vs by our owne Losenesse, for executing his Justice by our vniust dealings, and for persourning the ordinance of his rightfull will by our inordinate passions. If wee see a thing whereof we know not the cause: let vs acknowledge our ignorance, and not name it fortune. The causes that are furthest asunder, are neere at hand vnto him, to performe whatsoeuer he listeth. If we do any vnrasonable thing, let vs not alledge necessity. We can skill to vse all things without marring them: the moouable, according to their mouings: the things indewed with will, according to their passions: and the things indewed with reason, according to their reasonings. In thinking to do our owne will, wee bring his to passe. We be free to follow our owne nature: and our nature is become euill through sinne. Wretched freedome, which bringeth vs vnder such bondage. And as for this nature of ours, we can neither shun it nor dyne it from vs: for wee be bondslauens to it, and it to sinne, and there behoueth a stronger than our selues to rid vs thereof. Wherefore let vs pray God to bring the freedome of our willes in bondage to his wil, and to free our soules from this hard and damnable kind of freedome, and to graunt vs by his grace, not as to the wicked, to do his will in being unwilling to do it: but as to his Childzen, at leastwise to be willing to doe it euen in not doing it.

The xiiij. Chapter.

That the Soule of Man is immortall, or dyeth not.

Man is both
Soule & body



Therto I haue treated of the woꝛlde that is to be conceiued in vnderstanding, and of the sensible woꝛlde (as the Platonistes terme them) that is to saye, of God and of this woꝛld. Now followeth the exanining of the Little woꝛld (as they terme it) that is to say, of man. Concerning God, we haue acknowledged him to be a Spirite: and as touching the woꝛld, we haue found it to be a bodie. In man we haue an abridgement of both, namely of God in respect of Spirit, & of the woꝛld in composition of body, as though the Creator of purpose

to set forth a mirror of his workes, intended to bring into one little compass both the infiniteness of his owne nature, and also the hugeness of the whole world together. We see in mans body a wonderfull mixture of the fouer Elements, the veines spreading forth like Rivers to the uttermost members; as many instruments of sense, as there be sensible natures in the world; a great number of sinewes fleshstrings, and knitters; a Head by speciall priuiledge Directed vp to Heauenward; and Hands seruing to all manner of seruices. Whatsoeuer he is that shal consider no more, but onely this instrument, without life, without sense, and without mouing, cannot but thinke verily that it is made to very greate purpose; & he must needs crie out as Hermes or as the Sarzin Abdala doth, that man is a miracle which farre surmounteth, not onely these Lower Elements, but also the very Heauen and all the ornaments thereof. But if he could (as it were out of himselfe) behold this body receiuing life, & entering into the vse of al his motions with such forwardnesse, hands bestirring themselves so nimbly & after so sundrie fashions, and the Sences uttering their force so farre off, without stirring out of their place: thinke you not that he would be wonderfully raiſhed and so much more wonder at the said life, mouing & sense, than at the body, as he wondered afore at the body, to behold the excellencie of the proportion thereof above the masse of some stone? For what comparison is there betwene a Lute & a Luteplayer, or betwene a dumb instrument and him that maketh it to sound? What would he say then if he could afterward see how the same man being now quickned attaineth in one moment from the one side of the earth to the other without shifting of place, descending downe to the centre of the world, & mounting vp above the outtermost circle of it both at once, present in a thousand places at one instant, embracing the whole without touching it, creeping vpon the earth, and yet containing it, beholding the Heauens from beneath, and being above the Heauens of Heauens both at once? Should he not be compelled to say, that in this little body there dwelleth a greater thing than the body, greater than the earth, yea greater than the whole world together? Then let vs say with Plato, that man is double, outward, and inward. The outward man is that which we see with our eyes, which forgoeth not his shape when it is dead, no more than a Lute forgoeth his shape when the Luteplayer ceaseth from making it to sound, howbeit that both life, mouing, sense, and reason be out of it. The inward man is the Soule, and that is properly the very man, which bleth the bodie as an instrument, whereunto though it be vnited by the power of God, yet doth it not remoue when the body runneth. It seeth when the eyes be shut, and sometimes seeth not when the eyes be wyde open: It trauelleth, while the body resteth, & resteth when the body trauelleth that is to say, it is able of it selfe to performe

his owne actions, without the helpe of the outward man, whereas on the contrary part, the outward without the helpe of the inward, that is to wit the body without the presence of the soule, hath neither sence, moving life, no no: continuance of beeing. In the outward man we haue a Counterfeit of the whole world, and if ye rip them both bp by parcelmeate ye shall find a wonderfull a grément betwixt them. But my purpose in this booke is not to treat of the things that pertaine peculiarly to y^e body.

In the inward man wee haue a summe of whatsoeuer life, sence, and moving is in all creatures, and mozeouer an Image or rather a shadowe (so: the Image is defaced by our sinne) of the Godhead it selfe. And that is the thing which we haue to examine in this Chapter. In Plants, we perceiue that besides their bodies which we see, there is also an inward vertue which wee see not, wherby they line, grow, bud, and beare fruite: which vertue wee call the quickening soule, and it maketh them to differ from Stones & Mettals, which haue it not. In sensitive living things wee find the selfsame vertue, which woorketh while they sleepe & are after a sort as the Plants: and therewithal we finde another certeine vertue or power which seeth, heareth, smelleth, tasteth, and feeleth; which also in many of them doth ho: by the things brought in by the senses; which maner of power the Plants are voyd of. This doe we terme the sensitive soule, because the effectes thereof are discerned and executed by the senses. In man we haue both the quickning and the Sensitive, the former vttering it selfe in the nourishing and increasing of him, and the later in the subtiltie of sence and imagination, wherethrough he is both Plant and Beast together. But yet mozeouer we see also a Spinde which considereth and beholdeth, which reapeth profite of the things that are brought in by the senses, which by his seeing conceiueth that which it seeth not; which of that which is not, gathereth that which is; and finally which pulleth a man away both from the earth & from all sensible things, yea and (after a sorte) from himselfe too. This doe we call the reasonable soule, and it is the thing that maketh man to be man, (& not a Plant or a brute Beast as the other two doe,) and also to bee the Image or rather a shadowe of the Godhead, in that (as we shall say hereafter) it is a spirit that may haue continuance of being alone by it selfe without the body. And by the way, whereas I say that the inward man hath a quickening power as a Plant hath, a sensitive power as a Beast hath, and a power of vnderstanding wherby he is a man: my meaning is not that he hath thre: soules but onely one soule, that is to wit, that like as in the brute Beast the sensitive Soule comprehendeth the quickening Soule; so in man the reasonable Soule comprehendeth both the sensitive and the quickening, and executeth the offices of them all thre:, so as it both li-
meth, feeleth, and reasoneth euen as wel and after the same maner, as the

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mynd of a man may intend to his owne household matters, to the affaires of the Commonweale, and to heauenly things all at once. And to speake more fitly, these three degrees of Soules are three degrees of life, whereof the second exceedeth and containeth the first, and the third exceedeth and containeth both the other two. The one, without the which the body cannot live, is the soule or life of the Plant, and is so tied to the body, that it sheweth not it selfe in any wise out of it. The second, which cannot live without the body, is the soule or life of the Beast, which doth well utter forth his power & force abroad, but yet not otherwise than by the members and instruments of the body whereunto it is tyed. The third, which can of it selfe live and continue without the body, but not the body without it, is the Soule of man, which giveth life inwardly to all his parts, sheweth forth his life abroad in the perceiving of all things subject to sense, and retaineth still his force (as shall be said hereafter) yea and increaseth it, even when the strength of the body and the very liveness of the senses faile. And in very deede, ye shall see a man forgoe all his senses one after another as the instruments of them decay; and yet haue still both life and reason vnappayzed. The cause whereof is, that some of the instruments of life and sense doe faile, but the life it selfe which quickeneth them, faileth not. And therefore the Beast forgoeth not life in losing sense, but hee utterly forgoeth sense in forgoing life. And that is because life is the ground of the abilities of sense, and the sensitive life is a more excellent life than the quickening life, as wherein those powers and abilities are as in their roote. To bee short, he that bereaueth man or beast of the vse of senses, or man of the right vse of reason, doth not thereby bereaueth him of life, but he that bereaueth the beast or the outward man of their life, doth therewithall bereaueth them of sense and reason. Therefore it is a most sure argument, that the soule which causeth a beast to live, and the soule that causeth it to haue sense, are both one that is to wit, one certeyne kinde of life more lively and more excellent than the life that is in Plants. And likewise that the soule which causeth man to live, to haue sense, and to reason, is but one, that is to wit, one certeyne kinde of life more excellent, more lively, and of further reach, than the life of the Beast. But like as sense is as it were the forme or selfebeing (if I may so terme it) of the life of a beast; so is reason or vnderstanding the very forme and selfebeing of the soule of man; and (to speake properly) it is the soule or life of the soule, like as the apple of our eyes is the very eye of our eye. And in very deede, when the mynd is earnestly occupied, the senses are at a stay, and when the senses are overbusied, the nourishment & digestion is hindered, and contrarywise which thing could not come to passe if the soule were any more than one substance, which by reason that it is but one, cannot utter his

his force alike in all places at once, but yieldeth the lesse care one where, so long as it is earnestly occupied another where. In this Soule of man (which yet notwithstanding is but one) the diuersitie of the powers & abilities is very apparant. The quickning power doth nourish, increase and mainteyne vs, and Reason and Sense meddle not therewith, neyther haue they power to impeach the working thereof. The trueth whereof appeareth in this, that those things are best done when our mynd is at rest, and our senses are a sleepe, insomuch that oftentimes we forgo the sense and mouing of some parts by some Rheume or some Palsey, & yet the same parts cease not to bee nourished still. Also, the sensitive life seeth and perceiueth a farre off, yea oftentimes without setting of the mynd thereupon, or without considering what the Sense conceiueth. Some men which haue but weake Sences, haue very quicke vnderstanding, and likewise on the contrarie part. Againe, some fall into a consumption, which want not the perfect vse of their Sences. Somtyme the reasonable parte is so earnestly bent and occupied about the things that it liketh of, that by the increasing of it self, it hurteth and diminisheth the part that quickneth. Also it standeth in argument against the Sences, and repro- ueth them of fallshood, and concludeth contrary to their information. And it may bee that the man which hath his digestion perfect and his Sences sound, hath not his wit or reason sound in like case. Now, were y^e Soule but onely one abilitie, it could not be so. But now is y^e same deuided manifestly into wit or vnderstanding, and will, the one seruing to deuise, & the other to execute. For we vnderstand diuers things which we will not, and doe will diuers things which we vnderstand not: which contrary operations cannot be attributed both to one power. Neuerthelesse, the v- niting of all these powers together is with such distinctnesse, and the dis- tinguishing of them is with such vnion, that ordinarily they meete all to- gether in one selfsame action, the one of them as readily (by all likely- hode) as the other, howbeit that euery of them doth his owne worke seue- rally by himselfe, and one afoze another as in respect of their objects.

Thus haue we three sorts of men, according to the three powers or abi- lities of the inward man. Namely the earthly man, which like the Plant myndeth nothing but sleeping and feeding, making all his senses and all his reason to serue to that purpose, as in whom the care of this present life onely, hath deuoured & swallowed vp his senses and vnderstanding. The sensual man (as S. Paule himself termeth him, (who is giuen wholly to these sensible things imbasing & casting downe his reason so farre, as to make it a bondslauie to his senses and the pleasures and delights thereof: And the reasonable man, who liueth properly in spirit and mynd, who entereth into himselfe to know himselfe, and goeth out of himselfe to be- hold God, making this life to serue to the atteynement of a better, and v-

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sing his Sences but as instruments and seruants of his reason. After as any of these thre powers doe reigne and beare sway in man, that is to wit, after as man yeldeth himselfe more to one than to another of them, so becometh he like vnto the Spirites, the brute Beastes, or Plants, yea, & the very Blockes and Stones. But it is our disposition euen by kynd, to be caried away by our corrupt nature, & by the objects which hemme vs in on all sides, but as for against our nature yea or beyond our nature, our nature is not able to doe any thing at all.

Now, it is not enough for vs to know that wee haue a Soule wherby wee liue, feele, and vnderstand, and which being but one hath in it selfe as lone so many sundrie powers or abilities: for it will be demaunded of vs by and by what this Soule properly is. And soothly if I should say, I cannot tell what it is, I should not belye my selfe a whit, for I should but canfesse myne owne ignorance, as many great learned men haue done afore me. And I should doe no wrong at all to the Soule it selfe, for sith we cannot denye the effects thereof, the lesse, that wee be able to declare the nature and being thereof, the more doth the excellencie thereof shine forth. Againe, it is a plaine case, that nothing can comprehend the thing that is greater than it selfe. Now, our Soule is after a sort lesse than it selfe, inasmuch as it is wrapped vp in this body, in like wise as the man that hath gyues and fetters on his feete, is after a sort weaker than himselfe. Puerthelesse, let vs assay to satisfie such demaunds as well as wee can. And soasmuch as it is the Image of God, not onely in respect of the government and maintenance of the whole world, but also euen in the very nature thereof: as we sayd heretofore when we spake of the nature of GOD, if we cannot expresse or conceiue what it is, let vs at leastwise be certified what it is not. First of all, that the Soule and the Body be not both one thing, but two very farre differing things, & also that the Soule is no part of the body, it appeareth of it selfe without further profe. For if the soule were that body or a part of the body, it should grow with the body as the other parts of the body doe, and the greater y the body were, the greater also should the soule be. Nay contrariwise, the body increaseth to a certeyne age and then stayeth, after which age is commonle the tyme that the soule doth most grow, and those that are strongest of mynd are commonly weakest of body, & the soule is seene to be full of liuelynesse in a languishing body, & to grow the more in force, by the decay of the body. The soule then groweth not with the body, and therefore it is not y body, nor any part of the body. And whereas I speake of growing in the soule, by growing I meane the ppositing thereof in power and vertue, as the body groweth in greatnesse by further enlarging. Againe, if the soule were the body, it should lose her strength and soundnesse with the body, so as the maimed in body should therewith

The Body and
the Soule be
not one selfe-
same thing.

feeles also a mayme in his vnderstanding as well as in his members: whosoener were sicke of any disease, should also bee sicke in his reason: he that limpeth or halteh, should therewith halt in Soule also: the blinde mans Soule should bee blinde, and the lame mans Soule should be lame. But we see contrariwise, that the maimed and the sicke, the Cripples and the blinde, haue their Soule whole and sound, and their vnderstanding perfect and cleere sighted in it selfe. To be short, many a man dieth whose body is sound, & differeth not a whit in any part from that it was when it was alieue, and yet notwithstanding, both life, mouing, sence, and vnderstanding are out of it. Let vs say then that in the body there was a thing which was not of the body, but was a farre other thing than the body.

Some wilfull person will object here, that the force and strength of the Soule groweth with the body, as appeareth in this that a man grown wil remoue that which a child cannot, and that a child of two yeeres old will goe, which thing a babe of two moneths olde cannot doe. But bee should consider also, that if the selfesame man or the selfesame child should haue a mischance in his legges or in his arme, he should thereby forgoe the strength and mouing thereof, whereas yet notwithstanding his Soule should haue her former force and power still to moue the other as she did afore. Therefore it is to bee said, not that the chilles Soule is grown or strengthened by tyme, but rather that his sinewes are dyed and hardened which the soule vseth as strings and instruments to moue withall and therfore when age hath loosened and weakened them, a man hath neede of a staffe to helpe them with, although he haue as good a will to runne as he had when he was yong. The soule then which mouech them all at one becke, hath the selfesame power in infancie which it hath in age, and the same in age which it hath in the prime of youth: and the fault is onely in the instrument, which is vnable to execute the operations thereof: like as the cunning of a Luteplaier is not diminished by the moyssnesse or slacknesse of his Lute strings, nor increased by the ouerhigh straining and tyght standing of them; but in dede in the one hee cannot shewe his cunning at all, and in the other he may shewe it more or lesse. Likewise the speech of Children commeth with their teeth, howbeit that the speech doeth manifestly vtter it selfe first, in that they prattle many things which they cannot pronounce; and in old men it goeth away againe with their teeth, & yet their eloquence is not abased thereby. Affore Demosthenes, although he surmounted all the Orators of his time, yet were there some letters which he could not pronounce. Caine vnto old age or vnto infancie the same sinewes & teeth, and as able and lusty Limmes and members as youth hath, and the actions which the soule doeth with the body and by the body, I meane so farre sooth as concerne the abilities of

of fence and liuelynesse, shalbe perfozmed as well in one age as in another. But haddest thou as great indifferencie in iudging of the foze and power of thine owne soule, as of the cunning of a Luteplayer, (I say not by the nimblenes of his fingers which are perchance knotted with the gout, but by the plaine and swete Harmonie of his Tabulatoze as they terme it, which maketh thee to deeme him to haue cunning in his head, although hee can no moze vtter it with his hands) so as thou wouldest consider how thou hast in thy selfe a desire to go, though thy feete be not able to beare thee, a discretion to iudge of things that are spoken, though thine eyes cannot conuey it vnto thee; a sound eloquence, though for want of thy teeth thou cannot well expresse it, and which is aboue all the rest, a substantiall quicke and heauenly reason, euen when thy body is most earthly and dꝛoping. Thou wouldest some conclude that the foze and power of quickening, mouing, and perceiuing, is whole and sound in thy Soule, and that the default is altogether in thy body. Insomuch that if she had a newe body and newe instruments giuen vnto her, she would bee as lustie and chereely as euer she was, and that the moze she perceiueth the body to decay, the moze shee laboureth to retyze into her selfe, which is a plaine pꝛoofe of that she is not the body noꝛ any part of the body, but the very life and inwoꝝker of the body.

And sith it is so, there needeth no long skanning whether the Soule be a substance oꝛ a qualitie. For, seeing that qualities haue no being but in another thing than themselves; the life which causeth another thing to be, cannot be a qualitie. Forasmuch then as the Soule maketh a man to be a man, who otherwise should be but a Carkeffe oꝛ Carrion: doubtlesse (vnlesse we wil say that the onely difference which is betwixt a man and a dead Carkeffe, is but in accidents) we must needes grant that the soule is a foꝛming substance and a substantiall foꝛme, yea and a most excellent substance infinitely passing the outward man; as which by the power and vertue thereof causeth another thing to haue being, and perfecteth the bodily substance which seemeth outwardly to haue so many perfections.

But herevpon inseweth another controuerſie, whether this substance bee a bodily oꝛ an vnbody substance: which case requireth somewhat longer examination. Sothly, if wee consider the nature of a body, it hath certeine measuring, & comprehendeth not any thing which is not proportioned according to the greatnesse and capacitie thereof. For, like as it selfe must bee saine to haue a place in another thing, so must other things occupye some certeine place in it, by reason whereof it cometh to passe, that things can haue no place therein if they be greater than it, without anoying the one the other. To be shoꝛt, if the thing be lesse than the body that conteyneth it, the whole body shall not conteyne it, but
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Soule is a substance.

Bodylesse.

only some part thereof: And if it be greater, then must some part thereof needes be out of it: for there is no measuring of bodies but by quantitie. Now we see how our Soule comprehendeth heauen and earth, without anoying eyther other, and likewise tyme past, present, & to come, without troubling one another, and finally innumerable places, persons, and Townes, without combering of our vnderstanding. The great things are there in their full greatnesse, and the small things in their vttermost smalnesse, both of them whole and sound, in the Soule whole and sound, and not by parcelmeale or onely but in part of it. Moreover, the fuller it is, the more it is able to receyue, the more things that are conched in it, the more it still coneteth, and the greater the things bee, the fitter is she to receyue them euen when they be at the greatest. It followeth therefore that y^e Soule (which after a sort is infinite) cannot be a body. And so much the lesse can it so bee, for that whereas it harborzeth so many and so great things in it, it selfe is lodged in so small a body. Againe, as a thousand diuers places are in the Soule or Mynd without occupying any place, so is the Mynd in a thousand places without changing of place, and that erewhyles not by succession of tyme, nor by turnes, but oftentimes altogether at one instant. Bid thy Soul or Mynd goe to Constantinople, and forthwith to turne backe againe to Rome, and straight way to be at Paris or Lyons: Bid it passe thorow America, or to go about Affrike, and it dispatcheth all these iourneyes at a trice: looke whither soeuer thou directest it, there it is, and ere euer thou callest it backe, it is at home again. Now, is there a body that can bee in diuers places at once, or that can passe without remouing, or that can moue otherwise than in tyme, yea and in such tyme as (within a little vnder or ouer) is proportioned both to his pace, and to the length of the way which it hath to goe: When is it certaine that our Soule is not a bodily substance, which thing appeareth so much the more plainely, in that being lodged in this body which is so inouable, it remoueth not with the body. Also it is a sure ground that two bodies cannot mutually enter eyther into other, nor conteyne, eyther other: but the greater must alway needes cōteyne, & the lesser must needes be conteyned. But by our Soules, we enter, not onely either into others bodies, but also eyther into others myndes, so as we comprehend eyther other by mutual vnderstanding, & imbrace eyther other by mutual louing. It followeth then that this substance which is able to receiue a bodylesse thing, can bee no bodie, and that so much the rather, for that y^e body which semeth to hold it, conteyneth it not. Pay verely, this Soule of ours is so farre off from beeing a bodily substance, and is so manifestly a Spirit, that to lodge all thinges in it selfe, it maketh them all after a sort spiritual, and bereaueth them of their bodies, if there were any bodylinesse in it, it were vnable to enter into the knowledg of a body.

So in a Glasse a thousand shapes are seene : but if the clere of the Glasse had any peculiar shape of it owne, the Glasse could yelde none of those shapes at all. Also all visible things are imprinted in the eye; but if the sight of the eye had any peculiar colour of it owne, it would be a blemish to the sight, so as it should either not see at all, or els all things shoulde seeme like to that blemish. Likewise, whereas the Tongue is the discernor of all tastes: if it be not clere but combered with humors, all things are of tast like to the humor, so as if it be bitter, they also be bitter: and if it be watrish, they be watrish too: yea, and if it be bitter, it cannot iudge of bitternesse it selfe. What a thing may receiue all shapes, all colours, and all tastes: it behoueth the same to be clere from all shapes, from all colour, and from all sauour of it owne. And that a thing may in vnderstanding knowe and conceiue all bodies, as our Soule doth, it behoueth the same to be altogether bodylesse it selfe: for had it any bodylinesse at all, it could not receiue any bodie into it. If wee looke yet more nêrely into the nature of a body, we shal finde that no body receiueth into it the substantiall forme of another body, without losing or altering his owne, ne passeth from one forme into another, without the marring of the first: as is to be seene in wood when it receiueth fire, in seedes when they spring forth into bud, & so in other things. What is to be said then of mans soule, which receiueth & conceiueth the formes and shapes of all things without corrupting his owne, & mozeouer becometh the perfecter by the moze receiuing? For the moze it receiueth, the moze it vnderstandeth: and the moze it vnderstandeth, the moze perfect is it.

If it be a bodily substance, from whence is it and of what mixture? If it be of the foure Elements, how can they giue life, hauing no life of themselves? Or how can they giue vnderstanding, hauing no sence? If it be of the mixture of them, how may it be said that of diuers things which haue no being of themselves, should be made a thing that hath being? Or that of diuers outsidēs should be made one body: or of diuers bodies, one Soule: or of diuers deaths, one life: or of diuers darkneses, one light: May rather, why say wee not that he which beyond nature hath made the mixture of these bodies, hath for the perfecting of our bodie, breathed a Soule also into the body? To be short, the proper tie of a body is to suffer, and the proper tie of our Soule is to do. And if the body be not put forth by some other thing than it selfe, it is a verie blocke: whereas the minde that is in our Soule ceaseth not to stirre vp & down in it self, though it haue nothing to moue it from without. Therefore it is to be concluded by these reasons & by the like, that our Soule is a bodilesse substance, notwithstanding that it is vnited to our body.

And hereupon it followeth also, that our Soule is not any materiall thing, so much as matter receiueth not any forme or shape but according

Vnmateriall

ding to his owne quantitie, and but onely one forme at once, whereas our Soule receyueth all formes without quantitie, come there neuer so many at once or so great. Againe, no matter admitteth two contraries at once, but our Soule contrarywise comprehendeth and receyueth them together, as fire and water, heat and cold, white and blacke, and not onely together, but also the better by the maching and laing of them together. To bee shor, seeing that the moze we depart from matter, the moze we vnderstand: surely nothing is moze contrarie to the substance of our Soule, than is the nature of matter. Furthermoze, if this reasonable Soule of ours is neither a bodily nor a materiall thing, nor depending vpon matter in the best actions thereof; then must it needs be of it selfe, and not procede eyther from body or from matter. For what doth a bodie bring forth but a bodie, and matter but matter, & materiall but materialles? And therefore it is an vnmateriall substance, which hath being of it selfe. But let vs see whether the same be corruptible and mortall or no. Sothly, if Plutarke bee to be beleued, it is in baine to dispute thereof. For he teacheth, that the doctrine of Gods prouidence, and the immortallitie of our Soules are so linked together, that the one is as an appendant to the other. And in very deede, to what purpose were the World created, if there were no body to behold it? Or to what end behold wee the Creator in the world, but to serue him? And why should wee serue him vpon no hope? And to what purpose hath he indewed vs with these rare gittes of his, which for the most part doe but put vs to paine and trouble in this life: if we perish like the brute Beast or the Hearbes, which knowe him not? Howbeit, for the better satisfiing of the sillie Soules which go on still like witlesse Beasts, without taking so much leysure in all their life, as once to enter into themselves, let vs indeuour heere by linely reasons to paynt out vnto them againe their true Shape, which they labour to deface with so much filthinesse. The Soule of man (as I haue said afoze) is not a bodie, neither doth it increase or decrease with the body: but contrariwise the moze the body decayeth, the moze doth the vnderstanding increase; and the nerer that the body draweth vnto death, the moze freely doth the mynd vnderstand, and the moze that the body abateth in flesh, the moze woorkesfull is the mynd. And why then should we thinke, that the thing which becometh the stronger by the weakenesse of the body, and which is aduanced by the decay of the body, should returne to dust with the body? A mans Sences faile because his eyes faile, and his eyes faile because the Spirites of them faile: but the blynde mans vnderstanding increaseth, because his eyes are not busied: And the olde mans reason becommeth the moze perfect by the losse of his sight. Therefore why say we not that the bodie is not the Soule, and not the Soule the body,

The Soule
hath being
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Plutark in his
treatyse why
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wicked.
Vncorruptible

and

and that the Glasses are out of the Spectacles but the eyesight is still good :
 Why should we deeme the Soule to be forsgone with the Sences? If the
 eye be the thing that seeth, and the eare the thing that heareth, why doe
 wee not see things double, and heare sounds double, seeing we haue two
 eyes and two eares? It is the Soule then that seeth and heareth, & these
 which wee take to be our sences, are but the instrumentes of our sences
 And if when our eyes bee shut or pickt out, wee then behold a thousand
 things in our mynd, yea and that our vnderstanding is then most quicke-
 sighted, when the quickest of our eyesight is as good as quenched or starke
 dead: how is it possible that the resonable Soule should be tyed & bound
 to the sences? What a reason is it to say that the Soule dyeth
 with the sences, seeing that the true sences doe then grow and increase,
 when the instruments of sence doe dye? And what a thing were, it to
 say that a Beast is dead, because he hath lost his eyes, when wee our
 selues see that it liueth after it hath forsgone the eyes: Also I haue
 proued that the Soule is neither the bodie, nor an appertenance of the
 body. Sith it is so, why measure wee that thing by the body, which
 measureth all bodie, or make that to dye with the bodye, whereby
 the bodyes that dyed yea many hundred yeares agoe, doe after a cer-
 teine maner liue still? Or what can hurt that thing, whom nothing
 hurteth or hindereth in the body? Though a man lose an arme, yet
 doth his Soule abide whole still. Let him forsgoe the one halfe of his bo-
 dy, yet is his Soule as sound as afoze: for it is whole in it selfe and
 whole in euery part of it selfe, vnited in it selfe and in the owne sub-
 stance, and by the force and power thereof it beareth it selfe into all
 parts of the body. Though the body rot away by peecemeale, yet abideth
 the Soule all one and vndiminished. Let the bloud dreyne out, the
 mouing way weake, the sences faile, and the strength perish, and yet
 abideth the mynde neuer thelesse sound and liuely euen to the ende. Her
 house must be pearted through one all sides, ere shee be discouraged,
 her walles must be battered downe ere shee fall to fleeting, and shee ne-
 uer forsaketh her lodging, till no roome be left her to lodge in. True it is
 that the Beut Beasts forgoe both life and action with their bloud. But as
 for our Soule (if we consider the matter well) it is then gathered home
 into it selfe, and when our sences are quenched, then doth it most of al la-
 bour to surmount it selfe: working as goodly actions at y^e time that y^e body
 is at a point to faile it, yea & oftentimes far goodlier also, than euer it did
 during y^e whole lifetime thereof. As for example, it taketh order for it selfe,
 for our household, for the Commonweale, & for a whole Kingdome, & that
 with more brightness, godlines, wisdom, & moderation, than euer it did
 afoze, yea & perchance in a body so forspent, so bare, so consumed, so wither-
 ed without & so purified within, y^e whosoener looke vpon him sees nothing
 but

but earth, & yet to heare him speake would rauish a man by to heauen, yea & above heauen. Now, when a man sees so linely a Soule in so weak & wretched a body, may he not say as is said of the hatching of Chickens, that the shell is broken, but there commeth forth a Chicken?

Also let vs see what is the ordinarie cause that things perish. Fire doth either go out for want of nourishment, or is quenched by his contrarie which is water. Water is resolved into ayre by fire, which is his contrarie. The cause why the Plant dyeth, is extremitie of cold or drought, or vnseasonable cutting, or violent plucking by. Also the living wight dyeth through contrarietie of humors, or for want of fode, or by feeding vpon some thing that is against the nature of it, or by outward violence. Of all these causes, which can wee chuse to haue any power against our Soule? I say against the Soule of man, which (notwithstanding that it be vnited to matter & to a bodie) is it selfe a substance vnbodyly, vnmateriall, & onely conceivable in vnderstanding? The contrarietie of things? Nay, what can be contrarie to that which lodgeth the contraries alike equally in himselfe? which vnderstandeth the one of them by the other? which couereth them all vnder one skill? and (to be short) in whome the contrarieties themselves abandon their contrarietie, so as they do not any more pursue but insue one another? Fire is hote, and water colde. Our bodies mislike these contraries, and are græued by them; but our minde linketh them together without either burning or cooling it selfe: & it setteth the one of them against the other to know them the better. The things which destroy one another through the whole world, do maintain one another in our mindes. Againe, nothing is more contrarie to peace than warre is: & yet mans minde can skill to make or maintaine peace in preparing for warre, & to lay earnestly for warre in seeking or inioying of peace. Euen death it self (which dispatcheth our life) cannot be contrarie to the life of our Soule: for it seeketh life by death, and death by life. And what can that thing meete withall in the whole world, that may be able to ouerthrow it, which can inioyne obedience to things most contrary? What then? Want of fode? How can that want fode in the world, which can skill to fede on the whole world? Or how should that forlake fode, which the fuller it is, so much the hungrier it is: & the more it hath digested, the better able it is to digest? The bodily wight feedeth vpon some certaine things, but our minde feedeth vpon all things. Take from it the sensible things, and the things of vnderstanding abyde with it still: because it of earthly things, and the heauenly remains abundantly. To be short, abydge it of all worldly things, yea, & of the worlde it selfe, and euen then doth it fede at greatest ease, and maketh best there agreable to his owne nature. Also the bodily wight filleth it selfe to a certaine measure, and delighteth in some certaine things.

But

But what can fill our minde: Fill it as full as ye can with the knowledge of things, and it is still eager and sharpe set to receiue more. The more it taketh in, the more it still craueth: and yet for all that, it neuer sealeth any rawnesse or lacke of digestion. What shal I say more: discharge our vnderstanding from the minding of it selfe, and then doth it liue in him and of him in whom all things doe liue. Againe, fill it with the knowledge of it selfe, and then doth it seale it selfe most emptie, and sharpest set vpon desire of the other. Now then, can that die or decay for want of foode, which cannot be glutted with any thing, which is nourished and maintained with all things, & which liueth in very deede vpon him by whom all the things which we wonder at here beneath are vpheld?

And what els is violence, but a insling of two bodies together: and how can there be any such betwene a bodie and a spirituall substance? yea or of two spirits one against another, seeing that oftentimes when they would destroy one another, they vphold one another: And if the Soule cannot be pushed at, neither inwardly nor outwardly: is there any thing in nature that can naturally hurt it? No: but it may perchance be weakened by the very force of his encounter, as we se it doth befall to our senses. For the more excellent and the more sensible the thing is in his kinde which the sense receiueth, so much the more also is the sense it selfe offended or grieved therewith. As for example, the feeling, by fire, the taste, by harshnesse, the smelling, by saours, the hearing, by the hideousnesse of noise, whether it be of Thunderclappe or of the falling of a Miner, and the sight, by looking vpon the Sunne, vpon fire, and vpon all things that haue a glistering brightnesse. I omit, that in the most of these things, it is not properly the sense it selfe, but the outward instrument of sense only that is offended or hurt. But let vs see if there be the like in our reasonable Soule. Say, contrariwise the more of vnderstanding and excellencie that the thing is, the more doth it refresh and comfort our minde. If it be darke so as we vnderstand it but by halues, it hurteth vs not, but yet doth it not delight vs. Say, as we increase in vnderstanding it, so doth it like vs the better, and the higher it is, the more doth it stirre vp the power of our vnderstanding, and (as ye would say) reach vs the hande to drawe vs to the attieinement there of. As for them that are dim sighted, we forbid them to behold the thinges that are ouerbright. But as for them that are of rawest capacitie, we offer them the things that are most vnderstandable. When the sense beginneth to perceiue most sharply, then it is faine to giue ouer, as if it felt the very death of it selfe. Contrariwise, when the minde beginneth to vnderstand, then is it most desirous to hold on still. And whereof commeth that, but that our senses worke by bodily instruments, but our minde worketh by a bodilesse substance which needeth

not the helpe of the body. And seeing that the nature, the nourishment, & the actions of our Soule are so far differing, both from the nature, nourishment, and actions of the body, & from al that euer is done or wrought by the body: can there be any thing moze childish than to deeme our Soule to be mortal by the abating & decaying of our senses, or by the mortallitie of our bodies? Nay contrariwise it may be most soundly and substantially concluded thereupon, that mans Soule is of it owne nature immortal, seeing that al death as well violent, as naturall commeth of the body and by the body.

What is
death.

Let vs see further what death or corruption is. It is (say they) a separating of the matter from his forme. And soasmuch as in man the soule is considered to be the forme, and the body to be as the matter: the separation of the Soule from the bodie is commonly called Death. Now then, what death can there bee of the Soule, sith it is immaterial as I haue said afoze, and a forme that abideth of it selfe? For (as one saith) a man may take away the roundnesse or squarenesse from a table of Copper, because they haue no abiding but in the matter: but had they such a rounde or square forme, as might haue an abiding without matter or stuffe wherein to be, out of doubt such forme or shape should continue for euer. Nay (which moze is) how can that be the corrupter of a thing, which is the perfection thereof? The lesse coynesse a man hath, the moze hath he of reason & vnderstanding. The lesse our mindes be tied to these bodily things, the moze liuely & cheerefull be they. At a word, the full and perfect life thereof, is the full and vnter withdrawing thereof from the body, and whatsoeuer the body is made off. Al these things are so cleere as they need no pzoofe. Now, we know that euery thing worketh according to the proper being thereof, and that the same which perfecteth the operations of a thing, perfecteth the being thereof also. It followeth therfore, that sith the separation of the body from the Soule, & of the forme from the matter, perfecteth the operation or working of the Soule (as I haue said afoze) it doth also make perfect & strengthen the very being thereof, and therfore cannot in any wise corrupt it. And what els is dying but to be corrupted? And what els is corrupting, but suffering? And what els is suffering, but receiuing? And how can y which receiueth al things without suffering, receiue corruption by any thing? Fire corrupteth or marreth our bodies, and we suffer in receiuing it. So doth also extreme cold: but if we suffered nothing by it, it could not fræse vs. Our senses likewise are marred by the excessive force of y things which they light vpon. And that is because they receiue and perceiue the thing that græueth them, and so y the maner of their behauing of themselves towards their obiects, is subiect to suffering. But as for the reasonable Soule, which receiueth al things after one maner, that is to wit, by the way of vnderstanding, wherethrough it

allway

allway woꝝketh and is neuer wrought into; how is it possible foꝛ it to corrupt oꝛ marre it selfe?

foꝛ what is the thing whereat our Soule suffereth ought in the substance thereof, I meane wherby the substance of our Soule is any whit impaired oꝛ hurt by minding oꝛ conceining the same in vnderstanding? As little doth the fire hurt it as the aire, and the aire as the fire. As little hurt receiueth it by the frozen Ice of Norway, as by the scorching sands of Affricke. As little also doth vice annoy it as vertue. foꝛ vice & vertue are so farre of from incomburing the substance of the Soule, that our minde doth neuer conceine oꝛ vnderstand them better, than by setting them together one against another. That thing therefore which doth no whit appaire it selfe, but taketh the ground of perfecting it selfe by all things, can not be marred oꝛ hurt by any thing.

Againe, what is death? The vttermoſt point of mouing, & the vttermoſt bound of this life. foꝛ euen in liuing we die, and in dying we liue, and there is not that ſtep which we ſet downe in this life, which doth not continually ſtep foꝛward vnto death, after ſome maner of a Dial oꝛ a Clocke which mounting by by certeine degrees foꝛgoeth his mouing in mouing from Minute to Minute. Take away mouing from a body, and it doth no moꝛe liue. Now let vs ſee if the Soule alſo be caried with the ſame mouing. If it be caried wth the ſame mouing, then doth it vndoubtedly moue therewithal. Nay, contrariwiſe, whether the minde reſt, oꝛ whether it be buſied about ſome proper operations therof, it is not perceiued either by any panting of hart, oꝛ by any beating of pulses, oꝛ by any breathing of Lungs. It is then as a Ship that carieth vs away with it, whether we walke oꝛ ſit ſtil, & ſticking faſt wherof oꝛ the tying thereof to the poſt, hindereth not our going by & downe in it ſtil. Againe, if the Soule be ſubiect to the final corruption of the body, then is it ſubiect to the alterations therof alſo; & if it be ſubiect to ſome alterations, it is ſubiect to time alſo. foꝛ alterations oꝛ chaunges, are ſpices, oꝛ rather conſequents of mouing, & mouings are not made but in time. Now man in reſpect of ſome body hath certeine ful points oꝛ ſtops, at the which he receiueth manifeſt chaunges, & thereafter groweth oꝛ decaieſh. But commonly where the decay of the body beginneth there beginneth the chief ſtrength of the minde! Howbeit ſome in ſome men, not only their chinnes are couered with downe, but alſo their beards become gray, whole mindes foꝛ want of exerciſe, ſhew no ſigne at all either of ripenes oꝛ growing. Moreover, time (as in reſpect of ſome body) cannot be called againe, but in reſpect of the minde it is alwaies preſent. Wea & time perfecteth, accompliſheth, & increaſeth our mind, & after a ſort reneweth & reſreſheth it from day to day, whereas contrariwiſe it foꝛweareth, waſheth away & quite conſumeth, both it ſelfe, & the body with the life thereof. It followeth then ſome the reaſonable Soule is not ſubiect to time, nor conſequently

sequently to any of the chaunges and corruptions that accompany time. May we may say thus much moze; That nothing in the whole Worlde is nurished with things better than it selfe, neither doth any of them containe greater things than it selfe; But the things that are corruptible do liue of corruptible things, & cannot liue without corrupting them: as for example, beasts liue by herbes, men by beasts, & so forth. And therefore things which liue by vncorruptible things, and can so receiue and digest them, as to turne them into the nurishment of their nature, and yet not corrupt them, are incorruptible theselues too. Now the Soule of I meane the reasonable soule or mind, conceiueth reason and trueth, and man, is fed and strengthened with them. And reason & trueth are things vncchangeable, not subiect to time, place or alteration, but steddy, vncchangeable, and euermlasting. For that twice two be fouer, and that there is the same reason in the proportion of eight vnto six that is of fouer vnto three, or that in a Triangle, the three inner angles are equal with the two right angles, and such like, are truthe which neither yeres nor thousands of yeres can chaunge; as true at this day, as they were when Euclide first spake them. And so forth of other things. It followeth then that the Soule comprehending reason and trueth, which are things free from corruption, cannot in any wise be subiect to corruption.

Againe, who is he of all men that desireth not to be immortall? And how could any man desire it, if he vnderstode not what it is? Or how could he be able to vnderstand it, vnlesse it were possible for him to attain vnto it? Surely none of vs coueteth to be beginninglesse, for none of vs is so; neither can any of vs be so. And as we cannot so be, so also can we not comprehend what it is. For who is he that is not at his wits end, but onely to thinke vpon eternitie without beginning? On the contrary part there is not so base a minde which coueteth not to liue for euer, insomuch that whereas we looke not for it by nature, we seeke to obtaine it by skill and pollicie, some by booke, some by Images, and some by other deuises, and euen the grossest sort can well Imagine in themselves what immortallitie is, and are able both to conceiue it & to beleue it. Whence comes this, but that our soules being created cannot conceiue an euermlastingnesse without beginning, and yet neuerthelesse, that forasmuch they be created immortall, they doe well concerne an immortallitie or euermlastingnesse without end? And whereto serues this vniuersall desire, if it be not naturall? Or how is it naturall if it be in vaine? and not only in vaine, but also to bring vs to Hell and to Torment? Let vs wade yet deeper. Who can dispute or once so much as doubt whether the Soule be immortall or no, but he that is capable of immortallitie? And who can vnderstande what difference is betwixt mortall and immortall, but he that is immortall? Man is able to descerne the difference be-

twene

twene that which is reason, and that which is not, and thereupon we terme him reasonable. Whosoever would holde opinion that a man is not reasonable, should neede none other disprove than his owne disputing thereof; for he would go about to prove it by reason. Man can skill to discern the mortall natures from the immortall: And therefore we may wel say he is immortall. For he that should dispute to the contrary, shal be driven to bring such reasons, as shal of themselves make him to prove himselfe immortall. Thou sayest the Soule can not be immortall: and why? Because (saist thou) that to be so, it would behove it to worke severally by it selfe from the body. When thou thinkest that in thy minde, consider what thy body doth at the same time. Say yet further, who hath taught thee so much of the immortall nature, if thou thy selfe be not immortall? What worldly wight can say what the intworking of a reasonable wight is, but the wight which in it selfe hath the use of reason.

Yet saist thou still, if the Soule be immortall, it is free from such and such passions. How enterest thou so farre into the Nature that is so farre above thee, if thou thy selfe beest mortall? All the reasons which thou alledgest against the immortalitye of the soule, doe feight directly to the prove of it. For if thy reason mounted no higher than to the things that are mortall, thou shouldest know neither mortall nor immortall. Now it is not some one covetous man above al other, that desireth immortalitye, nor some one man excellling al others in wisdom, that comprehendeth it, but all mankind without exception. It is not then some one senerall skill or some one naturall propertie, that maketh such difference between man & man as we see to be betwene many, but rather one selfesame nature common to all men, wherby they be all made to differ from other living wights, which by no deede do shew any desire to overline themselves, ne know how to live, & therefore their Lines do vanish away with their blood, and is extinguished with their bodies. If ever thou hast looked to die, consider what discourse thou madest then in thy minde: thou couldest never perswade thy conscience nor make thy reason to conceive, that thy Soule should die with the Body; but even in the selfesame time when it disputeth against it selfe, it shifteth it selfe I wote not how from all thy conclusions, and falleth to consider in what state it shal be, and where it shal become when it is out of the body. The Epicure that hath disputed of it all his life long, when he cometh to death, bequeatheth a yeerely pension for the keeping of a yeerely feast on the day of his birth. I pray you to what purpose serve these feasts for birth of a Swine, seeing he esteemeth himselfe to be no better than so? Say what els is this, than a crying out of his Nature against him, which with one word confuteth al his vaine arguments: Another labourerh by al meanes possible, to blot out in himselfe

Cicui. lib. 1.

Three liues
in Man.

the opinion of immortallitie; and because he hath liued wickedly in this world, he will needs beare himselfe on hand, that there is no Justice in the world to come. But then is the time that his owne nature waketh, and starteth vp as it were out of the bottome of a water, and at that instant painteth againe befoze his eyes, the selfesame thing which he tooke so much paines to deface. And in god sooth, what a number haue we seene, which hauing bene despisers of all Religion, haue at the holwer of death bene glad to bow their Soules to any Saint for reliefe; so clare was then the presence of the life to come befoze their eyes. I had leuer (saide Zeno) to see an Indian burne himselfe cherefully, than to heare all the Philosophers of the world discourfing of the immortallitie of the Soule, & in very deepe it is much a stronger and better concluded argument. Say then, let vs rather say, I had leuer see a Atheist or Epicure witnessing the immortallitie of the Soule, and willingly taking an honorable farewell of nature vpon a Scaffold, than to heare al the Doctors of the world discourfing of it in their Pulpits. For whatsoeuer the Epicures say there they speake it aduisedly and (as ye would say) fresh and fasting; whereas all that euer they haue spoken all their life afoze, is to bee accounted but as the wordes of Drunkards, that is to wit, of men besotted and salne asleepe in the delights and pleasures of this world, where the Wine and the excelle of meate, and the vapors that fumed vp of them did speake, and not the men themselues. What shall I say moze? I haue tolde you already that in the inward man there are (as ye would say) thre men, the liuing, the sensitiue, and the reasonable. Let vs say therefore that in the same person there are thre liues continued from one to another: namely the life of the Plant, the life of the Beast, and the life of the Man or of the Soule. So long as a man is in his mothers womb, he doth but onely liue and grow; his Spirit seemeth to sleepe, and his senses seeme to bee in a slumber, so that he seemeth to bee no thing els than a Plant. Neuertheless, if ye consider his eyes, his eares, his tongue, his senses, and his motions, you wil easely iudge that he is not made to be for euer in that prison, where he neither seeth nor heareth, nor hath any roome to walke in, but rather that he is made to come forth into an opener place, where he may haue what to see and behold, and where with to occupy al the powers which we see to be in him. As soone as he is come out, he beginneth to see, to feele, and to moue, and by little and little falleth to the perfect vniing of his limbes, and findeth in this world a peculiar object for euery of them, as visible things for the eye, sounds for his hearing, bodily things for his feeling, and so forth. But besides all this, we finde there a minde; which by the eares as by windowes beholdeth the world, and yet in al the world finding not any one thing worthy to rest wholly vpon, mounteth vp to him that made it; which minde like an Emperesse lodgeth in the whole world,

JOHN V. 15

worlde, and not alonely in this body; which by the senses (& oftentimes also without the senses) mounteth aboue the senses, and streineth it self to goe out of it selfe, as a childe doth to get out of his mothers wombe. And therefore we ought surely to say, that this Minde or Reason ought not to bee euer in prison. That one day it shal see clarely, and not by these dimme and clowdie spectacles: That it shal come in place where it shal haue the true object of vnderstanding: and that he shal haue his life free from these fetters and from all the affections of the body. To be short, that as man is prepared in his mothers wombe to be brought forth into the worlde; so is he also after a sort prepared in this body & in this worlde, to liue in another worlde. We then vnderstand it, when by nature it becometh vs to depart out of the worlde. And what childe is there which (if nature did not by her cunning daine him out,) would of himselfe come out of his Conert, or that commeth not out as good as forlorne and halfe dead; or that if he had at that time knowledge and speech, would not call that death, which we call birth, and that a departure out of life, which we call the enterance into it? As long as we be there, we see nothing though our eyes be open. Many also doe not so much as stirre, except it bee at some sodaine scaring or some other like chaunce, and as for those that stirre, they know not that they haue either sense or mouing. Why then should we thinke it straunge, that in this life our vnderstanding seeth so little, that many men do neuer minde the immortall nature, vntil they be at the last cast, yea and some thinke not themselves to haue any such thing, howbeit that euen by so thinking they shew themselves to haue part ther of: And imagine we that the vnborne babe hath not as much adoe by nature to leaue the poore skinne that he is wraapt in, as we haue hinderance in our senses & in our imprisoned reason, when we be at the point to leaue the goods & pleasures of this worlde, and the very flesh it selfe which holdeth vs as in a graue: Or had the babe some little knowledge, would he not say that no life were comparable to the life where he then is, as we say there is no life to the life of this worlde wherein we be? Or would he not account the stage of our senses for a fable, as a great sort of vs account the stage that is prepared for our soules? Yes surely: and therefore let vs conclude where we began, namely y man is both inward & outward. In the outward man, which is the body, he resembleth the being & the proportion of al the parts of the worlde. And in the inner man he resembleth whatsoeuer kinde of life is in all things or in any thing that beareth life in the worlde. In his mothers wombe he liueth the life of a Plant, howbeit with this further, y he hath a certeine commencement of sense & mouing which exceed the Plant, & do put him in a readinesse to be indued with senses as a Beast is. In this life he hath sense & mouing in their perfection, which is y proprietie of a sensitiue wight, but yet besides these,

he hath also a beginning to reason and vnderstand, which are a beginning of another life such as the sensitive wight hath not, and this life is to be perfected in another place. In the life to come he hath his actions free and full perfected, a large ground to worke vpon able to suffice him to the ful, and a light to his vnderstanding in steade of a light to the eye. And like as in comming into this worlde, he came as it were out of another worlde; so in going yet into another worlde he must also go out of this worlde. He cometh out of the first worlde into the second, as it were sailing in nourishment, but growing in strength vnto mouing and sence: and he goeth out of y second into the third, sailing in sences and mouing, but growing in reason and vnderstanding. Now, seeing we call the passage out of the first worlde into the second a birth, what reason is it that we should call the passage out of the second into the third, a death? To be short, he that considereth how al the actions of mans minde tend to the time to come without possibilitie of staying vpon the present time, how pleasant and delightfull soeuer it be: we may well discern by them all, that his being (which in euery thing (as saith Aristotle) followeth the working thereof) is also wholly bent towards the time to come; as who would say this present life were vnto it but a narrow grinde, on the further side whereof (as it were on the banke of some streame or running water,) he were to finde his true dwelling place and very home in deede.

An objection.

But now it is time to see what is said to the contrarie: wherein we haue to consider euilones that which we spake of afoze; namely that if al that euer is in vs were transitorie and mortall, we should not be so witty to examine the Immortallitie as we be: for of Contraries the skil is al one. If a man were not mortall, that is to say, if he had no life, he coulde not dispute of the mortall life; neither could he speake of the Immortall, if he himselfe also were not Immortall. Therefore let vs goe backe retrue. Some man will say, that the Soule dieth with the body, because the Soule and the body are but one thing, and he belaueth that they be both but one, because he seeth no more but the body. This argument is all one with theirs, which denied that there is any God, because they saw him not. But yet by his doings thou maist perceine that there is a God: discern like wise by the doings of thy soule, that thou hast a Soule. For in a dead body thou seest the same partes remaine, but thou seest not the same doings that were in it afoze. When a man is dead, his eie seeth nothing at all, and yet is there nothing chaunged of his eie: but while he is aliue it seeth infinite things that are diuers. The power then which seeth is not of the body. Yet notwithstanding how lively & quickesighted so euer the eie be; it seeth not it selfe. Wonder not therefore though thou haue a soule, and that the same soule see not it selfe. For if thine eie sight saw it selfe; it were not a power or abilitie of seeing, but a visible thing:

thing: likewise if thy Soule saw it selfe, it were no moze a Soule that
 is to say the worker and quickener of the body, but a very body, unable
 to do any thing of it selfe, and a massie substance subiect to suffering.
 For we see nothing but the body and bodily substances. But in this thou
 perceivest somewhat els than a body, (as I haue said afoze) that if thine
 eye had any peculiar colour of it owne, it could not discern any other co-
 lour than that. Seeing then that thou conceivest so many diuers bodies
 at once in imagination: needs must thou haue a power in thee which is
 not a body. Be it (say they) that we haue a power of sence; yet haue
 we not a power of reason; for that which we call the power of reason or
 vnderstanding, is nothing but an excellencie or rather a consequence of
 sence, insomuch that when sence dieth, the residue dieth therewith also.
 Bothly in this which thou hast said thou hast surmounted sence; which
 thing thou haddest not done, if thou haddest nothing in thee beyond sence.
 For whereas thou saist, if the sence die, the rest dieth also; it is a reason
 that proceedeth from one terme to another, and it is a gathering of reasons
 which conclude one thing by another. Now the senses do in deede perceiue
 their objects, but yet how liuely so euer they be, they reason not. We see a
 smoake: so farre extendeth the sence. But if we inferre, therefore there
 must needs be fire, and thereupon seeke who was the kindler thereof:
 that surmounteth the abilitie of sence. We heare a peece of Musicke;
 that may any beast doe as well as we. But his hearing of it is but as
 of a bare sounde; whereas our hearing thereof is as of an harmony,
 and we discern the cause of the concord and discord, which either de-
 light or offend our sence. The thing that heareth the sound is the sence;
 but the thing that iudgeth of that which the sence conceiveth, is another
 thing than the sence. The like is to be said of smelling, tasting, and fee-
 ling. Our smelling of scents, our tasting of saoures, and our feeling of sub-
 stances, is in deede the worke of our senses. But as for our iudging of
 the inward vertue of the thing by the outward sent thereof, or of the whol-
 soumes or vnwholsomnes of foode by the taste thereof, or of the hotnesse or
 vehemencie of a fener by feeling the pulse, yea and our proceeding euen
 into the very bowels of a man, whither the eye being the quickest of all
 senses is not able to attaine, surely it is the worke of a moze mighty po-
 wer than the sence is. And in very deede there are beasts which do heere,
 see, smell, taste, and feele much better & quicker than man doth. Yet not-
 withstanding none of them conferreth the contraries of colours, sounds,
 scents and saoures; none sorteth them out to the seruing one of another,
 or to the seruing of themselues. Whereby it appeareth, that man excel-
 leth the Beasts by another power than the senses, and that whereas a
 man is a Painter, a Musician, or a Philosopher, he hath it from elsewhere than
 from his senses. Nay, I say further, that oftentimes we conclude cleane
 contrarie:

contrarie to the report of our senses. Our eie per chance telleth vs that a Tower which we see a farre off is round, whereas our reason deemeth it to be square: or that a thing is small, which our reason telleth vs is great: or that the ends of lines in a long walke do meet in a point, whereas reason certifieth vs that they runne right forth with equall distance one from another. For want of this discretion, certeine Elephants (saith Verellio) which were passing ouer a long bridge, turned backe being deceiued: and yet they wanted not sight no more than we do. But they that led them were not deceiued. Their Leaders then besides their eie sight, had in them another vertue or power which corrected their sight, and therefore ought to be of higher estimation. In like case is it with the rest of the other senses. For our hearing telleth vs that the thunderclap is after lightning, but skill assureth vs that they be both together. For there is a certeine power in vs, which can skill to discern what proportion is betwene hearing and seeing. Also the tongue of him that hath an Ague, beareth him on hand that euen sugar is bitter, which thing he knoweth by his reason to be vntue. To be short, those which haue their senses most quicke and lively, be not of the greatestt wisdom & vnderstanding. A man therefore differeth from a beast, and excelleth men by some other power than sense. For whereas it is commonly said, that such as haue sense most are commonly of greatestt skill: we see that many haue traneled farre both by sea and land, which haue come home as wise as they went forth. A horse hath as good eies as he that rides vpon him, and yet for all his traneling, neither he nor peraduenture his Rider whome he beareth become any whit the wiser by that which they haue sense: whereby it appeareth that it is not enough to see things vnlesse a man do also minde them to his benefit.

Nowe there is great difference betwene the liuelines of the Sense, and the power that governeth the Sense, like as the report of a Spie is one thing, and the Spie himselte is another, and the wisdom of the Captaine that receineth the report of the Spie is a third. Nay, who can deny, but Sense and Reason are diuers things, or rather who wil not graunt, that in many things they be cleane contrarie? Sense biddeth vs shunne and eschew grief, where as Reason willeth vs to profer our leg sometime to the Surgion to be cut off. Sense plucketh our hand out of the fire, and yet we our selues put fire to our bare skinne. Yet that should see a Scouola burne off his owne hand, without so much as once gnashing his teeth at it, would thinke he were vtterly senselesse: so mightily doth Reason ouerrule sense. To be short, Sense hath his peculiar inclination, which is appetite, and Reason likewise hath his, which is will. And like as Reason doth oftentimes ouerrule sense and is contrary to it, so will correcteth the sensuall appetite or lust that is in vs, and warreth against it. For

in an Agne we couet to drinke, and in an Apoplexie we couet to sleepe, and in hungre we couet to eate: and yet from all those things both our will restraine vs. The moze a man followeth his lust, the lesse is he led by wil: and the moze he standeth vpon the pleasing of his Sences, the lesse reason vseth he ordinarily.

Againe, let vs consider the brute Beasts which haue this sensitive part as well as we. If we haue no moze than that, how cometh it to passe that a little childe driueth whole flockes and herds of them whither he listeth, and sometimes whither they would not? Whereof cometh it that euery of them in their kind, doe all liue, nestle, and sing after one sort, whereas men haue their lawes, Commonweales, maners of building, and formes of reasoning, not onely diuers, but also commonly contrarie: Now, what can harbor these contrarieties together, but onely that which hath not any thing contrary vnto it, and wherein all contrary things do lay away their contrarietie? Surely it is not the Sence that can doe it, whose proper or peculiar object is most contrary to the sence. Besides this (as I haue said afoze) whereas we conceiue wisdom, skill, vertue, and such other things which are all bodilless, our senses haue none other thing to worke vpon, than the qualities of bodily substances: And whereas we make vniuersall rules of particular things, the Sences attaine no further than to the particular things themselves: And whereas we conclude of the causes by their effects, our Sences perceiue no moze but the bare effects: And whereas concerning the things that belong to vnderstanding, the moze vnderstandable they bee, the moze they refresh vs, Contrariwise, the stronger that the sensible things are, the moze do they offend the Sence: To be short, the selfesame thing which we speake in behalfe of the Sences, proceedeth from elsewhere than from the Sences. And we will easely discern, that he which denieth that besides the common sence there is in a man a reason or vnderstanding, distinct and seuered from the Sence, is void both of vnderstanding and of Sence.

But see here a grosse reason of theirs. This reason or power of vnderstanding (say they) which is in man, is corruptible as well as the power of perceiuing by the Sences. I thinke I haue proued the contrary already, neuer thelesse, let vs examine their reasons yet further. The forme or shap of euery thing (say they) doth perish wth the matter. Now, the soule is as ye would say the forme or shap of the body: therefore it corrupteth with the body. This argument were rightly concluded, if it were ment of the materiall forme. But I haue proued that the Soule is vnaturall, and hath a continuance of it selfe. And in dede the moze it is discharged of matter the moze it retaineth his owne peculiar forme. Therefore the corrupting of the matter toucheth not the Soule at all. Againe, if mens Soules liue (say they) after their bodies, then are they infinite,

finite, for the world is without beginning and without ending, and (as we know) nature can away with no infinite thing: therefore they live not after their bodies. *Pes* say I, for I have proved that the world had a beginning, and that with so substantiall reasons, as thou art not able to disproue. Therefore it followeth that the inconuenience which thou alledgest can haue no place. Another saith, If dead mens Soules live stil, why come they not to tell vs so? And he thinketh he hath stumbled vpon a woonderfull subtile deuise. But how doth this follow in reason? There hath not come any man vnto vs from the indies of a long time: ergo there be no Indics. *May* not the same argument serue as well to prooue that we our selues are not, because we neuer went thither? Again, what intercourse is there betwene things that haue bodies, and things that haue no bodies, or betwene heauen and earth, considering that there is so small intercourse euen betwene men, which live al vnder one selfe same Sunne? He that is made a Magistrate in his owne Countrey, doth not willingly returne to the place of his banishment. Likewise the Soule that is lodged in the lappe of his God, & come home into his native soyle, forgoeth the desire of these lower things, which to the sight beholding them from aboue, are lesse than the point of a Needle. On the other side, he that is put in close prison, (how desirous soeuer he bee) cannot goe out, so the Soule which is in the Faile of his souereine Lord God, hath no respite or sportinge time to come tell vs what is done there. Vnto the one, the beholding of theouerlasting God is as a ParadiZe wherein he is willing to remaine, and vnto the other, his owne condemnation is an imprisonment of his will. But we would haue God to send both the one and the other vnto vs to make vs to beleue. As who would say, it stood him greatly on hande to haue vs to beleue, and not rather vs that we should beleue. And in effect what els is all this, but a desiring that some man might returne into his mothers wombe againe, to incourage yong babes against the pinches & paines which they abide in the birth, whereof they would be as nie as we bee of death, if they had the like knowledge of ths. But let vs let such vanities passe, and come to the ground.

Pes beare vs on hande (say they) that the Soule of man is but one, though it haue diuers powers. Whereof we see the sensitiue & the groweing powers to be corrupted and to perish: therefore it should seeme that the vnderstanding or reasonable power also should doe the like. At a word this is all one as if a man should say you tell me that this man is both a good man, a good *Swoord*plaiier, & a good *Lute*plaiier. altogether, and that because his *Swoord* falls out of his hande, or his hand it selfe becomes lame, therefore he cannot be a good or honest man stil as you reported him to bee. *May* though he lose those instruments, yet ceaseth he not therefore to bee an honest man, yea and both a *Swoord*plaiier & a *Lute*plaiier

plater too, as in respect of skill. Likewise when our Soules haue forgoone these exercises, yet cease they not to be the same they were afoze. To lighten this point yet moze; of the powers of our Soule, some are exercised by the instruments of the bodie, and other some without any helpe or furtherance of the body at al. Those which are exercised by the bodie, are the senses and the powers of the Sences and the powers of the growing, which may cary the same likenesse that is betwene a Lute and a Lute. Breake the Lutes Lute, and his cunning remaineth still, but his putting of it in practise faileth. Giue him another Lute, and he falles to playing new againe. Put out a mans eyes, and yet the abilitie of seeing abideth still with him, though the very act of seeing bee disappointed. But giue vnto the oldest Hag that is the same eyes that he had when he was yong, and he shall see as well as euer he did. After the same maner is it with the growing or thriuing power. Restoze vnto it a good stomake, a sound Liuer, and a perfect heate; and it shall execute his functions as well as euer it did afoze. The power that worketh of it selfe and without the bodie, is the power of reason or vnderstanding, which if we will we may call the minde. And if thou yet still doubt thereof, consider when thou mindest a thing earnestly what thy body furthereth thy minde therein; and thou shalt perceine that the moze fixedly thou thinkest vpon it, the lesse thou seest the things befoze thee; and the moze thy minde wandreth, the moze thy bodie resteth; as who would say that the workings of the body, are the greatest hinderance and impediment that can bee to the peculiar doings of the minde. And this abilitie of vnderstanding may bee likened to a man, which though he haue lost both his hand and his Lute, ceaseth not therefore to be a man still, and to doe the true deedes of a man, that is to wit, to discourse of things, to minde them, to vse reason & such like; yea and to be both a Lute and a man as he was afoze, notwithstanding that he cannot put his Lute playing in exercise for want of instruments. Nay, (which is moze) this vnderstanding part groweth so much the stronger and greater, as it is lesse occupied and busied about these base and corruptible things, and is altogether or awen home wholly to it selfe, as is to be seene in those which want their eyes, whose mindes are commonly most apt to vnderstand, and most firme to remember. Doe we debate of a thing in our selues? Neither our body nor our Sences are busied about it. Doe we will the same? As little doe they stirre for that too. To vnderstand and to will (which are the operations of the minde,) the Soule hath no neede of the body; and as for working and being, they accompany one another saith Aristotle. Therefore to continue still in being, the Soule hath not to doe with the body, nor any neede of the body: but rather, to worke wel and to be wel, the Soule ought either to be without the body, or at leastwise to be vtterly vsusubject to the body.

Pea (say they) but yet we see men forgoe their reason, as folles and melancholike persons: and seeing it is forgoone, it may also be corrupted; and if corrupted, it may also die: for what is death but an utter and full corruptnesse? Say, thou shouldest say rather, I haue seene diuers which hauing seemed to haue lost their right wittes, haue recovered them againe by good diet and medicinable drinckes. But had they bene utterly lost and forgoone, no Physicke could haue restored them againe: and had they bene utterly perished, the parties themselves should haue had neither sence nor life remaining. Wherefore of necessitie the soule of them was as sounde as afoze. But our Soules we see not otherwise than by the body and by the instruments of the body as it were by Spectacles; and our minde which beholdeth and seeth through his imaginations as it were through a Cloude, is after a sort troubled by the dimming of the Spectacles and by the smoakinesse of the imaginations. After that manner the Sunne seemeth to be dimmed and eclipsed; and that is but by the comming of the Moone or of some Cloudes betwene him and vs; for in his light there is no abatement at all. Likewise our eyesight conceiueth things according to the Spectacles wherethrough it looketh, or according to the colour that ouerthwarteth the things which it looketh vpon. Take away the impediments, and our eyes shall see cleare: purge away the humours, and our imagination shall be pure: and so our vnderstanding shall see as bright as it did afoze, euen as the Sunne shineth after the putting away of the Cloudes. And it fareth not with our Soules as it doth with our bodies, which after a long sickness reteine still either a hardnesse of the Splene, or a shortnesse of breath, or a falling of the Rheume vpon the Lungs, or a skarre of some great wound that cannot be worne out because of the breake that was made in the whole. For neither in their vnderstanding, neither in their will do our Soules feele any abatement, sauing that there abideth some maine or blemish in the instruments, to wit (as I will declare hereafter) so farre forth as it pleaseth God for a iust punishment, to put the Soule in subiection to the body whose soueraine it was created to haue bene, because it hath neglected the will of the Creator to follow the lustes and likings of the bodie. This appeareth in Lunaticke folkes and such others, which haue their wits troubled at times and by fittes. For they be not vered but at the stirring of their humours, being at other times sober and wel enough stayed in their wittes. The like is seene in them that haue the falling sickness. For their vnderstanding seemeth to be eclipsed, and as it were stricken with a Thunderclap, during the time of their fittes; but afterward they be as discrete as though they ayled nothing. To be short, the body is subiect to a thousand diseases, wherewith we see the vnderstanding to be no whit altered, because they touch not the instruments of the Sences and of the Imaginations,

ginations, which moue the vnderstanding. Troubled it is in deede by those fewe things onely, which infect the Sence and the Imagination, which by that meanes report the things vnfaithfully whereon the minde debateth. Wherefore ye shall neuer see any body out of his wits, or out of his right minde, in whom the Affections may not manifestly perceiue, either some default of the instruments, as a mishapen and misproportioned head; or els an ouerbounding of some melancholike humour, that troubled & marred his body afore it troubled or impaired his minde. And like as the wisest men being deceiued by false Spies, do make wrong deliberations, howbeit yet grounded vpon good reason, which things they could not doe vnlesse they were wise in deede: So the reason that is in our minde maketh false discourses, and gathereth wrong conclusions, vpon the false reports of the imaginations; which it could not doe, if it were either diminished or impaired, or done away. Whereunto accordeth this auncient saying, That there be certeine follies which none but wise men can commit, and certeine Errors which none but learned men can fall into: because that in some cases, discretion and wisdom are requisite in the partie that is to be deceiued, euen to the intent he may be deceiued, and learning is required in a man that he may conceiue and hold a wrong opinion. As for example, to be beguiled by a dubble dealing Spy or by the surprizing of a cosening letter, belongeth to none but to a wise man. For a grosse headed foole neuer breaketh his braine about such matters as might bring him to the making of false conclusions by mistaking likelihoods in stead of trueneth. Likewise to fall into Heresie by misconceiuing some high and deepe point, befalleth not to an ignorant person, for he is not of capacitie, neither doth his vnderstanding mount so high. To be short, who soeuer saith that mans Soule perisheth with the body, because it is troubled by the disemperature or misproportionatenesse of the body, may as well vphold that the Childe in the mothers wombe dieth with his mother, because he moueth with her, and is partaker with her of her harmes and throules, by reason of the streit coniunction that is betwene them, howbeit that many children haue liued safe and sound, notwithstanding that their mothers haue died, yea and some haue come into the world euen by the death of their mothers.

And whereas some say, that because our minde conceiueth not any thing here, but by helpe of Imagination, therefore when the Imagination is gone with the instruments whereunto it is tied, the Soule cannot worke alone by it selfe, nor consequently be alone by it selfe: surely it is alone as if they should say, y because the Child being in his mothers wombe taketh nourishment of her blood by his nauil, therefore he cannot liue when he is come out of her womb, if his nauil strings be cut off. May contrariwise the is the time y the mouth, the tongue, & the other parts of the Child doe
their

their duety, which serued erst to no purpose, sauing that they were prepared for the time to come. After the same maner also doe we cherish our minde by Imagination in this second life, which in the third life being (as ye would say) scaped out of prison, shall begin to utter his operations by himselfe, and that so much the more certainly, for that it shall not be subiect to false reports, nor to the senses either inward or outward, but to the very things themselves which it shall haue seene and learned. To be short, it shall liue, but not in prison; it shall see, but not through Spectacles; it shall vnderstand, but not by reports, it shall lift, but not by way of lusting; the infirmitie which the body casteth vpon it as now, shall then be away: the force which it bringeth now to the body, shall then be more fresh and liuely than afoze. Now then, notwithstanding these vaine reasons of theirs, let vs conclude, That our soule is an vnderstanding or reasonable power, ouer the which neither death nor corruption haue naturally any power, although it be fitted to the body to gouerne it. And if any man doubt thereof, let him but examine himself; for euen his owne doubts wil proue it vnto him. Or if he wil stand in contention still, let him fall to reasoning with himselfe: for by concluding his arguments to proue his Soule mortall, he shall giue iudgement himselfe that it is immortall. And if I haue left any thing vnalledged which might make to this purpose, (for why may I not, seeing that euen the selfesame things which I haue bene able to alledge on the behalfe of mine aduersaries, to proue them thereunto?) let vs thinke also that he which seeleth himselfe conuicted in himselfe, and for whose behoufe and benefit it were greatly, both to beleue it and to confesse it, needeth no more diligent proue than hath bene made already. But if any will yet of spight stand wilfully still against himselfe, let him try how he can make answer to my foresaid argument: and in the meane while let vs see what the said opinion of the wisest men, yea and of the whole world hath bene vpon this matter.

The xv. Chapter.

That the immortality of the Soule hath bene taught by the Philosophers of olde time, and beleued by all people and Nations.



Sothly it had bene a very hard case if this minde of ours which searcheth so many things in nature, had not taken some leasure to search it selfe and the nature thereof, and by searching attained to some point in that behalfe. And therefore as there haue at all times bene men, so shall we see also that men haue at all times beleued and admitted the immortality

immortalitie of the Soule; I say not some one man or some one Nation, but the whole world with generall consent, because all men vniuersally and particulariy haue learned it in one Schoole, and at the mouth of one Teacher, namely euen their owne knowledge in themselves. The holy Scripture which teacheth vs our saluation, beareth no scholear-guments to make vs beleue that there is a God: and that is because we cannot step out of our selues neuer so little, but we must needs finde him present to all our Sences. And it seemeth to speake vnto vs the lesse expressly of the immortalitie of our soules, specially in the first booke thereof, because we cannot enter into our selues be it neuer so little, but we must needs perceiue it. But inasmuch as from the one ende thereof to the other, it declareth vnto vs the will of God: in so doing it doth vs to vnderstand, that it is a thing whereof it is not lawfull for vs to doubt. And whereas it setteth forth so precisely from age to age, the great and manifold troubles and paines which good and godly men haue sustained in indeuering to follow that wil; it sheweth infallibly that their so doing was in another respect than for this present wretched life. For who is he that would depart with any peece of his owne liking in this life, but in hope of better things: and what were it for him to lose his life, if there were not another life after this? This serueth to answer in one word to such as demand expresse texts of Scripture, and are loth to finde that thing in the Bible, which is contained there, not onely in euery leafe but almost in euery line. For whereas God created man after the world was fully finished and perfected: it was as much as if he had brought him into a Theatre prepared for him, howbeit after another sort than all the other lining things which were to doe him seruice. As for Beastes, Birds, Plants, and such other things, the Elements brought them forth: but Man receiued his Soule by inspiration from God. Also the brute Beastes are put in subiection to man, but man is in subiection onely vnto God. And the conueying of that good man Henoche out of this life for his godliness, was to none other end, but to set him in another life void of all euill & full of all good. But when we reade the persecutions of Noe, the ouerthwartings of Abraham, the banishment and waifarings of Iacob, and the distresses of Ioseph, Moyses, and all the residue of the Fathers; they be all of them demonstrations that they did certainly trust & beleue that the Soule is immortal, that there is another life after this, and that there is a iudgement to come. For had they bene of opinion that there is none other life after this; the flesh would haue perswaded them to haue held themselves in quiet here, and they would haue liked nothing better than to haue followed sweetly the common trade of the worlde, Noe among his friends, Abraham among the Chaldees, Moyses in Pharaos Court, & so forth. So then, although the Scripture seeme to conceale it, yet

The opinion
of the Men of
old time:

The beleefe of
the Patriarchs.
&c.

both it speake very lowde thereof in deede, considering that all the cries of the godd and godly, and all the despaires of the wicked which it deserveth vnto vs, doe sounde none other thing vnto vs, if we haue eares to heare it. And it may bee, that in the same respect, this article of the Immozalitie of the Soule was not put into the auncient Crede of the Iewes, nor also peculiarly into the Crede of vs Chyistians, because we beleue beyond reason, and this is within the bounds of reason; and whoe soeuer treateth of Religion must needs presuppose God eternall and man immoztall, without the which two, all Religion were in vaine. Also, when we see that Godlinesse, Justice, and vertue were commended among the Heathen of all ages: it is all one as if we shoulde heare them preach in expresse wordes the Immozalitie of the Soule. For their soe doing is builded euery whit vpon that, as vpon a foundation without the which those things could not stand. I will spend my goods or my life for the maintenance of Justice. What is this Justice but a vaine name, or to what end haue I so many respects, if I looke for nothing out of this present world here? I will (saide a man of olde time) rather lose euen the reputation of an honest man, than behaue my selfe otherwise than honestly. But why should I doe so, if I looke for no good in another world, seeing I haue nothing but euill here? Surely if there be none other thing than this life, then is vertue to be blessed no further, than profit and commoditie may grow vpon it; and so shoulde it become a Chaffer and Merchandise, and not vertue in deede. Yet notwithstanding, those are the ordinary speeches, euen of such as speake doubtfully of the Immozalitie of the Soule. Therefore they do but deny the ground and yet graunt the consequence; which is all one as if a man hauing first bene burned, shoulde fall to disputing whether fire be hot or no. But now (which is better for vs) I will here gather together their owne speeches one after another.

The wise men
of Egypt.

Hermes in his
Poemander.

Ἡρμῆς τοῦ αἰ-
ἰῶνος ὁ δεινός
αὐτοῦ λόγος ἡ ψυχή
ἐστὶν ἡ ζωὴ τοῦ σώματος.

Hermes declareth in his Poemander, how at the voice of the euermouing, the Elements yeldeth forth all reasonlesse liuing wights as it had bene out of their bosomes. But when he cometh to man, he saith, He made him like vnto himselfe, he linked himselfe to him as to his Sonne, (for he was beautifull and made after his owne Image) and gaue him all his works to vse at his pleasure. Againe, he exhorteth him to forsake his body, (notwithstanding that he wonder greatly at the cunning worke-manship thereof) as the very cause of his death, and to manure his soule which is capable of immozalitie, and to consider the originall roote from whence it sprang, which is not earthly but heavenly, and so to withdrawe himselfe euen from his senses and from their traiterous allurements to gather himselfe wholly into that minde of his which he hath from God, by the which he following Gods word, may become as God. Discharge thy selfe (saith he) of his body which thou bearest about thee, for he is

but

Hermes in his
Poemander.
cap. 10.

॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥
 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

Hermes in his
Esculapius.
Æneas Gaz.
concerning
the immorta-
lité of the
Soule.
Chaldeans.

The Greeks

learned them of the Chaldees; insomuch that some thinke, that the fore-
saide Hermes and Zoroastres and the residue afoze mentioned, are the same
of whom Plato speaketh in his second Epistle; and in the eleuenth booke
of Laues, when he saith that the auncient and holy Oracles are to be
belieued, which affirme mens Soules to bee immozfall, and that in ano-
ther life they must come befoze a Iudge that will require an account of al
their doings. The effect whereof commeth to this, that the Soule of man
proceedeth immediatly from God, that is to say, that the father of the bo-
die is one, and the father of the Soule is another: That the Soule is
not a bodilie substance, but a Spirit and a light: That at the departure
thereof from hence, it is to goe into a Paradise, and therefore ought to
make haste vnto death: And that it is so farre from mortallitie, that it
maketh euen the body immozfall. What can we say more at this day e-
uen in the time of light wherein we bee? Pherecydes the Syrian, the first
that was knowne among the Greekes to haue written in prose, taught
the same. And that which Virgil saith in his second Eglog concerning the
Dyngoz Spice of Assyria, and the growing thereof enery where, is in-
terpreted of some men to bee ment of the Immozfallitie of the Soule, the
doctrine whereof Pherecydes brought thence into Greece; namely, that
it should be vnderstood euerywhere throughout the whole world. Also Pho-
cylides who was at the same time, speaketh thereof in these wordes.

Pherecydes.

Assyrium vul-
gonalceetur
Amonium.

Phocylides.

ἡ ψυχή αὐθάδης ἐστὶν ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀβυστὴν οὐκ ἔχει πύλιν. That is to say:

*The Soule of man immortall is, and neuer weares away
With any age or length of time, but liueth fresh for aye.*

And againe,

Δελφικὰ δ' ἀπορχαίνων ἔνθεν δὲ καὶ τὸ δόγματ'
ἡ ψυχὴ γὰρ μὴ μόνον ἀθάνατος ἐν φθίσουσιν.

*The Remnants which remaine of men vnburied in the graue,
Become as Gods, and in the Heauens a life most blessed haue;
For through their bodies turne to dust, as daily we do see,
Their Soules liue still for euermore from all corruption free.*

And in another place he saies againe:

Καὶ τὴν αὖτις γαίης ἀνίσταμεν ἐκ φθορᾶς ἰδδαί.

We hope that we shall come againe

Out of the earth to light more plaine.

And if ye aske him the cause of all this: he will answere you in another
verse thus.

Παύρος γὰρ ἐστὶ δὲ ψυχῆς θύρα καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν.

Because the Soule, Gods instrument and Image also is.

Which saying he seemeth to haue taken out of this verse of Sibils.

Sybill.

Εἷμας ἐστὶν ἀνδραπόδες ἄνθρωπος ὁρᾶν ἑρπύστα.

In very reason Man should bee,

The Image and the shape of mee.

Of the same opinion also are Orpheus, Theognis, Homer, Hesiodus, Pindar, and al the Poets of old time; which may answer both for themselves and their owne Countries, and for the residue of their ages. Likewise Pythagoras a disciple of Pherecides, held opinion that the Soule is a bodilesse and immortall substance, put into this body as into a Prison for sinning. And whereas the flasing of soules out of one body into another, is fathered vpon him; although the opinion be not directly against the immortalitye of the Soule, yet doe many men thinke that he hath wrong done vnto him. And his disciple Timceus of Locres reporteth other wise of him. For what punishment were it to a voluptuous man, to haue his Soule put into a beast, that he might become the more voluptuous without remoyse of sinne? Soothly it is al one as if in punishment of Murder or theft, y^e would make the Murderer to cut the throates of his owne Father and Mother, or the Theefe to commit trechery against God. Howsoever the case stand, he teacheth in his verses, that man is of heavenly race, and that (as Iamblicus reporteth) he is set in this world to behold God. And his disciple Archias saith, that God breathed reason and vnderstanding into him. Likewise Philolaus affirmeth that the Diuins and Prophets of old time bare record, that the Soule was cuppled with the bodie for hir sinnes, and buried in the same as in a Graue. Of Epicharmus we haue this saying. If thou beest a good man in thy heart, Death can doe thee no harme, for thy Soule shall liue happily in heauen, &c. Also of Heraclides we haue this saying, We liue the death of them (that is to say of the blessed) his meaning is, that we be not buried with our bodie; and we die their Life, that is to say, we bee still after this body of ours is dead. Of the like opinion are Thales, Anaxagoras, and Diogenes concerning this point; yea and so is Zeno too, howbeit that he thought the Soule to bee begotten of Pan, wherein he was contrary to himselfe. To be short, scarcely were there any to be found among the men of olde time, saue onely Democritus and Epicurus, that helde the contrarie waie; whome the Poet Lucre inuited afterwarde in his verses. Yet notwithstanding when Epicurus shoulde die, hee commanded an Anniversarie or Peere minde to be kept in remembrance of him by his Disciples: so greatly delighted he in a vaine shadowe of Immortalitye, hauing shaken off the very thing it selfe. And Lucrece (as it is written of him) made his booke being mad, at such times as the fittes of his madnesse were off him, surely more mad when he thought himselfe wisest, than when the fittes of his phrensie were strongest vpon him. Whosoever readeth the goodly discourses of Socrates vpon his drinkeing of poison, as they be reported by Plato and Xenophon himselfe, can not doubt of his opinion in this case. For he not onely believed it himselfe, but also perswaded many men to it with liuely reasons, yea & by his own

Pindar in the second song of his Olympiads. Homer in the Funerall of his Illiads.

Pythagoras. Heraclitus as he is reported by Philo. Epicharmus as he is reported by Clement of Alexandria.

Thales, Anaxagoras, Diogenes and Zeno.

Epicurus.

Lucretius.

Socrates, Plato and Xenophon.

Plato is his
Timæus.

Plato in his
Timæus, and
in the third
booke of a
Cōmonweale

Plato in his
Phædon, in
his matter of
state, in his
Alcibiades, &
in the tenth
booke of his
Cōmonweale

Plato in his
fifth booke of
Laws.

death much moze than by all his life. And so ye see we be come vnto Plato and Aristotle, with consent of all the wise men of olde time, vngaine, said of any, sauing of a two or thre malapart wyetches, whom the vngenerationest of our daies would esteeme but as dyonken fotts and dizards. Certesse Plato (who might peradventure haue heard speake of the bookes of Moyses) doth in his Timæus bying in God giuing commaundement to the vndergods whom he created, that they should make man both of mortall and of immortall substances. Wherein it may be that he alluded to this saying in Genesis, Let vs make man after our owne Image and likeness. In which case the Jewes say that God directed his speeche to his Angels; but our Diuines say, he spake to himselfe. But anone after, both in the same booke and in many other places, Plato (as it were comming to himselfe againe,) teacheth that God created Man by himselfe, yea and euen his Liuer and his Braine and all his sences, that is to say, the Soule of him, not onely indued with reason and vnderstanding, but also with sence and abilitie of growng and increasing; and also the instruments whereby the same doe worke. Wherefore he maketh such a manifest difference betwene the Soule and body; as that hee matcheth them not together as matter and forme, as Aristotle doth: But as a Pilot and a Shippe, a Commonweale and a Magistrate, an Image and him that beareth it vpon him. What greater thing can there be than to be like God? Now (saith Plato in his Phædon) The Soule of Man is verie like the Godhead, immortall, Reasonable, Vniforme, Vndissoluble, and euermore of one sorte, which are conditions (saith he) is his matters of state that cannot agree but to things most diuine. And therefore at his departing out of the worlde, he willed his Soule to returne home to her kindred and to her first originall, that is to wit, (as he himselfe saith there) to the wise and immortall Godhead, the fountaine of al goodnesse, as called home from banishment into her owne native countre. He termeth it ordinarily *εὐδαιμόνεια*, that is to say, of kinne vnto God, and consequently *ἀθάνατος*, that is to say, Euerlasting, and of one selfesame name with the immortall ones, a Heauenly Plant and not a Earthly, rooted in Heauen and not in Earth, begotten from aboue and not here beneath, and finally such as cannot die here, forasmuch as it liueth still in another place. To be short, saing (saith he) that it comprehendeth the things that are Diuine and immortall, that is to wit, the Godhead, and the things that are vchaungeable and vcorruptible, as truth is: It cannot be accounted to be of any other nature than they. The same opinion doth Plutarke also attribute vnto him, which appeareth almost in euery leafe of his writings. As touching the auncienter sorte of Platonists, they agree all with one accord in the immortallitie of the Soule, sauing that some of them deriue it from God, and some from

the

the Soule of the World, some make but the Reason or minde onely to be immortall, and some the whole Soule: which disagreement may well be salued, if we say that the soule all whole together is immortall in power or abilitie, though the execution & performance of the actions which are to be done by the body, be forgoone with the instruments or members of the body.

The disagreement concerning this point among such as a man may vouchsafe to call by the name of Philosophers, seemeth to haue begonne at Aristotle, howbeit that his Disciples count it a commendation to him, that he hath giuen occasion to doubt of his opinion in that behalfe. For it is certaine that his newfound doctrine of the Eternitie or euerlastingnesse of the World, hath distroubled his braine in many other things, as commonly it falleth out, that one error breedeth many other. Because nature (saith he) could not make euery man particularly to continue for euer by himselfe, therefore she continueth him in the kinde by matching Male and Female together. This is spoken either grossely or doubtfully. But whereas he saith that if the Minde haue any inworking of it owne without any helpe of the Sences or of the body, it may also continue of it selfe, concluding thereupon that then it may be separated from the body, as an immortall thing from a thing that is transitorie and mortall: It followeth consequently also, that the Soule may haue continuance of it selfe, as whereof he uttereth these words, namely, That the Soule cometh from without, and not of the seede of Man as the body doth, and that the Soule is the onely part in vs that is Diuine. Now, to be Diuine and be to Humane, to be of seede & to be from without, that is to say, from God, are things flat contrary, whereof the one sort is subiect to corruption, and the other not. In the tenth booke of his Moralles he acknowledgeth two sorts of life in man, the one as in respect that he is composed of Body and Soule, the other as in respect of Minde onely, the one occupied in the powers which are called humane and bodily, which is also accompanied with the felicitie in this life, and the other occupied in the vertues of the minde, which is accompanied also with a felicitie in another life. This which consisteth in contemplation, is better than the other, and the felicitie thereto belonging, is peculiarly described by him in his booke of Heauen aboue Time, as which consisteth in the franke and free working of the Minde, and in beholding the souereine God. And in good sooth, full well both Michael of Ephesus vpon this saying of his conclude, that the Soule is immortall, and so must all his Moralls needes doe, considering that to liue well, whether it be to a mans self or towards other men, were els a vaine thing and to no purpose but to bere our mindes in this life. In his booke of the Soule, he not onely separateth the Body from the Soule, but also putteth a difference betwixt the Soule it self & the Minde,

Aristotle in his second booke of li-
uing things.

Aristotle in the third booke
of the Soule.

Aristotle in his
tenth booke
of moralles.

Michael of E-
phesus vpon
Aristotles
Moralles.

*ἡ ψυχή, ἡ νοῦς, ἡ
 διάνοια, ἡ ψυχή,
 ἡ νοῦς, ἡ διάνοια,
 ἡ ψυχή, ἡ νοῦς,
 ἡ διάνοια, ἡ ψυχή*
 In his second
 booke of the
 Soule.

terming the Soule the intworking of the body and of the bodily instruments; and the minde that reasonable substance which is in vs, where of the doings haue no fellowship with the doings of the body, an where of the Soule is (as Plato saith) but the Garment. This minde (saith he) may be seuered from the body, it is not in any wise mingled with it, it is of such substance as cannot be hurt or wrought vpon, it hath being and continuance actually and of it selfe, and euen when it is seperated from the body, then is it immortall and euerlasting. To be short, it hath not any thing like vnto the body. For it is not any of all those things which haue beeing afore it vnderstand them. And therefore which of all bodily things can it be? And in another place he saith thus: As concerning the Minde, and the contemplatiue powre, it is not yet sufficientlie apparant what it is. Neuerthelesse it seemeth to be another kinde of Soule, and it is that onely which can be seperated from the corruptible, as the which is aye euerlasting. To be short, when as he putteth this question, whether a Natural Philosopher is to dispute of al maner of soules, or but onely of that Soule which is immaterial: it followeth that he granteth that there is such a one. And againe, when as he maketh this Argument, Looke what G O D is euerlastinglie, that are we in possibilitie according to our measure: But he is euerlastinglie seperated from bodily things, therefore the time will come that we shall be so too. He taketh it that there is an Image of G O D in vs, yea euen of the Diuine nature which hath continuance of it selfe. Very well and rightly therefore doth Simplicius gather thereof, the immortallitie of the Soule. For it dependeth vpon this seperation and vpon continuance of beeing of it selfe. Besides this he saith also, that hunting of beastes is graunted to man by the lawe of Nature, because that thereby man chalengeth nothing but that which naturally is his owne. By what right I pray you, if there be no moze in himselfe than in them? And what is there moze in him then in them, if they haue a Soule equall vnto his? Here vnto make all his commendations of Godlines, of Religion, of blessednesse, and of contemplation. For to what ende serue all these, which doe but cumber vs here belowe? Therefore surely it is to be concluded, that as he spake doubtfully in some one place, so he both termed and also taught to speake better in many other places, as appeareth by his Disciple Theophrastus, who speaketh yet moze evidently thereof than hee.

In the last
 booke of the
 parts of beasts
 In the tenth of
 his Supernaturalles.
 In his first
 booke of matters
 of state.

The opinion
 of the Latin
 wrijers.

The Latins (as I haue said afore) fell to Philosophie somewhat later then the Creekes. And as touching their common opinion, the exercises of superstition that were among them, the maner of speeches which we marke in their Histories, the contempt of death, and their hope of another life; can giue vs sufficient warrant thereof. Cicero speaketh
 vnto

unto vs in these wordes. The originall of our Soules and Mindes cannot be found in this lowe earth: for there is not any mixture in them, or any compounding that may seeme to be bred or made of the earth. Neither is there any moisture, any windinesse, or any fire matter in them. For no such thing could haue in it the powre of memory, Vnderstanding and conceit, to beare in minde things past, to foresee things to com, and to consider things present, which are matters altogether Diuine. And his conclusion is, that therefore they be deriued from the Spinde of G D D, that is to say, not bred or begotten of Man, but created of God: not bodilie, but vnbodilie; whereupon it followeth that the Soule cannot be corrupted by these transitorie things. The same Cicero in another place saith that betwene God and Man there is a kinred of reason, as there is betwene man and man a kinred of blode. That the fellowship betwene man and man commeth of the moztall body, but the fellowship betwene God and Man commeth of God himselfe who created the Soule in vs. By reason whereof (saith he) we may say we haue Alliance with the heauenly sort, as folke that are descended of the same race and roote, whereof that we may euermore be mindfull, we must looke vp to heauen as to the place of our birth, whither we must one daie returne. And therefore yet once againe he concludeth thus of himselfe. Thinke not (saith he) that thou thy selfe art mortall, it is but thy bodie that is so. For thou art not that which this outward shape pretendeth to be, the Minde of Man is the man in deede, and not this lump which may be pointed at with ones Finger. Assure thy selfe therefore that thou art a GOD For needes must that be a God, which liueth, perceiueth, remembereth, foreseeeth, and finally reigneth in the bodie as the great God the maker of all things doth in the vniuersall world. For as the eternall God ruleth & moueth this transitory world, so doth the immortal Spirit of our soule moue & rule our fraile bodie. Verunto consent al the wziters of his time, as Ouid, Virgil & others, whole verses are in euery mans remembrance.

Cicero in his first booke of his Tusculane Questions, & in his booke of Comfort.

Cicero in his second booke of the Nature of the Gods: and in his first booke of Lawes.

In Scipioes dreame.

Ouid in his first booke of Metamorphosis.

*There wanted yet the wight that should all other wights exceede
In lofty reach of stately Minde, who like a Lord in deede
Shouldoner all the residue reigne, Then shortly came forth Man,
Whome either he that made the worlde and all things else began,
Created out of seede diuine, or els the earth yet yoong
And lately parted from the Skie, the seede thereof vncloong
Retained still in fruitfull wombe: which Iapets sonne did take,
And tempering it with water pure, a wight thereof did make,
Which should resemble euen the Gods which soueraine state doe hold.
And where all asher things the ground with groneling eie behold,
He gaue to man a stately looke and full of Maiestie,
Commanding him with stedfast looke to face the starrie Skie.*

Here

Seneca writing to Gallio and to Lucilius.

Seneca concerning the Lady Martiaes Sonne and the shortnesse of this life in his Questions and in his booke of Comfort.

Fauorinus.

Here a man might bring in almost all Senecaes writings; but I will content my selfe with a few sayings of his. Our Soules (saith he) are a part of Gods Spirit, and sparkes of holy things shining vpon the earth. They come from another place than this lowe one. Whereas they seeme to bee conuersant in the bodie, yet is the better part of them in Heauen, alway neere vnto him which sent them hither. And how is it possible that they should be from beneath, or from aniwhe els than from aboue, seeing they ouerpasse all these lower things as nothing, and hold skorne of all that euer we can hope or feare? Thus ye see how he teacheth that our Soules come into our bodies from aboue. But whither go they againe, when they depart hence? Let vs here him what he saies of the Ladie Martiaes sonne that was dead. He is now euerlasting (saith he) and in the best state, bereft of this earthly baggage which was none of his, and set free to himselfe. For these bones, these sinewes, this coate or skinne, this face, and these seruiceable hands, are but fetters and prisons of the Soule. By them the soule is ouerwhelmed, beaten downe, and chased away. It hath not a greater battell, than with that masse of flesh. For feare of being torne in peeces, it laboreth to returne from whence it came, where it hath readie for it an happie and euerlasting rest. And againe: This Soule cannot be made an Outlawe: for it is a kin to the Gods, equall to the whole world, and to al time, and the thought or conceit thereof goeth about the whole Heauen, extending it selfe from the beginning of all time to the vttermost point of that which is to come. The wretched corps being the Iayle and fetters of the Soule, is tossed to and froe. Vpon that are torments, murthers, and diseases executed. As for the Soule, it is holy and euerlasting, and cannot be laide hand on. When it is out of this bodie, it is at libertie and set free from all bondage, and is conuersant in that beautifull place (wherefoeuer it be) which receiueth mens Soules into the blessed rest thereof as soone as they be deliuered from hence. To be short, he seemeth to picke very neere to the rising againe of the dead. For in a certeine Epistle to Lucillus, his wordes are these. Death, whereof we be so much afraide, doth not bereaue vs of life, but onely discontinue it for a time, and a day will com that shall bring vs to light againe. This may suffice to giue vs knowledge of the opinion of that great personage, in whome we see that the more he grew in age, the neerer he came still to the true birth. For in his latestt bookes he treateth alwaies both more assuredly & more euidently thereof.

And the saying of Phauorinus is notable. There is nothing great on earth, (saith he) but Man, and nothing greate in Man, but his Soule. If thou mount vp thither, thou mountest aboue Heauen. And if thou stoope downe againe to the bodie, and compare it with the Heauen, it is lesse than a Flie, or rather a thing of nothing. At one worde, this is
as

as much to say, as that in this clod of clay, there dwelleth a diuine & incorruptible nature: for how could it els be greater than the whole worlde?

As touching the Nations of olde time, we reade of them all, that they had certeine Religions and diuine Seruices, so as they beleued that there is a Hell, and certeine fieldes which they call the Elysian fieldes, as we see in the Poets Pindarus, Diphilius, Sophocles, Euripides and others. The more superstitious that they were, the more sufficiently doe they witnesse vnto vs what was in their Conscience. For true Religion and Superstition haue both one ground, namely the Soule of man; and there could be no Religion at all, if the Soule liued not when it is gone hence. We reade of the Indians, that they burned themselves afoze the came to extreame old age, terming it the letting of men loose, and the freeing of the Soule from the body: and the sooner that a man did it, the wiser was he esteemed. Which custome is obserued still at this day among the people that dwell by the Riuer Niger otherwise called the people of Senega in Affricke, who offer themselves willinglie to be buried quicke with their Paisters. Al the demonstrations of Logike and Mathematike (saith Zeno.) haue not so much force to proue the immortalitie of the soule, as this onely doing of theirs hath. Also great Alexander hauing taken prisoners ten of their Philosophers, (whom they call Gimnosophists) asked of one of them to trie their wisdom, whether there were mo men alieue or dead. The philosopher answered, that there were moe alieue: Because (saith he) there are none dead. We may well thinke they gaue a drie mocke to all the arguments of Aristotle and Callisthenes, which with all their Philosophie had taught their Scholler Alexander so euill. Of the Thracians, we reade that they sorrowed at the birth of men and reioiced at the death of them, yea euen of their owne Childezen. And that was because they thought that which we call death, not to be a death in dede, but rather a very happie birth. And these bee the people whome Herodorus reporteth to haue bene called the Neuerdying Getes, and whome the Greekes called the Neuerdying Getes or Thracians. Who were of opinion that at their departing out of this worlde, they went to Zamolxis or Gebeleize, that is to say (after the interpretation of the Getish or Gorish tongue) to him that gaue them health, saluation or welfare, and gathered them together. The like is said of the Galles, chieflie of the inhabitors about Marilles. and of their Druiges; of the Hetruscians and their Withops; and of the Scythians and their Sages of whom all the learning and wisdom was grounded vpon this point. For looke how men did spread abroad, so also did this doctrine, which is so deeply printed in man, that he cannot but carie it continually with him. Which thing is to be scene yet more in that which we reade concerning the hearers of Hegesias the Cyrenian,

who

The common opinion of all nations.

Porphyrius in his 4. booke of Abstinence.

Which with their owne hands made the fire to burne their bodies in: and sawe alieue the kindled flame that should consume their Skinne.

Gebeleize; that is to say Register or Giuer of ease: and rest.

Heracles in
his x Chapter

Plutark in his
treatise of the
slow punish-
ing of the wic-
ked.

who died willingly after they had hard him discourse of the state of mens Soules after this life; and likewise concerning Cleombrotus the Ambra-ciote, who slewe himselfe when he had read a certeine treatise of the im-mortalitie of the Soule. For had it not bene a doctrine most euident to mans wit, they would neuer haue bene caried so farre by it, as to the hurting of their bodies. And if among so many people, there be per-chance some selwe wretched captiues, that haue bozned themselves on hand the contrary, which thing neuerthelesse they could neuer yet fully perswade themselves to be out of al doubt or question: surely we may be-leeue that they had very much adoe and were vtterly besotted like Dun-kards, afoze they could come to that point: so as we may well say of them as Hierocles the Pythagorist said: namely, That the wicked would not haue their Soules to be immortall, to the intent they might not be pu-nished for their faults: But yet that they preuent the sentence of their Iudge, by condemning themselves vnto death afore hand. But if they will neither heare **GOD**, nor the whole worlde, nor themselves: let them at leastwise hearken to the Deuil as wel as they do in other things, who (as saith Plutarke) made this answer to Corax of Naxus and others in these verses.

*It were a great wickednesse for thee to say
The Soule to be mortall or for to decay.*

And vnto Pylytes he answered thus.

*As long as the Soule to the body is tyde,
Though loth, yet all sorrowes it needes must abide.
But when fro the body Death doth it remooue,
To heauen by and by then it flies vp aboue.
And there euer youthfull in blisse it doth rest,
As God by his wisdome hath set for the best.*

The opinion
of the later
Philosophers.

Not that any saying of the Deuilles owne is to be alledged in wit-nesse of the trueth; furtherforth than to shewe that he speakes it by com-pulsion of Gods mightie power, as wicked men diuers times do when they be vpon the Racke. Now we be come to the time or nere to the time that the heauenlie doctrine of Iesus Christ was spzed ouer the whole worlde, vnto which time I haue proued the continuall succession of that doctrine, which could not but be vnseperably ioyned with the suc-cession of men. But from this time forth it came so to light among al na-tions and all persons; that Sainct Austin after a sozt triumphing ouer vngodlinesse, crieth out in diuers places, saying: Who is now so very a foole or so wicked, as to doubt stil of the immortality of the soule? Epictet-us a Stoick philosopher, who was had in very great reputation among al men of his time, is ful of godly sayings to the same purpose. May we not be ashamed (saith he) to leade an yn honest life, and to suffer our selues

selues to be vanquished by aduersitie? we be alied vnto God, we came from thence, and we haue leaue to returne thither from whence we came. One while, as in respect of the Soule, he termeth man the offspring of **G O D**, or as it were a branch of the Godhead; and another while he calleth him a diuine Impeor; a sparke of God: by all which words (howbeit that they be somewhat vnproper) (for what words can a man find to fit that matter?) he sheweth the vncorruptiblenesse of the substance of mans Soule. And whereas the Philosopher Simplicius hath so diligently commented vpon his booke, it doth sufficiently answere for his opinion in that case, without expressing his wordes here. Plotinus the excellentest of all the Platonists, hath made nine treatises expressly concerning the nature of the Soule, besides the things which he hath written dispersedly here and there in other places. His chiefe conclusions are these. That mens Soules proceede not of their bodies, nor of the seede of the Parents, but come from aboue, and are as ye would say grafted into our bodies by the hand of God: That the Soule is partly tied to the body and to the instruments thereof; and partly franke, free, workefull, and continuing of it selfe; and yet notwithstanding that it is neither a body nor the harmonie of the bodie, but (if we consider the life and operation which it giueth to the body) it is after a sort the perfection (or rather the perfectior) of the body; and if we haue an eye to the vnderstanding whereby it guideth the mouings and doings of the body; it is as a Conseruour of the body: That the further it is withdrawn from the Senses, the better it discourseth of things; insomuch that when it is vtterly sepeparated from them, it vnderstandeth things without discoursing, reasoning or debating, yea euen in a moment; because this debating is but a certeine lightening or brightnesse of the minde, which now taketh aduise in matters whereof it doubteth, and it doubteth wheresoeuer the body yeldeth any impediments vnto it; but it shall neither doubt nor take aduise any more when it is once out of the body, but shall conceiue the truth without wauering: That the Soule in the body is not properly there as in a place, or as in a ground, because it is not contained or comprehended therein, & may also be separated from it; but rather if a man had eyes to see it withal, he should see that the bodie is in the Soule, as an accessory is in a principall, or as a thing contained in a container, or a heading or liquid thing in a thing that is not liquid, because the Soule imbrazeth the body, and quickneth it, and moueth it equally and alike in al parts. That euery abilitie thereof is in euery part of the body, as much in one part as in another, as a whole Soule in euery part; notwithstanding that euery seuerall ability thereof seeme to be seuerally in some particuler member or part, because the instruments thereof are there, as the sensitiue ability seemeth to rest in the head, the irerfull in the heart,

Epictetus.
encheiridion

Simplicius.

Plotinus.

Plotin. lib. 1.
Ennead. 4. c. 6.
concerning the
Being of the
Soule, & lib. 2.
cap. 1. & lib. 3.
cap. 18. 19. 20.
21. 23. lib. 4.
cap. 11. & the
seauenth
book through
out.

heart and quickning in the Liver, because the Sineswes, Heartstrings and Vaines come from those parts: Whereas the reasonable power is not in any part, saving so farre forth as it worketh and hath his operation there, neither hath it neede of place or instrument for the executing of it selfe. And to be shoyt, that the Soule is a life by it selfe, a life all in one, unpertable; which causeth to grow, and groweth not it selfe, which goeth throughout the bodie, and yet is not contained of the bodie; which uniteth the Sences, and is not devided by the Sences, and therefore that it is a bodilisse substance, which cannot be touched neither from within nor from without, having no neede of the bodie either outwardly or inwardly, and consequently is immortall, diuine, yea and almost a very God: Which things he proueth by many reasons, which were too long to bee rehearsed here. Yea he proceedeth so farre as to say, that they which are passed into another world, haue their memory still, notwithstanding that to some mens seeming it goe away with the Sences as the treasury of the Sences. Howbeit he affirmeth it to be the more excellent kinde of memoze, not that which calleth things againe to minde as already past, but that which holdeth & beoldeth them still as alwaies present. Of which two sorts, this latter he calleth Spindfulness, and the other he calleth Remembrance. I will ad but onely one sentence more of his for a full president of his Doctrine. The Soule (saith he) hath had company with the Gods, and is immortall, and so would we say of it (as Plato affirmeth) if we sawe it faire & cleere. But forasmuch as we se it commonly troubled, we thinke it not to be either diuine or immortall, howbeit that he which will discerne the nature of a thing perfectly, must consider it in the very owne substance or being, vtterly vnmixed with any other thing. For whatsoever els is added into it, doth hinder the perfect discerning of the same. Therefore let euery man behold himselfe naked without any thing saue himselfe, so as he looke vpon nothing els than the bare Soule: & surely when he hath viewed himselfe in his owne nature merely as in respect of his Minde he shall beleue himselfe to be immortall, For he shall see that his Minde aimeth not properly at the sensible and mortal things, but that by a certeine euerlasting power, it taketh hold of the things that are euerlasting, and of whatsoever is possible to be conceiued in vnderstanding: insomuch that euen it selfe becommeth after a sort a very World of vnderstanding and light. This is against those which pretend a weakenes of the Soule, by reason of the inconueniences which it endureth very often in the body.

Of the same opinion are Numenius, Iamblicus, Porphyrius, and Proclus, notwithstanding that now and then they passe their boundes, suffering their wits to runne roye. For in their Philosophie they had none other rule, than onely the drift of their owne reason. It was commonly

Plotinus in
his booke of
the Senles, &
of Memory.
En. 4. lib. 3. and
in his booke
of doubts con-
cerning the
Soule cap. 26.
27.

monly thought that Alexander of Aphrodise belæued not the immortallitie of the Soule, because he defined it to be the forme of the body proceeding of the mixture and temperature of the Elements. Surely these words of his doe vs to vnderstand, either that he ment to define but the sensitive life onely (as many others doe) and not the reasonable soule, or that he varieth from himselfe in other places. And in very deede hee saith immediatly after ward, that he speaketh of the things which are subiect to generation and corruption. But speaking of the Soule he saith it is separable, immateriall, unmixed, and void of passions, vnlesse perchance we may thinke as some doe, that by this Soule he meane but onely God and not also the Soule that is in vs, for the which thing he is sharply rebuked by Themistius, who notwithstanding speaketh neuer a whit better thereof himselfe. Howsoeuer he deale elsewhere, these words of his following are without any doubtfullnes at all. The Soule (saith he) which is in vs, cometh from without and is vncorruptible, I say vncorruptible because the nature thereof is such, and it is the very same that Aristotle affirmeth to come from without. And in his second booke of Problemes, searching the cause why the abilities of the Soule are oftentimes impeached: If a mans braine be hurt (saith he) the reasonable soule doth not well execute the actions that depend thereon. But yet for all that, it abideth still in it selfe, vnnchangeable of nature, abilitie and power, through the immortalitie thereof. And if it recouer a sound instrument, it putteth her abilities in execution as wel as it did afore. But I wil reaso more at large hereafter against the opinion that is fathered vpon him.

What shall we say of Galene, (who fathereth the causes of all things as much as he can, vpon the Elements and the mixture & agréable concord of them) if after his disputing against his owne Soule, he be constrained to yeld that it is immortal: Surely in his booke concerning the manners of the soule he doth the worst that he can against Plato: and in another place he doubteth whether it be immortal, and whether it haue continuance of it selfe or no. Yet notwithstanding, in his booke of the doctrine of Hippocrates and Plato, It must needes be graunted (saith he) that the Soule is either a sheere body and of the nature of the Skye, (as the Stoikes and Aristotle himselfe are inforced to confesse) or els a bodilesse substance, whereof the body is as it were the Chariot, & where by it hath fellowship with other bodies. And it appeareth that he inclineth to this latter part: For he maketh the vital spirit to be the excellentest of all bodily things, and yet he graunteth the Soule to be a far more excellent thing than that. What shall we the do: Let vs weigh his words set down in his booke of the conception of a child in the Mothers womb. The Soule of Man (saith he) is an influence of the vniuersall Soule that descendeth from the heavenly Region, a substance that is capable

Alexander of Aphrodise in his bookes of the Soule.

In his second booke of Problemes.

Galen in his booke of the Manners of the Soule.

In his booke of the doctrine of Hippocrates and Plato.

In his booke of Conception.

of.

of knowledge, which aspireth alwaies to one substance like vnto it selfe, which leaueth all these lower things to seeke the things that are aboue, which is partaker of the heavenly Godhead, and which by mounting vp to the beholding of things that are aboue the heauens, putteth it selfe into the presence of him that ruleth all things. **W**ere it reason then that such a substance comming from elsewhere than of the body, and mounting so farre aboue the body, should in the inde die with the body, because it vseth the seruice of the body?

The vniuersal
consent.

In the Alcoran
Azo. 25. and
42.

It appeareth
by the stories
of the East
and West In-
dies.

Against Auer-
rhoes.

Let the Rea-
der beare
these termes
and their sig-
nifications in
Minde, for all
the discourse
here ensuing.

Now hereunto I coulde adde infinite other sayings of the annient authoys both Greeke and Latine Philosophers, Poets, and Oratoys from age to age, wherein they treat of the iudgement to come, of the rewarde of good men, of the pnnishment of euill men, of Paradise and of Hell, which are appendants to the immortallitie of the Soule: but as now I wil but put the reader in minde of them by the way, reseruing them to their peculiar places. **T**o be short, let vs runne at this day from East to West, and from North to South, I say not among the Turkes, Arabians, or Persians, (for their Alcoran teacheth them that mans Soule was breathed into him of God, and consequently that it is incorruptible) but even among the most barbarous, ignorant and beastly people of the Worlde, I meane the very Caribies and Cannibals, and we shall finde this beleefe receiued and imbraced of them all. **W**hich giueth vs to vnderstande, that it is not a doctrine inuented by speculations of some Philosophers, conueied from Countrie to countrie by their disciples, perswaded by likelihoods of reasons, or (to be short) intered into mans wit by his eares: but a native knowledg, which euery man findeth and readeth in himselfe, which he carrieth euerywhere about with himself, and which is as easie to be perswaded vnto all such as beleeue themselves in themselves, as it is easie to perswade a man that neuer sawe his owne face, to beleeue that he hath a face, by causing him to behold himselfe in a glasse.

There remaine yet two opinions, to be confuted. **T**he one is the opinion of Auerrhoes, and the other is the opinion of Alexander of Aphrodise, who affirme themselves to hold both of Aristotle, namely in that they vpholde that there is but one vniuersall reasonable Soule or minde, which worketh all our discourses in vs, howbeit diuersely in euery seuerall person. And this thing (if we beleeue Auerrhoes) is done according to the diuersitie of the Phantasies or Imaginations where with the minde is serued as with instruments. **B**ut if we beleeue Alexander, it is done according to the diuersities of the capable minde as they terme it, that is to say, of the abilitie or capabilitie that is in men to vnderstand things, by rectining the impression of the vniuersal minde that worketh into euery of them which in respect thereof is called of them the worker.

worker. Soothly these opinions are such as may be disproued in one worde. For this onely one Spinde, whether in possibilitie or in action, could not haue receiued or imprinted in euery man one selfesame common beleefe and conceit of the immortallitie of the Soule, in so great diuersitie of imaginations, and in so many Nations, as we see doe beleue it, considering that the very same conceit is directly repugnant against it. Nay, it may well be said that Auerrhoes and Alexander had very diuers conceits and imaginations one from another, and very contrary to all other mens, seeing they had so diuers and contrary opinions imprinted either in their minde or in their imagination. Whobeyt soe much as there may be some y will make a doubt of it; Let vs examine them seuerally yet moze aduisedly. First Auerrhoes will needs beare Aristotle on hand, that Aristotle is of that opinion. Let vs see how this surmise of his can agree with the propositions which Aristotle hath left vs. Aristotle telleth vs that the Soule is knit to the body as the forme or shape to the matter, that the Soule hath thre chiefe powers, namely of life, of sence, and of vnderstanding; & that the vnderstanding part containeth in his power both the other two powers, as a fiesquare containeth both a fowersquare & a triangle. Wherupon it followeth that if any one of the thre powers of the Soule be ioyned to the body as a forme to the matter; all the thre be ioyned so too, as which are all in one soule as in their roote. Now Auerrhoes neither can nor will denie that the powers of growing & of perceiuing by the sences are ioyned after that maner to the body, and therefore it followeth that the vnderstanding power is so ioyned also, and consequently that according to Aristotle, as euery bodie hath his forme, so euery body hath his Soule. The same Aristotle findeth fault with the former Philosophers for holding opinion that a soule might passe out of one man into another: because (saith he) that euery certeine Soule must needs be appoynted & appointed to some one certeine body. Now looke by what Soule a man liueth, by the same Soule both he vnderstand: so; it is but one Soule indued with thre diuers abilities, as he himselfe teacheth openly. One vnderstanding or minde therefore, must (according to Aristotle) worke but in one seuerall body, and not in many bodies. Also according to Aristotle, a Man & a Beast agree in this, that both of them haue one sensitive power and one selfesame imagination of things perceined by the Sences, & that they differ in this, that man hath yet further a minde and reason aboue the beast, which thing the beast hath not. Now if this vnderstanding or minde be without the man, as the Sonne is without the Chamber that it shineth into and inlighteneth, then cannot he be called reasonable or indued with vnderstanding, neither both he consequently differ from a beast. For y difference must be in nature, & not in accident. And so should it inue that Aristotles

Auerrhoes, vpon Aristotles third booke of the Soule.

Aristotle in his second booke of the Soule,

Aristotle in his first booke of the Soule.

foresaid definition of a man is false, as if he should define a Chamber by the shining of the Sunne into it: Or say that a Dog differeth not from a man in kinde; yea and that Beasts are capable of understanding, soz as much as they haue Imagination ready aforeshande to receiue the influence thereof as well as we. But Aristotle is alwaies one in his defining both of beast and of man; and Auerrhoes also holdeth himself to it, without doubting thereof at all. This conclusion therefore cannot in any wise be upheld by such grounds.

Againe, if there be not in euery seueral man a seuerall minde, but onely one vniuersall minde common to al men, which becommeth diuers by the onely diuersitie of our Imaginations: When in respect that we haue sundry imaginations, we shalbe sundry liuing wights; and in respect that we haue al but one minde, we shal be al but one man. For man is not man in respect of his sensitive power, but in respect of the reasonable part which is the minde. But Aristotle graunteth that we be not onely diuers liuing wights, but also diuers men. And therefore he must needs meane also, that we haue not onely diuers imaginations, but also diuers mindes. Now besides many other Reasons that might be alledged, ye might adde this also, That otherwise, Aristotles Poralles and his discourses concerning Justice, Freewill, the immortallitie of the soule, the happie blisse, the reward of the good, & the paines of the wicked, were vtterly fruitles and to no purpose: For as our fancies or imaginations did come and goe, so would al those things come & go likewise, and so should they haue no continuance of themselves, but onely be as a shadow & vaine fantasie. But let Aristotle alone, (for he hath wrong) and let vs come to the matter it self. The Philosophers do ordinarily make a double minde; the one which they call possible or impossibilitie, which is capable & of abilitie to understand things; and this they liken to a smooth table; the other they call working or workeful, which bringeth the abilitie into act, whereas notwithstanding they be not two mindes, but two seuerall abilities of onely one minde. Nowe, as for this abilitie or possibility of understanding, we as firme it to be in the Soule of euery man. Contrariwise, Auerrhoes affirmed onely one vniuersall capable minde to be shed abroad euerywhere throughout all men; and that the same is diuersely perfected and brought into act in euery seueral man, according to the diuersitie of the Imaginations which the man conceiueth, even by the helpe or influence of the said vniuersall workefull minde, which he saith is also a substance seuered from man, and (in respect of the understanding in possibilitie) is as the Sunne is to the sight of our eyes, and the understanding in possibilitie is to the imaginations, as the sight is vnto colours. Now, I demaund first of all, whether these vniuersall mindes of his, be substances created or vncreated. If they be created, where becommeth then his conclusion,

clation, That the worlde is without beginning, and without ending, seeing that he will haue them to be continued eueralstingly in all men that haue bene, are, or shall be? If they be vncreated, how can so excellent substances be made subiect to our fond imaginations, to yelde influence into them at their pleasures? Or rather how happeneth it that they correct them not? How happeneth it that they leaue them in such errors, yea euen in the knowledge of themselves, seeing that by the erring of the imaginations, the very vnderstanding & reason themselves must also needs be so often beguiled? Again, as concerning these substances, which extend into so many places, are the Bodies or Spirits? how can they be Bodies, seeing they be in infinite places at one instant, and do infinite things, yea and that contraries? And if they be Spirits doth it not follow thereupon, that they be wholly in all men, and wholly in euery man; that is to say, that euery man hath them whole to himselfe? And therefore that if they be deceiued by the fantasie of any one man, they be consequently deceiued in all men? And whereof comes it then, that one man ouercommeth his imaginations, and another man not? Or that one man resisteth them, and another suffereth himselfe to be caried away by them? Suppose, who can denie that a man willet things, whereof he hath vnderstanding, and likewise that he willet some things which he vnderstandeth not, and that he vnderstandeth some things which he willet not? And also that he willet things contrary euen to his appetits, and concludeth oftentimes contrary to his imaginations, as cometh to passe in dreames and Lookingglasse, which thing the brute Beasts doe not? When a man willet contrary to his appetites, willet he not contrary to his senses, yea and contrary to his imagination too? for what els is fantasie or imagination, than the rebounding backe of the senses? And if this workfull vnderstanding be the onely worker in his possible vnderstanding by meane of imagination, how cometh it to passe that a man willet contrary to his imagination? Again, when either in dreaming or in debating, reason concludeth cleane contrary to that which fancie or imagination offereth, whereof cometh it that a man is contrary to himselfe, or that the deed is contrary both to that which imprinted it, & to that wherein it is imprinted? Also what els is imagination (according to the opinion of Auerroes,) than a certaine operation annexed to the body, streaming vp from the Heart to the Braine? And on the contrary part who can say nay, but that the Will and Understanding are able to performe their operations without the instruments of the body, seeing that a man doth both wil & debate things that are most repugnant to the body? Yea and that (as Aristotle saith) those be not actions which passe into the outward man, but those which abide within and make perfect the inner man? And who can make Will & Understanding to be things depen-

Aristotle in his
tenth booke
of Supernaturals.

ding vpon imagination, seeing that both waking and sleeping and al manner of waies els, they daily vtter infinite iudgements and determinations against it? For we, if we haue nothing in vs about Imagination: then considering that we doe both will and vnderstand, it must needs be that this power or abilitie to will and vnderstand is shed into vs from without. And if it be but onely one vniuersally in all men; then seeing that the actions thereof are executed without the imagination, without the senses, and without the instruments of the body, yea and against them: it followeth that it willet and vnderstandeth in vs whatsoeuer it liketh and listeth, euen in despite of all impediments and lets of the bodie, and that as it is but one, so it shall will but one selfesame thing, & likewise also vnderstand but one selfesame thing in all men. For if (as Aristotle confesseth) our imaginations make not our will and reason subiect vnto them, much lesse do they make & forsaide vniuersal minde subiect to them as Auerrhoes pretendeth. But now contrariwise we see there be as many Wills as men, yea euen in one matter; and that the vnderstandings of men are not onely diuers, but also contrary. It followeth then that euery particular person hath in that behalfe a particular substance, which willet and vnderstandeth, franke & free from all imaginations whensoever it listeth to retire into it selfe, and not that there is but one vniuersal minde which willet and vnderstandeth all things in all men. Besides this, by the iudgement of Aristotle as I said afore, this vniuersal minde could not worke will and vnderstanding in vs: for to will and vnderstand (saith he) are operations that passe not into the matter nor into the outward thing, but abide still in the worker, that is to say in the minde, as actions and perfections thereof.

Let vs yet againe take of that which hath bene said afore. If the said vniuersal onely one working minde, haue wrought from euertlasting in the said vniuersal onely one capable minde, by the imaginations of men: then hath the knowledge of all things bene euermore imprinted in the said capable minde; for it shall euermore haue brought the abilitie into act: And therewithall, the working and perfection of the thing that is euertlasting, shall haue depended vpon a thing that is temporal; which is vnpossible. And although Auerrhoes supposed not the World to be euertlasting: yet notwithstanding, the said capable minde which hath bene set a worke so many hundred yeres, by so many imaginations of men, and in so many sundrie passions, could not now mate with any newe thing wherof it had not the knowledge afore. For this capable minde (saith Auerrhoes) is a certeine spirituall substance, which spreadeth it selfe forth into all men and into all ages, and the nature of such sort of substances is to be all in the whole, and all in euery part thereof. For they be not tied to any one place, but are wheresoeuer they worke.

worke; and their working is in respect of the whole and not in respect of
 any one part, soasmuch as they be undividable. Therefore it should fol-
 low by his opinion (as I haue said afoze) that the one vniuersall capa-
 ble minde is and worketh whole and vnparted in enery man. And if it be
 so, then is the being of it there, not in way of mere ability or possibilitie
 onely, but in way of operation & perfect in working, as a wicked spirit is
 in a Witch, in a Pythonesse or in a possessed person: which spirit, (were
 he possessed of the man as he himselfe possesseth the man, (after which ma-
 ner Auerrhoes affirmeth vs to possess the vnderstanding in possibilitie, by
 our imaginations;) would make the man capable of all that euer the
 spirit himselfe knoweth or is. Whereupon it will follow, that this vnder-
 standing in possibilitie shall euerlastingly in all men from their very
 birth, actually vnderstand and know all things that all men vnderstand,
 as well in the old as the yong, and in the ignorant as the skilful, so as we
 shall haue no more need of sences, nor of imagination to vnderstand with-
 all. To be shor't, although Auerrhoes admitter not the world to be with-
 out beginning: yet at leastwise he will not deny, but that (by his recko-
 ning) they which come into the world at this day, should come farre more
 skilfull than all their predecessors, and the children of them more skil-
 full than their fathers, and the offspring of those children more skilfull
 than those children themselves, and so forth on, because they should suc-
 ceede in the knowledge continued throughout all ages. Whereupon it
 will also insue, that all Sciences shall be equally in all men that make pro-
 fession of them. As for example, we will speake here but of some one spe-
 ciall Science, as Grammar and Arithmetike. Now if there be any diuer-
 sity in the skill thereof, that diuersity cannot come but of the diuersity
 of the subiect or ground wherein the skill is. Now the ground of the skill
 is the capacitie of the minde or vnderstanding, (which Auerrhoes su-
 poeth to be but onely one, common to all men) and not the Imagination,
 which is but a reflexion or rebounding backe of the sence. And so so-
 much as there is (by his saying) but one ground in all men, it followeth
 that the knowledge or skill of this or that Science must needs be equall
 and alike in all men: or els that if it be not equall, but do vary, as we see
 it doth in diuers degrees; then the same varying or diuersity happeneth
 through the diuersity of the ground wherein the skill is, and consequently
 that there is one particular vnderstanding or one peculiar mind in eu-
 ry man, and not one vniuersall minde common to all men. Also it is a ge-
 nerall rule, that the receiuer of a thing hath not the thing afoze he re-
 ceine it. For (as Aristotle saith) that which is to receiue a thing, must
 needes be first vnterly void of the thing which it receiueth. Now afoze
 that our Sence and Imagination had any being at all, this vniuersall
 common minde had receiued and possessed all things afozehand, and not

Aristotle in
 his third
 booke of the
 Soule.

onely receiued th̄, but also kept them together. For as Aristotle himselfe saith, that maner of minde is the place of all vnderkindes and sortes of things, and thereto hath no lesse power than the Imagination, to re- teine whatsoeuer the Sences receiue. In vaine therefore should that vniuersall minde vnderstand by our Imaginations, considering that it vnderstandeth by it selfe: in vaine likewise should the Imaginations imprint those things in it, which were imprinted in it so long agoe: and in vaine is Aristotles setting downe of a workefull vnderstanding, which should bying our vnderstanding in abilitie, from possibilitie into action, if the said onely one vniuersall minde or vnderstanding be perfect of it selfe from euerlasting, as it followeth to be vpon the opinion of Auerrhoes. Neither is it to be said, that although the conceivable vnderkindes of things haue bene imprinted euerlastingly in the said vniuersall minde; yet notwithstanding there needed an Imagination for the vnderstanding of them, as there needeth now whensoever we will vse the things that we haue seene or learned agoe. For by that reckening, to learne all maner of Sciences, we needed no moze but to bethinke vs by imagination, of the things that were already agoehand in the said onely vniuersall one minde, as we do the things that haue bene printed sometime in our memoies, and are somewhat slipped out of our remembrance, and so might we our selues learne al sciences without a teacher, because that in the said vniuersall minde of ours, we should haue all the skill that euery man had attained to, in like maner as the person that hath once had the skill of Arithmetike or Cosmographie thoroughly settled in his minde, needeth no teacher to teach it him againe, but onely to ouerturne his owne imagination, and to search his memoie for the finding againe of that which he had laid by there. Now we knowe that whosoever learneth nothing, knoweth nothing, and that ordinarily he which most studieth, most learneth: and that al the tossing and tnmoyling of a mans owne Imagination that can bee all his life long, wil neuer make him to attaine of himselfe to so much as the very principles of the least science that is. By reason whereof it followeth, That we haue not the skil of any science in vs, vntill we either be taught it, or finde it out by beating our wits about it: and that our imagination serueth not to reuine the Sciences in vs, but to bying them into vs, and to plant them in vs. And forasmuch as al the Sciences should be in al men from the beginning, if there were but one vniuersall minde in all men, (which is not so) it followeth that there is in euery particular person a particular & peculiar minde, and not any one vniuersall minde common to all men. Moreover, our minde atteineth after a sort to the vnderstanding of it selfe: which thing it coulde not doe in very deede, if there were but one vniuersall minde common to all men. For to vnderstand it selfe, it must needs walke vpon it selfe.

But if we belene Auerrhoes, our mind shall but onely be wrought vpon and receiue into it from the Imagination, as a Window receiueth light from the Sunne. Againe, the capacite of the vniuersall vnderstanding in possibilitie, could not doe that. For it becometh it to haue som other thing besides it selfe, to bring it self into action. And surely Imagination could not helpe it. For it doth but offer vp the sensible things vnto it, and attei- neth not so far as to the thinges that are to be discerned by dist of reason. Yet notwithstanding we vnderstand that we vnderstand, and we reason and iudge both of our Imagination, and also of our reasoning and vnder- standing it selfe. The thing then which doth so enter and pearce into it selfe, is another maner of power than an Imagination, or than an vni- uersall vnderstanding in possibilitie. What is to be said to this, that of one selfesame Imagination, one selfesame person concludeth now after one sort, and by and by after in another sort, and thereout of draweth both contrary arguments & contrary determinations: or that diuers persons by diuers imaginations doe close together in one will & one minde? Is it possible that this should procede of an euermlasting substance in one selfe- same person, seeing that euermlastingnesse is not subiect to any chaunge of time or place? Or that it should procede of any one selfesame substance in many men, seeing y the imaginations of them be so diuers one from ano- ther: at leastwise if the said substance worke not but by such instrumets?

As touching the opinion of Alexander of Aphrodise, who bpholdeth a certeine vniuersall working minde that imprinteth thinges in the vn- derstanding in possibilitie, that is to say in euery mans seuerall capacite, and bringeth it forth into action, the most part of the Reasons alledged afoze against Auerrhoes, wil also serue against him. Howbeit soasmuch as by this workfull minde, hee seemeth to meane God himselfe, there is thus much moze to be added vnto it; That God who is altogether good and altogether wise would not imprint in our minde the fond and wic- ked conceits, which we find there, nor leaue so great ignorance and dark- nesse as we seele there, but would in al men ouercome the infection which the body bringeth: and although he inspired not all men alike with his gracious giftes, according to the diuersitie of their capacitie after the maner of a planed Table, yet would he not at leastwise paint the world with so many false Portraictures and Traines, as euery one of vs may perceiue to be in our selues. Againe, were there any such inspiration or influence, it should be either continuall or but by times. If continuall or euermlasting, we should without labour and without cunning vnderstand all that ener our imagination offereth vnto vs. And if it bee but at times, then shoulde it not lie in vs to list or to vnderstande any thing at all, though we would neuer so faine. For contrariwise, we haue much a doe to vnderstand some thinges, so as we must be faine to winne them

Against Alex-
ander of A-
phrodise.

them from our ignorance by perceptive: and there be some other things, which we vnderstand by and by as soone as they be put vnto vs, and whē we list our selues. There is then in vs a power of vnderstanding, though very feble, but yet neuerthelater obedient to our will : which thing cannot be fathered vpon God. Also if there be but onely one Minde working in all men, there shall be but one selfesame vnderstanding in all men, I meane naturally, notwithstanding that it differ in degrees. For into what place soeuer the Sunne doe shed his beames, he doth both inlighten it and heate it, howbeit diuersly according to the nature and condition of places and things that receiue him, some more & some lesse, some brightlier and some dimlier. But howsoeuer the case stande, his light yeldeth no darkenesse, nor his heate any cold. So then, if the diuersities of mens imaginations doe cause diuersities of effects in the inspiration or influence that floweth into the capacitie of our vnderstanding, surely it must needs bee after this maner, namely that one man shall vnderstand one selfesame thing more, and another man lesse; but not in that any man shall take vntrueth for trueth, vnright for right, or one thing for another. Now, we see vnto how many errors we be subiect, I meane not in such things as this, namely, that one man seeth better a farre off, and another better at hand, but that one man seeth white and another seeth blacke (which are contrary) in one selfesame ground and at one selfesame time. It followeth therefore that diuers and sundrie mindes doe worke in diuers persons, and not one selfe same minde in all persons. By forces of which reasons and of such others, I say that euery man shall finde in himselfe and of himselfe, That euery man hath a particular Soule by himselfe, that is to say a spirituall substance vnited to his body, which in respect of giuing life to the body is as the forme thereof, and in respect of giuing reason, is as the guide of our actions: that in euery man there is a certaine Sunbeame of Reason, wherby they conceiue things and debate vpon them, wherethrough it commeth to passe, that oftentimes they agree both in the Reason it self which is one, and in the manifest grounds thereof, and in whatsoeuer dependeth evidently vpon the same : That euery man hath also a peculiar body by himselfe, and likewise peculiar complexion, humors, imaginations, education, custome and trade of life : wherof it commeth that euery man takes a diuers way, yea and that one selfesame person swarueeth diuersly from the vnitie of Reason wherof the path is but one, and the waies to stray from it are infinite : That this Sunbeame of reason which shineth and sheadeth it selfe from our minde, is properly that vnderstanding which is termed The vnderstanding in abilitie of possibilitie, which is increased & augmented by all the things which it seeth, heareth, or lighteth vpon, like fire, which gathereth increase of strength by the abundance of the fuel that is put vnto it. and be-
commeth

cometh after a sozte infinite by spreading it selfe abroad: Also it is the same which otherwise we call the Memory of vnderstanding or mindfull Memorie: and it is nothing els but an abondance of Reason, and as it were a hwyder by of the continuall influences of the Minde: That the Minde from whence it floweth as from his spring, is properly that which they the said Auerrhoes and Alexander doe terme the working or workfull Minde, which is a certeine power or sozre that can skill to extende reason from one thing to another, and to procede from things sensible to things vn sensible, from things mouable to things vnmouable, from bodily to spirituall, from effects to causes, and from beginnings to ends by the meane causes. This Minde is in respect of Reason, as cunning is in respect of an Instrument or toole; and Reason, as in respect of imagination and of the things that are sensible, is as an Instrument or toole in respect of the matter or stuffe that it workes vpon: And to speake more fitly, this Minde is vnto Reason, as the mouer of a thing is to the thing that is moueable, and Reason is to her objects, as the moueable thing is to the thing whereunto it is moued. For to reason or debate, is nothing els but to procede from a thing that is vnderstande, to a thing that is not vnderstande, of purpose to vnderstand it: and the vnderstanding thereof is a resting that inleth vpon it, as a staying or resting after moouing: That both of them as well the one as the other, are but onely one selfe same substance: & like as a mā both when he moueth & when he resteth is all one and the same man, or as the power that moueth the sinewes is one selfe same still, both when it stirreth them, and when it holdeth them still, so the reasonable or vnderstanding Soule that is in euery man, is but onely one selfe same substance bodilesse and immateriall, executing his powers partly of it selfe and partly by our bodies. And seeing that Auerrhoes and Alexander make so great estimation and account of the effects which are wrought in vs, that they be inforced to attribute them to some vncorruptible & euerlasting Minde, let vs take of them, that in very truth the thing which worketh so great wonders in the body, can be neither sence, nor body, nor imagination; but a diuine, vncorruptible and immortall minde, as they themselues say.

But let vs learne the thing of mo than them, which all wise men teach vs, and which euery of vs can learne of himselfe, namely, that this vnderstanding or Minde is not one vniuersal thing as the Sunne is that shineth into all the windowes of a Citie, but rather a peculiar substance in euery seuerall man, as a light to leade him in the darkenesse of this life. For surely it was no more difficultie to the euerlasting God, to create many sundry Soules, & euery man might haue one seuerally alone by himselfe, than to haue created but onely one soule for al men together. But it was farre more for his glory, to be knowne, praised, and exalted of many

many Soules, yea & moze for our welfare to praise, exalt and knowe him, yea and to liue of our selues both in this life and in the life to come: than if any other vniuersall Spirit, Soule or Minde whatsoeuer, should haue liued & vnderstood either in vs or after vs. Now then, for this matter let vs conclude, both by reason, & by antiquitie, and by the knowledge that euery of vs hath of himselfe, that the Soule and the Body be things diuers: That the Soule is a Spirit and not a Body: That this Spirit hath in man three abilities or powers, whereof two be exercised by the body, and the third worketh of it selfe without the body: That these three abilities are in the one onely Soule as in their roote: whereof two doe cease whentoeuer the body faileth them, and yet notwithstanding the Soule abideth whole without abatement of any of her powers, as a Craftsman continueth a Craftsman though he want tooles to worke withall: And finally, that this Soule is a substance that continueth of it selfe, and is vnmateriall and spirituall, ouer the which neither death nor corruption can naturally haue any power.

And for a conclusion of all that euer I haue treated of hitherto in this booke, let vs maintaine, that that there is but onely one God, who by his owne goodnesse & wisdom is the Creator & gouernor of the world and of all that is therein: That in the world he created Man, after his owne Image as in respect of minde, & after the Image of his other creatures as in respect of life, sence, & mouing, mortall so farre forth as he holdeth the likenesse of a creature, and immortall so farre forth as he beareth the Image of the Creator: that is to wit, in his Soule: That he which goeth out of himselfe to se the world, doth forthwith see that there is a God, for his works declare him euerywhere: That he which will yet still doubt thereof, needeth but to enter into himselfe, and he shall meete him there, for he shall finde there a power which he seeth not: That he which belieueth there is one God, belaueth himselfe to be immortall, for such consideration could not light into a mortall nature: and that he which belaueth himselfe to be immortall, belaueth that there is a God: for without the vnutterable power of the one God, the mortall & immortall could neuer toyne together: That he which seeth the order of the world, the proportion of man, & the harmony that is in either of them compounded of so many contraries, cannot doubt that there is a prouidence. For the nature which hath furnished the therewith, cannot be vnfurnished thereof it selfe, but as it once had a care of them, so can it not shake off the same care from them. Thus haue we three Articles which follow interchaungeably one another. Insomuch that he which proueth any one of the, doth proue the all three, notwithstanding that I haue treated of euery of them senerally by it selfe. Now, let vs pray the euerlasting God, that we may glorify him in his works in this world, and he vouchsafe of his mercy to glorifie vs one day in the world to come, Amen.

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The xvj. Chapter.

That mans nature is corrupted, and man false from his first
originall: and how.



¶ For all this, let not man be proud of the
excellencie or immortallitie of his Soule: for
the more he hath receiued of his maker, the
more is he indebted to him: & the more ex-
cellent that his nature is, the more lothsome
and dangerous is the corruption thereof.
The Peacoke is said to be proud of his gay
fethers, when he sets vp his taile round a-
bout him: but whē he hath once stretched out
his wings, he falls into a dump, and as soon
as he looks vpon his state, he casts me down

his taile and is ashamed. Euen so, as long as we thinke vpon the liuelines
of our Spirit, and the excellencie of our Soule as in respect of the nature
thereof; surely we haue whereof to glorifie God that gaue it vnto vs, & of
his gracious goodnesse hath boughsed to honoꝝ vs above all other crea-
tures. On the other side, if we consider how this nature of ours is strange-
ly defiled & corrupted, and how farre it is digressed from the first originall
thereof: surely there is no remedy but we must be ashamed of our selues,
and wonder to see from how great a heighth we be now false and sunke
downe. Euen so the best Wine becometh the sharpest and ragrest Wine-
ger, and of Egges (which were in old time the delicats of Kinges) is
made the rankest poyson. For looke what degree of goodnesse a thing hol-
deth while it abideth in his nature, the same degree of euill doth it come
vnto, when it falleth into corruption. Now then, looke how much our o-
riginal generation was the better, so much shal the corruption that ligh-
teth into it bee the worse: which thing according to the order which I
haue vsed hitherto, we may examine towards God, towards the world,
towards men, and towards our selues.

Greatly in god soth is man bound vnto God, if he would consider
it, and very blinde is he if he haue not the skill to perceiue it. Of the
great

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great multitude of Creatures which God had created, he hath giuen to some but onely bare being; to some, both being and life; and to other some both being, life, and sence; But vnto man he hath giuen all these, and mozeouer a reasonable minde, whereby he (& onely he here beneath) knoweth in al things what they haue & what they be. which thing they themselues know not. Which is an euident p^{ro}ofe, that whatsoeuer they haue o^r whatsoeuer they be, they haue it and are it fo^r man, and not fo^r theselues. Fo^r to what purpose are al their vertues & excellent properties, if they themselues knowe them not? The Sonne excelleth among the celestiall bodies, and the Rose among flowers. The beast is a degree aboue the Trees, & among the beastes, one hath some one point which another hath not. But what skilles it what thou art o^r what thou hast, if thou know it not? What boteth the light, if thou see it not? what art thou the better fo^r swete sents, if thou smell them not? O^r what anai^{le}th it the to excell in any thing if thou discerne it not? Of a trueth onely man of all the things in this inferiour wo^{or}ld, can skill of these things and how to inioy them; and therefore it must nedes be that they were made fo^r none but him; that is to wit, that to speake properly, God hath giuen vnto him whatsoeuer all other creatures either haue o^r be; and he hath not dealt with him simply as with a creature, but rather as with a Childe of his, fo^r whom he hath exp^{re}ssely created this wo^{or}ld and giuen it him to possesse. Now if the thing that is possessed be infinitely lesse than the possessor thereof, and the wo^{or}ld is giuen to man to possesse: how farre then doth man excell the wo^{or}ld? And how greatly is man bound vnto God, who created him of nothing that is to say, not onely hath giuen the wo^{or}ld vnto man, but also giuen euen man to man himselfe? Wherefo^re if he acknowledge not him to whom he is beholden, not onely fo^r this inheritance, but also euen fo^r his owne being: what shall we say but that he is an vnaturall and baserdy childe, euen such a one as hath lost not onely his right minde, but also euen his sences? But of so many men, of whom all & singular persons stand bound, both ioynly and senerally in the whole and fo^r the whole of that great bond fo^r performance of the Condition thereof, how fewe be there which do once thinke of it, and how much fewer be there which thinke well of it? Say, howe fewe be there which know that there is such a bond, and how much fewer doe dispose themselues to acknowledge it? And if perchaunce some one o^r two among many doe dispose themselues therennto, yet notwithstanding who is he that ever was able to attein vnto it, considering that it importeth a yelding vnto God of that which is his due: that is to wit, the imploying of our selues and of all that he hath giuen vnto vs euen our whole being and life, our Sences, our Reason, our doings, & finally all that euer we haue both within & without vs, in his seruice? and that we

we contrariwise turne all things to our selues as to their proper end, yea and euen our selues to our selues which are nothing: If we kept a reckoning of our life, how small a part thereof do we bestowe vpon God: How fewe of our steps doe we walke in his seruice: How fewe of our thoughts are directed vnto him: And if we looke vpon our very praers, what are they but continuall offences, seeing that euen in the midst of our greatest vehemencie, we vanish away by and by into vaine imaginations, and are caried as farre away from our praers into wandring conceits, as heauen is distant from earth, and further: What Sonne will not fall out with him that speaks euill of his Father: Or els all that stand by will count him a coward if he passe it over with silence: Contrariwise, which of vs is moued when he heareth Gods name blasphemed: or if he be moued, that setteth himselfe in defence of him: or if he set himselfe in defence, doth not by and by forget it: What then doth this argue, but that in very trueth, our Soule liueth not, but our body; and that our Soule hath not her moouings and actions free and liuely, seeing it is not moued at the Injuries that are done to the Soule and to the father that made the Soule, but at the wrongs that are done to the body and to the father of the bodie: If a man breake the Scutcheions of our armes, we take it to be a great disgrace to vs, and a touching of our credit; and if he breake our Images or Pictures, we fall out with him and wil neuer be reconciled: And if it be done to a Prince, he makes it a point of high Reason; and that we doe not the like, it is not for want of pride, but for want of power to reuenge it. On the contrary part, which of vs is grieved at the wrong which is done to his neighbour, or rather which wrongeth not his neighbour euery day: Or which is much moued when he seeth a man slaine before his face, vnlesse he be his brother or nere friend: Nay, which of vs our selues doth not daillie kill his brother, either in very deed, or in heart, either with the sword I meane, or by hatred, euen for the least offence that can be pretended, and so feareth or breaketh not the Image of God which he hath painted and ingraued in man, euen euery howe without any regarde: Now what els is this, but that we know not this Image of God to be in our selues: For otherwise how durst we be so presumptuous, as to offer any hurt or harme vnto it, but because the secret consent of all mankind in such outrage, confesseth it to be quite and cleane forgone, or at leastwise to be so disfigured and defaced, and so straungely beraied, that it can scarcely be discerned any more: And because the kindred that is betwene all men, deriued from the father of their Soules, moueth vs very little, but the vile kindred of the flesh moueth vs very much, which is as far inferiour to y other, as there is odds betwixt the soule & a lump of earth, or betwene the fathers of either of them, that is to wit, betwene God and Man: Yet notwithstanding,

The sonne of
the earth.

ding, seeing that the wickeddest man in the world, and such a one as seemeth to be touched with nothing, hauing once slaine him whome he hated most of al men, doth by and by after the deed done, feele a hartbiting in his minde, and a torment in his Conscience, which thing he feleth not for the killing of a thousand beastes every day, what can we say to the cause thereof, but onely the remainder of Gods Image common to all men, which putteth him in minde of the wickednesse that he hath done, and is highly offended at his owne offence, and which (according to this saying The good blood lieth not) maketh our inditement of it selfe, and would faine euen it selfe be reuenged of vs within vs: Therefore let vs say (which thing we cannot deny vnlesse we deny our selues) that God created man to be to him as a child, and that man is growne out of kinde yea straungely growne out of kinde, not regarding (as we see in most men) to be knowne either of his father or of his brethren, (which thing notwithstanding the bastards of this world do seeke to their uttermost to doe) but by his will going about to abolish his pedegree and all his titles of kindred, that he might be called the Sonne of the earth, (which was the name of Bastards in old time) rather than the sonne of him that begat him and created so many things for him to inioy. For prooue whereof to be true, what aime we at in all our studies & indeuers, but the earth & earthly things? Had we continued stil in our original creation, we should according to the spirituall substance of our Soules, haue naturally persued spirituall things, yea and haue mounted vp aboue the very heauenlie things. But where seeke we now our inheritance, our welfare, and our felicitie, but in these transitorie things? And whereof are all our suites & quarrels in the world, but of Cattell, of Cozne & of Land: Wherefore we must needs confesse, that it is a witnesse of the disheriting of Mankinde from the heritage of his father, and that he is in his fathers displeasure and disfauour, and that he doth but runne after Beassecods as the prodigall Childe did, when he hath wasted his inheritance licentiously.

But now to come to those which make most profession of godlinesse, whence (thinke we) cometh the disscult that all of vs haue naturally of Gods goodnesse and assistance, but of the feeling of our iust disherison, which our conscience is grieued at within vs: The sonne of a god and rich father behighteth himselfe as much release as his father is able to yelde, & as he himselfe hath neede of. If not, but that the Child doubt thereof: we presume so farre of the fathers godnesse, that we conclude that his sonne hath offended him, and made himselfe unworthy of his goodnes by some great crime. Now then, seeing that God is the very goodnesse and riches themselves, whereof cometh it that no man can assure himself of them? That no man can rest himselfe bodily enough vpon him: that no man can trust vnto him so assuredly as his goodnesse requireth: and finally

nally that our requests are so full of distrust, and our hearts so full of unbelæse: Surely, seeing the fault cannot be in Gods goodnesse, which is a fountaine that cannot be dryed drie: it must needs be that the fault remaineth alonely in the naughtinesse and frailetie of our selues, which dare not hope for god at the hand of him which is most excellently god, because our whole nature telleth vs that we be unworthy of his grace, by reason we haue offended him too grieuously.

If we consider the government and order of the World, we may euen there also finde apparantly, that man holdeth not himselfe in his state, but is faine from the seate of honour wherein God had placed him. God had set him aloft, aboue the Stones, aboue the Plants, aboue the brute beastes, yea and aboue the worlde it selfe. If he abide still in his degree, whence cometh it that so many men make themselves bondslaves to Gold and other mettals: and that so many men do leade the life of Plants and brute beastes in the bodies of men? some giuing themselves to naught els than to eating, drinking and sleeping, and neuer lifting themselves vp any higher, & othersome consuming and wasting themselves in most beastly delights and pleasures? For what beast is there that would be a Plant, or Plant that sheweth not vp to get out of the ground? To be short, what thing is there in y whole world sauing onely man, which doth not very precisely keepe the owne state and degree? I pray you if a man should see one with a princely Crowne all miry on his head, tilling the ground and following the Plough, what would he thinke but that he were despoiled from the Throne, & y some mischance were befallne him? And what then is to be said of that man, which toyleth in Doonghills and skulketh into corners to swallowe himselfe in a thousand sorts of filthinesse, and imployeth all his wit vpon such things: but that he is faine from the toppe of his minde, and that by the grieuousnesse of that fall, he hath so lamed and maimed all his abilities, that it lieth not in him to returne againe from whence he is faine? For who can deny but he is bozne to greater things than he doeth? Or who can thinke that God hath giuen him an immortall Soule, to the intent he should imploy himselfe altogether about things which are not so much as worthy to be mortall? Or a countenance which he calleth continually to the minding of Heauen, to looke groueling on the mire? Or a Scepter, to play the dizard with it in a Play? Or a triple Pace to rake Doonghilles withall, or to digge the ground withall?

In respect of
the World.

Againe, how is the Lawe and order of gouernement which shineth forth in the whole worlde and in all the partes thereof, turned vpside downe in man who is the Little World, by the disobedience of the Body to the Soule? In Plantes, in Trees, and in brute beastes, the Soule distributeth nourishment by proportion, Their bodies obey the direction

of their Soules without gainsaying, & every abilitie perfoꝛmeth his dutie accordingly. The nurriſhing abilitie followeth his appetites, and goeth not beyond them. The ſenſitive followeth his naturall delights, but it violateth them not. But as foꝛ man, what ſhall we ſay of him? Surely that his body commaundeth his Soule, as if the Plough ſhoulde dꝛaue the Horſes, as they ſay; that his will ſuffereth it ſelfe to be ruled by his appetites, that his reaſon is an vnderling to his ſences, and that his very whole nature is moſt commonly quite out of order. So muſt we needes confeſſe an ouerthrow of nature, in him foꝛ whome neuertheleſſe nature it ſelfe was made, and that man was ſwarued aſide from his right way, ſeeing that all other partes of the World doe followe their Nature, and that Nature it ſelfe teacheth vs it. What is to be ſaid then, but that man is not onely ſaine from the ſtate wherein he was, to be ſet in lower degꝛee than he was afore; but alſo that he is ſaine in himſelfe and from himſelfe, in and from his owne peculiar nature? Poꝛeouer it is manifeſt that the world was created foꝛ mans uſe; foꝛ the world knoweth not it ſelfe, noꝛ the creatures that are therein. And againe, as foꝛ the Angels, they needed it not, and as foꝛ the brute beaſts, they haue no ſkill to vſe it. Onely man hath vnderſtanding to vſe the ſervice thereof, and a body that hath neede of their ſervice. With it is ſo, who can doubt that God created man with a knowledge of his creatures, and alſo gaue him power ouer them? Whereof commeth it then that the beaſts do naturally knowe their ſeaſons, the remedies of their diſeaſes, and Herbes that haue a proprietic of nature to heale them, and that onely man among all other liuing things, knoweth them not, inſomuch as he is ſaine to goe to Schoole to the brute beaſts to learne them? Alſo whereof commeth it that theſe creatures (which ſurely God made not to be ſnares to man, foꝛ that had bene repugnant to the godneſſe of the Creator, but foꝛ mans benefite and ſervice) doe now kicke and ſpurne againſt man, yea euen thoſe which haue no power oꝛ ſtrength at al to withſtand him? Let vs omit Wolves, Leopards, and Lions, which ſeeme to haue ſome force to ouermatch the weakenesse of man. What meaneth it that woꝛmes make vs warre within our Bowels, that vermine deuoureth our Coꝛne, and that the earth yeldeth vs not any kinde of fruite which hath not a peculiar enemy in it, to marre it ere it come to our hand: but to dꝛiue vs to confeſſe, that man muſt needes haue offended his maker right græuouſly, and that whereas Gods putting of his creatures in ſubiectiõ to man, was to the end that man ſhould haue continued in obedience vnto God, now becauſe man hath rebelled againſt Gods Paꝛietie, God alſo ſuffereth thoſe to rebell againſt man, whom he had put in ſubiectiõ to man, yea euen to the very offſcourings of the earth? Foꝛ what els is this contrarietie of the earth to him that tilleth it, of the Sea

to him that saileth it, and of the aire to the successe of all our labours and travels, but a protestation of whole nature, that it disdaineth to serue a creature that was so presumptuous as to disobey his Creator; a creature I say, which by doing seruice to the creatures, hath forgone the authoritie which he had receined of his Maker:

Now consequently let vs consider man towards man. What is there more disordered or more contrarie to nature, than is the nature of man himselfe? If beastes of one kind do kill or eate one another; we take it for an ougly thing. What an ouglinesse then ough it to be vnto vs, when we see how men (who alonely be indued with reason,) do euerie howe kill one another, and rote out one another? May rather is it not a great wonder to see god agreement & freindship, not among Nations, not betwene Countries, not among Companies, but euen in house holds yea and betwene Chamberfellowes? Wolves are cruell: but yet in what race of wolves shall we finde Caribies and Cannibals? Lyons also are cruel: but yet where were they ever seene in battel one against another? Now what is war, but a gathering & packing vp together of all the sorts of beastes that are in the world? And yet what is more common among men then that? A Beast (say some) wil barke or grunt ere he bite, a house will cracke ere it fall downe, and the wind whirleth ere it breake things. But contrariwise what is man towards man? who euen in laughing thze at each, in saluting sleaeth, and vnder faire countenance of courteous intertainement, cloketh a thousand serpents, a thousand Lions, a thousand Quickehands, & a thousand Rocks at once? Well: let vs leaue the wicked which discover themselves too much. What doe we in all our bargaining, buying & selling, but beguile one another? or what doe we in our dalying, but delude one another? And what else is the whole societie of man which we so highly commend, but a selfgaine, and a very incroching one vpon another, the greater sort as tyrants vpon the meaner, the meaner vpon the inferior sort, and the inferior sort one vpon another to take him in some tripp? To be short, if we doe any good, it is but to the end to be seene; as for in secret, we will doe none at all. Againe, if we forbear to doe euill, it is but for feare least the world should know it, and were that feare away, we would sticke at nothing. Where to then serueth vs our reason which should further vs vnto all goodnes, but to couer our naughtinesse, that is to say, to make vs worse and more vnreasonable: yet notwithstanding how vnreasonable so euer we be in all our doings, we cannot but knowe that there is a reason; and were it not in vs, we coulde not conceiue it; and were it not corrupted, we should not swarne from it: & yet if we examine our selues, we shall not be able to deny, but that we digresse very far from it. Wherefore we may wel dæme of our reason, as of an eyesight that is either

In respect of
Man,

impaired or enchanted. It hath the ground of sight still; but yet it stādeth the party in no stead, but only to beguile him by false images & illusions.

Man in respect
of himselfe.

Let vs come to man in himselfe, & see whether at leastwise he loue himselfe better than othermen: & the more we stirre him, the more shall we seele the kincke of his corruption. When a diseased man saies paine, we say there is corruption in his body; and furthermoze that there is a default in nature, or that the partie hath taken some surfet, which hath brought him to that case. Now the what shall we say of the great number of diseases wherewith mankinde is pained, and wherewith he is so wholly ouerwhelmed, that there is not any age of his life, any part of his body, or any small string in any part of his flesh, which hath not some peculiar disease: May I say further, that man alone is subiect to moe diseases, than all other liuing things in this world together. The Philosophers saue it, and haue made bookes expresse thereof, and are utterly amazed and graueled in seeking out the cause therof; and they could neuer yet yeld any Reason therof which might satisfie others or themselves. Neuertheless the most parte of them come to this point, that man is most unhappiest of all liuing wights; and they finde fault with God and nature for it, whom notwithstanding they confesse to haue done nothing but iustly in that behalfe. One saies, that onely Man deaeth himselfe through impatience of grieefe. Another saies, That the life of man is such, as that death is rather to be desired of him than life. And of such speeches doe all their Scholes ring. There is another which with greate wonderment, reckoneth by certaine hundreds of diseases whereunto the eie alone is subiect. Now which of all the beastes hath so much as the thirtieth part of them in his body? Is it likely that God, which hath given to Man so great preheminance aboue all his creatures, created him of purpose to torment him aboue all other creatures? Or rather is it not to be said, that man in his originall was created far after another sort than he now is, whether it be in respect of the Creator himselfe, or of the ende for which he created him? Surely then, let vs say as we haue said afoze, that the verie cause why Man alone hath moe diseases in his body than all other Creatures together; is for that hee hauing abused Gods gracious gifts, hath done moze euil than all they could thinke to doe: and that the very euil & vntowardnes that is in them, is but to punish man withall. As for example, the Haile and Snowe serue not to hurte the earth or the fruites of the earth, but to punish him that should take the benefite of them.

Againe, when we come to consider the Soule and the bodie knit together; what a number of affections doe we meete withal there, (which as saith Plutarke) are so much moze sorrowfull and greuous than the bodily diseases, as the Soule is moze sinful and blameworthy than the bodie

bodie? To bring these passions to some reasonable order, the Philosophers haue made booke expressly of Moral vertue, and giuen precepts (say they) to bring them to obedience: where in they confesse the rebelliousnesse that is naturally in vs against reason. But who seeleth not in himselfe, that their remedies serue not so much to take away the mischief, as to cloke it? Which is a plaine declaration, that it is not a spot which may be washed away, but a deepe impression bonded in nature as it were with a searing iron, which in verie deede is not to bee wiped out againe, but couered; not to be subdued & overcome, but with much adoe to be restrained and held short. Furthermoze, seeing that reason is so much more excellent than passion or affection, as the forme shape or fashion (say they) is more excellent than the matter or stuffe wherein it is: whence commeth this infection in vs, that maketh the matter to overcome the forme, and causeth the forme (as ye would say) to receiue shape and fashion of the matter; that is to say, which putteth reason in subiection to affection, & to the impressions which affection yeeldeth, contrary to the order which is obserued in all the whole world beside? For what els is this Intemperance of ours, but reason (such as it now remaineth) imprinted with lust & concupiscence? And what els is anger, but reason affeinted with choler, & so forth of the rest? And if a man will say, that these things are natural in vs; wherof commeth it that of these affections, we conceiue inwardly remorse, & outwardly shame; yea & that so naturally, as we must of necessitie needs feele them whether we will or no, and can no more let them than we can restraine the beating of our Pulses or the panting of our Hearts: but because that shame & remorse for sinne are naturall in vs, but the sinne to selfe is against nature? As for example, there be things the doing whereof is in vs vice; and in brute Beasts, nature: so they be angry, they aduenge themselves, & they company together indifferently & in open sight: and of so doing they be not ashamed, because it is their nature. Now, were these affections & fleshy pleasures as naturall in vs as in the beasts: as little should wee be ashamed of the, as they. But contrariwise, if an honest man come in while we be angry, by and by our rage is repressed, as who would say our vice did hide it from him: and if a man come vpon vs vnawares in taking our pleasure (yea though it be well lawfull) we blush, as if our bloud were desirous to hide & to couer our doings. Yea and how secretly soeuer we be alone by our selues in execution of our vices, we encounter continually with a companion in our selues, which not only beareth witnes of them, but also condemneth & punisheth them in vs. Sothly then, the motions of anger and lust against reason in man, are not naturall or originall, that is to say, they proceed not of the first creation: but are come in afterward by corruption. And therfore the remorse which happeneth vnto vs

Dio dorus lib.
4.

Herodotus in
his Clio.

Austin in his
woorde of the
Citie of God,
lib. 14 Chap.
17. and 18.

in those passions, is nothing but a secrete (howbeit very lively) war-
ning of nature, which is ashamed to play the brute beast; which thing
she would not be, if those things were originally of mans nature. And
in very deede, the vniuersall consent of mankind in being ashamed
to goe naked, insomuch that they had leuer to see the skinne of a Beast,
or the excrement of a Worme upon themselves, than to see their owne
flesh; and the thing which Saint Austin noteth in all men; namely, that
they will rather do open wrong in all mens sight, than haue to doe with
their lawfull wiues openly; doe evidently shew that the beastring (that
is to say the concupiscence or lust) that is in carnal copulation, is not an
original nature, but a mere corruption thereof. Which thing our present
age (but surely nothing to her praise) may better proue vnto vs than all
the reasons in the world. For certainly, considering the excessive ouerflow-
ing of vices which is to be seene, & the custumable vse of them, yea euery
of such as are against nature, turned almost into nature, if euer volaptn-
ousnes could haue transfoymed it self into nature, and preuailed against
nature, it must needs haue bene in this our age; wherein notwithstanding,
as strongly armed, authoris'd, & reigning as vice seemeth to be, yet is she
inforced to hide herselfe euen in the midst of her triumphs, vndoubtedly as
acknowledging she reigneth not ouer her own, but ouer another mans.
Again, if ye haue an eye to freindship, to charitie, to the bringing vp of
Children, to societie in marriage; who wil not say that for al our training
vp to leade vs thereto, and for all our reading to instruct vs therein, yet
we had neede to resort to the brute beastes to learne of them, and to take
example of them, which is a token (as I said afoze) that their nature is
lesse corrupt than ours? If the case concerne the turning away from the
vices of Intemperance, Lecherie, Drunkenness, Incest, and such others:
who would thinke that our nature being so excellent, and (besides the
discourse of reason) hauing so many Lawes, Statutes, Penalties and
Magistrates to helpe it: & being bzielded with so many dangers, sozowes
& paines insewing the same; should yet notwithstanding not be restrai-
ned: whereas on the contrarie part, the brute beastes do naturally for-
beare both sorowe and pleasure, sauing onely so farre forth as nature re-
quireth, that is to wit, for the maintenance and preservation of them-
selues and of their kinde: And seeing their nature doth so uphold it selfe,
and that our nature being staied so many waies, and closed in with
so many barres, cannot be bzield nor kept within compasse: who can
say that our nature (in case as it is nowe,) is not in worse plight than
theirs is? And yet who wil say that the nature of the excellentest of all
other Creatures, hath alwaies bene such from the first original beginning
therof? All the said things are common both to man and beast: but yet
moreouer, man glorieth of an excellency of mind enriched by God with infi-

nite

nite goodly gifts. What is to be saide then, if in the thing whereby he surmounteth them, he be found inferiour to them? Or if in that which of it selfe is vncoꝛruptible, coꝛruption be most open and euident? Of so many men indewed with Reason, I pray you how many be there that vse it? That is to say, Of so many men, how many be not brute beastes? Or what rarer thing is there among men, than a verie man in deed? And of such as vse Reason, how many be there that vse it well, that is to say, how many be there which be not Diuels? How take mee out of mankind the beastes and the diuels, and who wil thinke it straunge that a Philosopher toke a Torch at high none day, to seeke for a Pan in the mids of a multitude? One sort al their life long do set their minde vpon nothing but this life; they spare not so much time as to consider what that power is which worketh that thought in them. What bofeteth it these moꝛeto haue a mind, than it bofeteth a man to haue eies that doth nothing but sleepe? Others imploy it about the defiling of some mans wife, or the deflowring of some maiden, or the glossing of some wrong, or the eluding of some right, or the sowing of discoꝛd in some household, or the setting of fire on the sower coꝛners of some Realme. To what purpose againe is it for these men to haue a minde, which is bent and intended to nothing but mischief? Or what else is such a minde, than the eie of the beast of Aegypt, which killeth those whom it looketh vpon, and it selfe also by the rebounding backe of his owne sight? Some in deede do lift vp the eie of their minde aloft; but how farre or what see they? Surely (as saith Aristotle) euen as much as an Owle in the bright sunne. The edge of vnderstanding rebateth at the outside of the least things that are; and how then shall it be able to enter into them? Our minde is dazeled with vapors; & what will it be then at the vnappꝛochable light for which it was created? God created the World for man; therefore his intent was that man should haue the seruice thereof: and that he might haue the seruice of things, it behoued him to know them. Contrariwise, what thing doe we know sufficiently? What know we in comparison of that we know not? And how can we vse the seruice of them, seeing euen the least things commaund vs; not the Beastes, the Herbes, and the Stones onely, but also euen the Earth and the verie dꝛosse thereof? God hath created man for his owne gloꝛy; and as man is the end of the World, so is God the end of Man. And it is not to be doubted, but that as God gaue man knowledge of the world, that he might vse it to his behoꝛe, so hee gaue him knowledge of his Godhead, that he might serue him. But how many be there which ame at this marke? & how shal we hit it if we ame not at it; and how shall we ame at it, if we see it not? and how shall we see it, if we thinke not on it, nor passe not for it? Again, let vs bend our wits to it as stoutly as we can, who is he that seeleth not himselfe to

The Carob
pleb and also
the Cocka-
trice.

quaille when he is to thinke vpon God? Who is he that bursteth not, if he straine him selfe too farre? And whereof commeth this, but that the string of this Bowe hath salne into the water, and is made so wet that it will serue to no purpose any moze? This minde bringeth forth deedes; and because they be somewhat slow, they be done with the moze aduise-ment. But what are the best of those deedes but sinne? If we commit a ny crime, all our whole minds goeth with it, and our doing of the euill is for the euils sake. But if we doe any good; which of vs doth it not as a bywoke for some other things sake, rather than for the loue of the god it self; as one for honoꝝ, another for gaine, and a third for feare? And what else is this, but a seruing of vanitie, and not an obeying of vertue? And whereas euil is nought els than a bereauing oꝝ wanting of good: who is hee en the contrary part, which thinketh not him selfe a man good inough, if he do no euil? As who would say that good also were nothing els but the bereauing oꝝ absence of euil. And in very deed whom do we call god and honest men: but such as abstain from twing men wrong, from stealing, from extorting, and from lending vpon vsury, albeit that it be- houe them to procure further, and to be liberall in giuing, soꝝward in helping, and diligent in seruing, soꝝasmuch as godnes is not a defect oꝝ a notdowing of things, but an effect oꝝ doing of things, and consisteth not in onely refraining oꝝ ceasing, but in working and performing. And in effect, what els is it to define an honest man to be such a one as doeth nothing at al; than to define a good Archer to be such a one as neuer shw- teth at al? This minde of ours doth also yeld soꝝth woꝝds: and they passe out moze swiftly tha deeds, yea even from y wisest. If a man would keep a reckoning of his woꝝds but for one day; what shoulde he find at night but a heape of vanities, as backbitings, slaunders, leasinges, railings, besides a thousand sortes of slipper devices and idle woꝝds, which euen by their onely idlenesse doe well belway our vanitie? And sith it is euident that whereas speech was giuen vs to procure and maintaine societie, we see it is commonly applied to the breaking thereof, by sowing of discorde and debate: who can deny but that there is a notable corruption in the minde, which vttereth soꝝth that speech? Againe, saying it is an vniuer- sall vice, against which the better sort do strine with all their force and cannot overcome it: who can say it is a vice tha is incident but to some peculiar persons, and not to the whole kinde of man? What is to be said then of our thoughts & wits, whereof whole thousands passe through our minds in an hower, which our mindes can neither represse noꝝ expresse? How many do we esteeme to be good men, whom we shoulde see to be wicked men if their thoughts lay open, oꝝ if we had eyes to see into them? What a sort of wilde beastes shoulde we see harboried in a mans heart as in a Forest? And what is then our skil, but ignorance; our wisdom,

but

but vanitie; and our holines, but hypocrisie? Wherein consisteth our
 vertue, but in concealing our vices, when as in trueth (as saith Ari-
 stotle) it were both moze for our behoefe and moze approaching to righ-
 teousnes, if we laid them open? Moreover, what is all our inforcing of
 our selues to vanquish our vices, but a labozing to outrunne our owne
 shadow, which (do we what we can) will alwaies accompany vs whi-
 ther we will or no? And surely we ought to be ashamed, not so much for
 that we be such, as for that either we know not our selues to be such, or
 be not sufficiently ashamed that we be such. Neither is there a stronger
 proofe of our corruption, than that: in like maner as we deeme them to be
 filthy & stinking, which are raking in filthies and feele not the stinch of
 them: & those to be moze sicke which feele not themselves sicke, than those
 which are most pained with their disease: and those to be moze franticke
 which finde not themselves to be bzainesicke, than those which seeke to
 the Whistion for the curing of their frenzie. For had we the wit to con-
 sider our chaunges, to feele the vneuenesse of our Pulses, and to ob-
 serue the steaming vp of our humors with the impressions which they
 make in our bzaine: we should by such discerning of our diseases, become
 halfe sickfolke and halfe Whistions. But surely considering the state
 wherein we now be, how we liue as it were by a borrowed Soule; I
 wote not whereunto I should compare vs, except it be to certaine disea-
 sed persons, of whom Hippocrates maketh this expresse Aphorisme, sai-
 ing: When such as are very sore sicke, do feele no paine, but fall to playing
 with their Couerlet, pulling out the heares, and picking out the mores;
 the case goeth very hard with them, and there is smal hope or likelihood
 that they shall liue. And what els is this life of ours, but euen such?
 We lay sicke to sick, stone to stone, & Penny to Penny, no moze min-
 ding the life of our Soule, than if we had no Soule at all. If any man
 doe yet still doubt hereof, I offer him a condition, which if he wil put in
 triall, I dare assure him he will doubt thereof no moze. Let him but set
 downe in writing, all the thoughts and imaginations that come in his
 head by the space of one day, and at night let him reuiew them and take
 the account of them; And I dare undertake he shall finde in them so ma-
 ny vanities, so many crimes, so many Hobgoblins, & so many Monsters;
 so straunge, so fond, so fule, & so ougly; that he shall be afraid of himselfe
 like the beast that startleth at the sodaine sight of himselfe in a looking
 glasse; & that he shall not stand gazing, enamored at his owne beautie as
 Narcissus did; but runne away ashamed of his foule deformitie, to seeke
 where to wash away the mire that he hath wallowed in. What a thing
 then were it, if he considered it thus al the weeke long without putting it
 in writing. And how much more were it, if he should do it a whole yere;
 and finally al his whole life? To be short, to let man in few words before

our eyes, we reade commonly that there are fower powers or abilitie in mans Soule, namely, *Will*, *Will*, the abilitie of being angrie, and the abilitie of lusting, and in these fower we lodge fower vertues, that is to say, in *Will*, *Wisdom*; in *Will*, *Righteousnesse*: in the abilitie of being angrie, *Hardnesse*: and in the abilitie of Lusting, *Staidnesse*. Now, *Will* is maimed with ignorance, *Will*, with wrongfulness; *Hardnesse*, with Cowardlines, and *Staidnesse*, with Licentiousnes; so as in this world they can neither be cured without skarre, nor be brought to a skarre. Also we perceiue there are in man y outward senses, *Imagination*, and *Appetite*, which thre the brute beasts haue as wel as he, ouer and besides the which, he hath also wit and will as peculiar giftes giuen him of God. And if we be men, we esteeme our selues better than beasts, and loke to haue them to be our vnderlinges. Contrariwise, whereas *Imagination* ought to rule the Sences, and *Reason* to rule *Imagination*, and will to rule *Appetite*: now the outward sense carrieth away *Imagination*, *Imagination* *Reason*, and *Appetite* will, insomuch that the onely sence being bewitched or beguiled, carrieth a mā headlong into all euill after the maner of Phaeton whom the Poetes speake of. It is a plaine case therefore, that a man hath made himselfe an vnderling to the beast, & consequently that mākind is turned strangely vpside downe, and doubtlesse farre more monstruously, than if we saw him go vpon his head with his heeles vpwārd. Now then, seeing y man is so ouerturned, whereof can he brag, but of offending God vncessantly in this life, & of infinite punishment in another life, according to the infinitenes of him whō he hath offended? And to what purpose therfore that his immortality serue him, but to die euerlastingly & neuer to be dead?

Whence mans
corruption
commeth,

But let vs leaue this matter to another place. And soasmuch as by considering man what he is to Godward, to the world ward, to Manward, and to himselfe, I haue evidently proued his corruption and forwardnesse; namely, that he is vtterly contrary to the ende to which he was created of God, to the order of the whole world, to the welfare of all Mankind, and to his owne benefite: Let vs henceforth consider from whence and from what time this mischiefe may haue befallen him, and what may haue bene the cause thereof. Certesse, if we say it came of God and that he had it of his creation; we blaspheme God too grossely. For God is good, and the very goodnesse it selfe: and therefore he cannot haue made any thing euill. Also it appeareth throughout the whol gouernment of the world, that he is the maister and maintainer of order. And therefore how is it possible that he should make the little world (namely man) to be a meuld of confusion and disorder? Again, no other thing than his owne glorie and the welfare of man, moued him to create man, and yet man being in case as he is, so beareth not to blaspheme Gods name,

and

and to purchase his owne destruction. *¶* Adds then must it be that *¶* Adam was made a farre other creature at the beginning, than he is now: as in very deede the Husbandman createth not the wiuell in the Corne, nor the vintner the solwenesse in the Wine, nor the smith the rust in the yron; but they come in from elsewhere. *¶* Neuerthelesse, the man that neuer drinke other drinke than Wineger, would think it to be the naturall sap & taste of the Grape. And we likewise who neuer felt other in our selues than corruption, and are bred and brought vp in darknesse like the Cimmerians, would beare ourselues on hand, that God is the cause & authoz thereof. *¶* Now, let vs which haue tasted both the Wine and the Wineger, iudge what maner of creatures we may haue bin in our first creation: in doing wherof there is yet notwithstanding this great difference, that the palat of our bodily mouth is able to discerne the swete fro the solwe; but the palat or taste of our soule, is vnable to do eyther of them both; the one, because corruption cannot iudge of cleannesse; and the other, because it cannot iudge wel of it self. In Wine & Wineger we discern a liquid nature comon to them both: but as concerning their qualities, the Wine is swete, warme, and friendly to nature; wheras the vineger is sharpe, could, and corrosiue: yea and the very coloures of them are vnlike one another. Lo here two things vtterly contrary; and yet notwithstanding, the Wineger is nothing els but Wine altered from his nature. And because we haue seene the one as wel as the other; we wil neuer be made to beleue, that the Wineger was Wineger fro y very grape. Let vs iudge of our Soules with like discretion. We find there a spirituall nature, immateriall and immortall; and that is the onely remaynder of hir first originall. But yet this Spirit of ours is fozeard to nothing but euill, nor inclined to any other than base and transitorie things. It clingeth to the earth, and is bondslauie to the body. Lo be thot, in stead of flying vp, it crauleth I wote not howe, contrary to the nature of a Spirite, which mounteth vp on high, and cannot be shut vp in these vile and vossie things. Therefore it must nedes be sayed, that this nature of ours was not so of nature; it departed not such as it nowe is from the hand of the woikmayster: but contrarywise, good, free, pure, and indued with farre other qualities than it hath now: for now it is steyned with naughtinesse, bondage of sinne, and corruption. *¶* May will some man say, seeing it was created clere fro al corruption, who was able to corrupt it as we see it to be now? Sure we be that it is a spiritual nature: and therefore neyther y Elements nor any other bodie, could naturally do any hurt vnto it; & as litle also could time do any thing thereto: for time is nothing but the mouing of bodies. *¶* Moreouer it was free of it selfe, and Ladie of the bodie, and therefore could not receyue her first corruption from the bodie, And yet notwithstanding wee see, that

as nowe it is subiect to bee corrupted, both of hir owne flesh and of the vanities of the worlde which by nature had no power ouer it. *N*eedes then must the maker of nature himselfe, haue giuen a power to these things aboue their nature, whereby they might preuaile against the nature of the Soule; the doing whereof surely could not but haue bin rightfull in him, considering that he is the very righteousnes it selfe: for Justice layeth not any punishment, but where some fault or offence hath gone afoze. Therefore it must needs be said, that man had committed some heynous crime against his maker, wherupon such penaltie & bondage were appoynted iustly vnto him. And therefore let vs say, y^e the Soule of man being the first corrupter of it selfe, did of it owne accord vanish away as Wine turneth in it selfe of it self into Vineger, whereas if y^e soule had hild her self in awe & vnder couerture, & had rested in hir L^{as} as is sayd of Wine, that is to say, if shee had abidden stedfast in behoulding her maker, without seeking her welfare in her selfe: shee might haue continued vtterly vncorrupted still. And againe, that by turning so away frō God to hir self, shee offended her maker, & so went y^e gracious giftes which shee had receiued of him: wherupon followed y^e curse of the Creator, and the sentence of his iust wrath vpon his creature, wherethrough it came to passe, that the same was not only bereft of all the grace wherewith it was replenished by behoulding it selfe in him, but also was made an vnderling to the selfsame things which were made to haue done it seruice. Now what this sinne was, we cannot better vnderstand, than by the punishment thereof. For punishment and sinne haue a mutuall respect one to an other, as a soze & a salve, & may after a sozte be knowen the one by the other. Order would that our wit should obey God, & that all our senses and appetites should obey our reason: but wee see y^e as now our senses & appetites hold reaso vnder foot. This punishment ought to set our fault befoze our eyes, when as wee see our selues falne downe and thrust vnder our selues, namely, that man intended to haue mounted by aboue God. The same order would also that all the whole worlde & worldey things should haue serued mā, & mā haue serued God, that God might haue bene the marke of man, as man should haue bene the mark for al other things to haue aimed at. But we see that at this day man is an vnderling to y^e least things that are: insomuch y^e euē those which haue neither sence nor life doe resist him, & he pitcheth y^e end of al his desires in earthly things, as if they were of moze value than him self, accordingly as al of vs know, that the end is alwaies better than the things that tend to the same. Seeing then y^e nature is reuolted from man, it is certein y^e man is reuolted frō God: for it is the ordinary punishment of rebellious Subjects, y^e their own seruants & vnderlings also do kick & spurne against them. And mozeouer, seeing that man not onely findeth al manner of mischief & misfortune in himselfe, but is also so blind

as

as to seeke his felicitie in the myze, and in the durtye dunghills of this woꝛld; it is a token that he sought his happinesse in himself, & elswhere than in God: To be thoꝛt, we be stricken in our soules with ignorance of the things that are most needful foꝛ vs; & in our bodies with continual infirmitie, & finally with death: and that is because we haue bene curious in seeking trifeling things, as not contented with y^e lesson that God had giuen vs; and would needs haue made our selues immoꝛtal, howbeit not by the euerlasting power of Gods quickening spirit, but by the foꝛbidding vse of transitoꝛie things, yea euen which had no life in them. Thus see we now wherof the corruption of mankind is come, namely euen of our owne transgression, & of the punishment that followed vpon the same.

But it is demanded of vs yet further, how long it is ago since this befell. If we had espyed this corruption in vs but from some certeyne hundred yeres hence; it were not foꝛ vs to seeke any further foꝛ it. But let vs hould on our course by the streame of Mankind euen to the Riuers head, and we shall finde it still alwayes soule and muddy; & we shall from age to age heare these outcries euen among the best, I loue well the good but I cannot doe it; and (to be thoꝛt) chat man is inclined to doe euill, and subiect to receiue euill; which are in one woꝛd both the fault and the punishment. Agayne, were it but in some househouldes, oꝛ but in some Nations onely, men would not sticke to father the fault vpon the Clymate and the Soyle, oꝛ vpon the mis teaching oꝛ mis example of the parents. But when we see that in that respect al men are in one selfsame taking, as well the men of old time as the men of our dayes, sauing that sinne increaseth continually, as wel vnder the Equinoctiall line as betwene both the Tropicks, & as wel on the further side as on the hither side of them, sauing that some take moze payne to keepe it fro sight than others, & that those which haue most wit are woꝛst; soasmuch as I haue already sufficiently proued the creation of the woꝛld & of the first man; we be diuened to mount by agayne to the same man, and to say that as he is the roote of our offspring, so is he also the wellspring of this corruption which reigneth in vs, as in whome our whole race was both atteinted with sin, & attached with punishment. In this behalfe it is not foꝛ vs to pleade against God, but to submit our shoulders to his iustice, & to lifte vp our eyes to his mercie. Foꝛ necessarily from poynt to poynt doth this consequence ensue: y^e soule is corrupted in al mankind: who is so corrupted y^e he seeleth it not? This corruption cannot proceed from the Creator. Foꝛ when did euer purenesse yeld forth corruption? The other creatures could not haue defiled it. Foꝛ what maketh a thing vncleane, but y^e taking of vncleannesse vnto it: & what causeth y^e taking of vncleannesse vnto it, but the touching thereof? and what touching one of another can there be betwene a spirite & a bodie? It remayneth therefore that our Soule corrupted it selfe by foꝛsaking her due tie, eyther of her owne

How long ago
corruption
came into
man.

accor^d.

accoꝝd, oꝝ by the admitting vnto it of some wicked Spirit, that is to say by perswasion of that Spirite: which perswasion is vnto Spirits, as touching is vnto bodies. And againe, this corruption is from al time: then comes it not of trayning. And in all Nations: then comes it not of Constellation. And in all ages, both ould, yong and middle sozt: then comes it not of imitation oꝝ example taking. Therefore it must needs pꝛocēde both from one onely man, and from the first created man, who turned away from G D D through pride, whereupon God also did iustly turne away from him, as we reade of our first father Adam in the holy Scripture. Now then, what remayneth moze foꝝ vs, but to conclude that thing by nature, which we beleue through Scripture? namely, That God created man god: That hee tolde him his will: That man chose to liue after his owne lyking, and would needs become equall with God: That thereupon he was banished frō Gods pꝛesence and fauour: That the Earth became rebellious against man, and man against himselfe: and to be shoꝝt, that man was wꝛapped in the wꝛechednes of this woꝛld, intangled with sinne in himself, giuen to liue euer dying in this life, and (were not Gods wꝛath appeared towards him) sure to dye euerlastingly in the life to come.



The xvij. Chapter.

That the men of old time agreed with vs concerning mans corruption and the cause thereof.



It followeth that we gather the voices and iudgements of the wisest sozt, yea and of al men in general; the which in myne opinion ought to beare the moze swaye with vs, because it is a kinbly thing with vs, both to loue our selues, and also to thinke ouertwell of our selues. Foꝝ what cause hath a man to complaine, if being made Iudge in his owne case, he frame his owne inditement, and willingly beare witnesse against himselfe, by his owne voluntary confession.

confession. Surely, that man is strangely infected with vyce; it is witnessed sufficiently by the Histories of all ages, which in effect are nothing els but Registers of the continuall Manslaughters, Whoredoms, Cyles, Ravishments, and Warres: And when I saye Warres, I thinke that in that woꝛde I comprehend al the mischief that can be imagined. And that these vyces were not created in mans nature, but are crept into it; it appeareth sufficiently by the booke of the Cerimonies of all nations; all whose Churchseruices are nothing but Sacrifices, that is to say, open protestations both euening and morning, that we haue offended God, and ought to be sacrificed and slaine for our offences according to our desertes, in stead of the silly Beastes that are offered vnto him for vs. Had man bene created with vice in him, he should haue had no conscience of sin noꝛ repentance for it. For repentance presupposeth a fault, & conscience misgineth the infewing of punishment for the same. And there can be neither fault noꝛ punishment in that which is done according to creation, but onely in & for our turning away from creatio. Now the Churchseruice & Cerimonies of al Nations, doe witnesse vnto vs a certeyne foꝛething & remoꝛce of sinne against God. And so they witnesse altogether a foꝛefeeling of his wꝛath which cannot be kindled against nature which he himselve created, but against the faultinesse and unkindlynesse that are in nature.

The Conscience of Sinne

Also what els are the great number of Lawes among vs, but authenticall Registers of our corruption: And what are the manifold Commentaries written vpon them, but a verie corruption of the Lawes themselves: And what do they witnesse vnto vs, but as the multitude of Whissions both in a Citie; namely, & multitudes of our diseases; that is to wit, the soꝛes and botches whereto our bodies are subiect, euen to the marring and poysoning of the very playsters themselves? A gaine, what doe the punishments becomay which wee haue ordeyned for our selues, but & we chastise in vs, not & which God hath made oꝛ wrought in vs, but that which we our selues haue vndone oꝛ untwought: noꝛ the nature it selfe, but the disfiguring of nature? But yet when we consider that among al Nations, that lawmaker is beloued and followed by and by, which sayth, Thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steale, thou shalt not beare false witness; whereas great perswasio is required in al other lawes which are not so natural: It must needs be concluded, that the Consciences of all men are perswaded of themselves, that the same is sinne, and that sinne deserueth punishment; that is to wit, that sinne is in nature, but not nature it selfe. But to omit the holy Scripture, which is nothing els but a Lookingglasse to shew vs our spotted and blemishes; what are the Schooles of the Philosophers, but instructions of the soule: And what els is Philosophie it selfe, but an arte of bea-

The opinion of the auncient Philosophers.

Aristotle.

Theophrast.

Plato in his
Phedrus.Empedocles
and Pythagoras.
Philolaus.

healing the Soule, whereof the first pcept is this so greatly renowned one, know thy selfe? Aristotle in his *Politics*, sheweth that the affections must be ruled by reason, and our mind be brought from extreames into the meanes, and from iarring into right tune. Which is a token that our mynd is out of tune euen of it owne accord, seeing that it needeth so many pcepts to set it in tune agayne. And yet is not Aristotle so presumptuous as to say, y^euer he brought it to passe in his owne mynd. Theophrast his Disciple was wont to say, that the Soule payd well for hir dwelling in y^e bodie, considering how much it suffered at the bodies hand. And what els was this, but an acknowledg^{mt} of the debate betwene y^e bodie and the mynde. But (as sayth Plutarke) he should rather haue sayd, y^e the bodie hath good cause to cōplayne, of y^e turmoyles, which so irksom and troublesome a guest procureth vnto him. Plato who went afore them, saue more clearly than both of them, he condemneth euery where the companie and fellowship of the body with the soule, and yet he condemneth not the workmanship of God. But he teacheth vs that the Soule is now in this bodie as in a prison, or rather as in a Caeue or a grane. And y^e is because he perceineth evidently, that cōtrarie to y^e order of nature, the Soule is subiect to the bodie, notwithstanding that naturally it should and can commaund it. The same Plato sayth further, that the Soule crēpeth basely vpon these lower things, & that it is tyed to the matter of the bodie: the cause wherof he affirmeth to be, that she hath broken her wings which she had afore. His meaning then is, that the soule of her own nature is winged & flyeth vpiward, that is to say, is of a heauenly & diuine nature, which wings she hath lost by meanes of some fall. But to get out of these bondes, and to recouer her wings, the remedie that Plato giueth her, is to aduance her selfe towarde God, & to the things that concerne the minde. By the remedie we may coniecture what he took the disease to be; namely, that our soule hating been aduanced by God to a notable dignitie, the which it might haue kept stil by sticking vnto God; fell to gazing at her owne feathers; till she fell headlong into these transitorie things, among y^e which she crēpeth now like a sillie woyme, reseyning nothing as nowe of her birdlike nature, save only a rowling of her feathers and a vaine flapping of her wings. Now he saith, that he learned al this of a secret Oracle, the which he had in great reuerence. And of a trueth, in this doctrine of the original of our corruption, we haue to marke the same point which wee haue noted in some other things afore; namely, that the nearer wee come to the first world, the more clere & manifest we finde the matter. Empedocles and Pythagoras taught that the soules which had offended God, were condemned & banished into bodies here below. And Philolaus the Pythagorian addeth, that they receiued that opinion fro the Diuines & Prophets

of olde time. Their meaning is, that the body, which ought to be house of the soule, is by Gods iust iudgement turned into a prison to it; and that which was giuen it for an instrument, is become *Spanicles & stocks*. So then, there is both a fault and the punishment: and the fault must needs proceede from one first man, euen in the iudgement of those men of olde time, which acknowledged the creation of the world. Also those auncient fathers seeme to haue heard what prouoked the first man to sinne. For Homer speaketh of a Goddesse whom he calleth *Até*, (that is to say *Waste, Losse, or Destruction*) which troubled heauen, & therefore was cast down to the earth, where she hath euer since troubled mankind. And hereupon Euripides calleth the *frænds* ^{of perjury}, that is to say, *Falne* from Heauen. And the Aegyptians, who be of most antiquitie, held and taught the same in their *Myseries*. It is a meety clere shadow of that which we read in the Scripture concerning the fall of the diuel, whereunto he drew mankind afterward by his temptations. But when as Pherecydes the Syrian agreeing therein with Sybil, telleth vs expressely of this diuell which hath marred & destroyed the whole earth was a Serpent, (whom he called *serpens* ^{or serpent}, that is to say, *Snakebread* or *Ad-derbread*;) which armeth men by whole troopes against God: we by gathering al these testimonies together, shall haue the whole stoyle of the fall of man. Hermes beinge auienter than al these, doth plainly acknowledge the corruptiõ of man, yea & that so farre, as to say that there is nothing but euil in vs, & that there is no way for vs to loue God, but by hating our selues. And to keepe vs from accusing the Creator, The workmaster (saith he, to cut off all quarelling) is not the procurer of the rust, neither is the Creator the author of the filth and vncleannesse that is in vs. On whom then shall we father the cause thereof? God (saith he) created man after his own likenesse, & gaue him all things to vse. But man in stead of staying vpon the beholding of his father, would needs be meddling & doing somewhat of himselfe, and so fell from the heauenly contemplation into the Sphere of Elements or of Generation. And because he had power ouer all things, he began to fall in loue with himselfe, and in gazing vpon himselfe, to wonder at himselfe; whereby he so intangled himselfe, that he became a bondslaue to his bodie, whereas he was free and at libertie afore. Now he intangleth this trueth with his accustomed speculations. But yet what is this in effect, but that the first man beinge proude of the grace which he had receiued, drowned himselfe in the loue of himselfe, whereas he might haue liued euerlastingly by drinking still of the loue of God: And if we mount vp yet higher to Zoroastres, who (as is written of him) was Noes grand-
childe: we shall finde that in his *Dracles*, he bewayleth the race of mankind in these wordes: Alas alas, the Earth mourneth euen vnto
Chil-

Pherecydes
alleged by
Origen a-
gainst Celsus.

Hermes in
Pœmander.

Zoroastres.

Gemistus.

Hierocles the
Stoick against
Atheists.

Children: which words cannot be otherwise interpreted than of original sinne, which hath passed from the first man into all his offspring; after which manner the Cabalists and namely Oshas the Caldean interpret it; whereunto Gemistus the Platonist is not repugnant. And as touching the original of this mischife, he denyeth in these words that it came of creation; The thing that is vnperfect (sayth he) cannot procede of the Creator. Now that we become as it were by the streame to the first man Adam by whom sinne entered into the world, and by sinne, death: let vs see henceforth what the opinion of the Philosophers hath bin, since the comming of the second man Iesus Chyriste. Wee haue a little booke of one Hierocles a Stoick, vpon the golden sayings of Pythagoras, which shal answer both for the Pythagorists, and for the Stoicks. Man (sayeth he) is of his owne motion inclined to follow the euill and to leaue the good. There is a certain stryfe bred in his affections, which stepping vp against the will of Nature, hath made it to tumble from Heauen to Hell, by vndertaking to fight against God. He hath a free will which hee abuseth, bending himselfe wholly to incounter the Lawes of GOD: and this freedom it selfe is nothing els but a willingnesse to admit that which is not good, rather then otherwise. What els is this, but as the holy scripture saith, that all the imaginations of mans heart are altogether continually bent to euil: which wee daily dispute of, namely that our freedome is fresh and forwarde vnto euill, but lame and lasse vnto dooing well: If ye aske him the cause thereof, Let vs not blaspheme for all that, (sayeth he) nor say that God is the author of our sinnes: but rather that man is of his owne accord become vntoward: and that whensoever we fall into sinne, we do that which is in vs, but not which was in vs from God. How then shal we make these propositions of his to agree; namely that God created man; that man is frowarde and corrupted; and yet that God created not man such a one: vnlesse wee saye that God created man good, and that afterward man degenerated from his nature: But it is the very thing wherunto he commeth of himselfe. Ambition (sayth he) is our bane and this mischeefe haue we of ourselues, because we be gone away from God, and doe giue ourselues to earthly things, which make vs to forget God. And that this mischeefe is common to all mankind, he confesseth sufficiently in that he giueth vs an vniuersall remedie that is to wit Religion: the which alonly is able (sayeth he) to rid vs from earthly ignorance, without theriddance whereof, we can neuer come againe to our former shape and to the likenes of our kind, which was to be like vnto God. Now if all the whole kynd be defiled as he sayeth it is; surely we must resort backe to one first father, from whome it is spread out into the rest by naturall generation. Plutarke writing of Moyses all vertue

fin.

findeth it a very hard matter to make our affections subiect to reason, and the body obedient to the spirit. And he is diuinen to maruell greatly, That our fete should be so ready to goe or to stand still whensoever Reason lozeneth or pulleth backe the Bryble; and that on the contrarie part, our affections should carry vs away so headlong for all the restraint that we can make. Also hee thinketh it strange, that in our discourses of the greatest matters, as of Loue, of the bringing vp of our Childzen, & of such like we be diuinen to take & brute beastes for our Iudges, as who would say that nature had stamped no print of them in our selues; And he findeth himself so soze graueled in his consideratiō, that he preferreth & brute beastes before vs in all things, sauing in the capacitie which we haue to knowe God; vndoubtedly as perceiuing a continuall following of their kind in all of them, whereas in vs only there is contrariwise such an unkindly and Bastardly Nature, that not euen the best of vs haue any whit of our former nature remayning in vs, sauing onely shame that we haue it no more. And this very gift of knowing God which remaineth to man, graueleth Plutarke more than all the rest. Man (sayth he) is a reasonable Creature; God hath set him in the world to be serued & honored of him & he hath made him to be borne to cōmon ciuil Societie. Wherof cometh it then that in his doings he is more vnreasonable, more contrarie to Gods wil, & more against the law of Nature, then the very brute beastes? In this perplexitie, one while he sayth that man had receiued sayre and sound Seede, but he that corrupted it afterwarde: Another while hee sayeth that he delt with reason as perfumers doe with Oyles, which neuer cease medling and mingling of them, til there remayne no sent of Oyle at all: And in one place, perceiuing (by all likelihod) this corruption to be so vniuersall: hee sayeth farther, that at the very beginning and from their first coming into the Worlde, men intangled and confounded themselves with sinne, Whereby we may perceiue, that had the thing bin declared vnto him in such sort as wee beleue it; suerly hee would willingly haue embraced and receiued it, as the onely solution of so many perplexities wherein he was intangled.

Let vs come to the Platonists. All of them agræ in these points; That the Soule of Man is a spirit; & that a spirit cannot naturally receiue any affection frō a body, neither which may cause it to perish, nor which may doe so much as once trouble it. Yet not withstanding, on which side so euer they turne themselves, they cannot deny but that our myrdes are troubled with infinite affections & passions in this body, & that they be subiect one while to starting besides themselves through pryde, anger or enuie; and another while to be cast downe with Riotousnes, Gluttonie, and Idlenes; yea and to receiue diuers impressions not only from

Plutark in his booke of Morall vertue, & in his booke of the mutual loue between Parents and their children and, That Beastes haue Reason.

the body but also from the aire, the water, and from Mistes, and finally from euery little thing in the world. Now how can this contrariety be reconciled, except their meaning be as ours is, that naturally our Soules are not subiect to any of these things, but that they bee put in subiection to them beyond the course of nature? If it bee beyond the course of nature; by whome is it doone, but by him that commaundeth nature, to whome it is as easie to put a spirite in Prison as to lodge a man in a house? If it be done by him who is the righteousnes it selfe; doth it not followe that it was for some fault committed by the Soule? If for some fault: then seeing that the punishment thereof is in all men, in whome should that first fault be, but in that man which was the originall of all men, as in whome all of vs (say I) were materially? Now againe, this fault cannot bee imputed to the body, for it is in the will, and the body of it selfe hath no will: neither can it be imputed to any infection receiued first from the body; for the Soule could not be wrought into by the body. In the Soule therefore must the fault of mankind needes bee, and for the soules offence doth the Soule it self suffer punishment, and make the body also to suffer with her.

Notwithstanding, that we may the better iudge of their opinions, let vs heare them in the chief of them one after another. Plotine hauing considered that the Soule is of nature diuine, heavenly, and spirituall; concludeth that of it selfe it is not wrought into by the body. But after ward perceiving how it is defiled, ouermaistred by sinne, & by force of necessitie linked vnto lust, he commeth backe to this solution, That hir being here, beneath is but a banishment to her, which he termeth expressly a fall, and otherwise (as Plato doth) a losing of hir wings; That the vertue which she hath, is but a Remnant of hir former nature; That the vice which she hath, is taken by dealing by these base and transitorie things; and to be short, that all the vertue which is learned, is but a purging of the Soule, which must be faine to be as it were newfurbished, to scoure of the great Rust that hath ouergrowne it. In these Contradictions therefore he maketh this question to himselfe: What should bee the cause (sayth he) that our soules being of a diuine nature should so forget both God their father & their kinred, & themselues? Surely (answereth he) the beginning of this mischif, was a certaine rashnes and ouerboldnes, wherethrough they would needes pluck their necks out of the collar, and be at their owne commaundement, by which abuse turning their libertie into licentiousnes, they went cleane backe, and are so farre gone away from GOD, that (like Children which being newly weaned, are by and by conuayed away from their Fathers and Mothers, they know neither whose, nor what they be, nor from whence they came, Now in these words he agreeth with our Diuines, not

Plotin. En. 3
lib. 2.
Also Enn. 1
lib. 6. Cap. 5
Also Enn. 1
lib. 8. cap. 14
& Enn. 6. lib. 9
Cap. 9

Plotin. li. 1.
Enn. 3. Ca. 1.

only in this, that corruption came in by sinne, but also in that kinde of sinne, namely Pride, wherby we be turned away from our Maker. In another place, The Soule (sayth he) which was bred for heauenly things, hath plunged it selfe in these materiall things, and matter of it selfe euil, that not only al that is of matter, or matched with matter, but also euen that which hath respect vnto matter, is filled with euill, as the eye that beholdeth darknes is filled with darknes. Here ye see, not onely fro whence we be turned away, but also to what: that is to wit, fro God to vanitie, from the Creator to the creature, from good to euill. But of this inclining to the materiall things, hee sometimes maketh the body to be the authoz, as though the body had carried the Soule away by force of his imaginations; and he acquiteth the minde thereof as much as he can, inso much as he sticketh not to affirme, that notwithstanding all this marrednesse, yet the Soule liueth and abideth pure & cleane in God, yea, euen whyle the soule (wherof the Wynd is as ye would say the very eysight or apple of the eye) dwelleth in his body. Howbeit, besides that he is reponed for it by Porphyrius, Proclus and others; his owne reasons wherby he apponeth that the Soule is not naturally subiect to the body, bee so strong, that it were vnpossible for him to shift him selfe from them. In this the great Philosopher is ouershot, that he will nedes seeke out the cause of sinne in Man as Man is now. Where finding Reason carried away by imagination, and Imagination deceived by the Sences; he thought the fault to haue proceeded of that; whereas in deede he should haue sought the cause in Man as he was first created, when he had his Sences and Appetites absolutely at commaundement, whose wilfull offending hath brought vpon vs the necessitie of punishment which we indure. And in god sooth, this saying of his in another place cannot be interpreted otherwise; namely, that the cause why the soule indureth so many troubles and passions in this body, is to be taken of the life which is led afoze out of the body: that is to say, that the subiection of the Soule to the Bodie is not the originall cause of the sinne thereof, but rather a condemnation thereof to punishment. Neither also can he scape from these conclusions of his owne, namely, that the Soule being separated from the body, hath her wings sound and perfect: and that the Body being ioyned to the soule, hath no power to bzeake her wings, and yet that shee findeth her selfe there to be weake & without wings: except he hold with vs, that the soule hath by her fall for-gone her strength, and that the body by the feeblenes of the soule and the sentence of the Creator, is strengthened in his weakenesse: that is to wit, in so much as the body (as I haue saide afoze) is of a House become a Prison to the soule.

To be short, granting Gods Justice, as he doth, he can neuer winde

Plotin. Enn. i.
lib. 8. Cap. 4

Plotin. Enn. i.
lib. 5. cap. 5

Enn. 3. lib. 3
cap. 4.

Plotin. Enn. i.
li. 8. cap. 14. &
lib. 3. Ca. 4

himself out of this question which he himselfe maketh; namely why the sinnes are imputed to the Soule, seeing it doth them not but by infection of the body; vnlesse he make this infection to be a punishment of the fault which the Soule had committed afore in the body.

S. Austin in
the Citie of
God. lib. 10
Cap. 23. & 31.

Porphyrus in
his booke
which sheweth
how to do the
things that are
to be concei-
ued all onely
by reason and
vnderstanding
Also in his
third booke
of Abstinence.

But Porphyrus, who perceyued these inconueniences, hath spoken more distinctly of the matter than his Payster did, agreeing with him neuerthelesse in the corruption of man, and in the cleansing of the Soule; Which cleansing of the Soule (sayth he) is so needfull a thing, as that it cannot possibly bee but that God hath provided some vniuersal meane of cleansing mankynd. How is it possible then (sayth he) that the fall of the Soule, should come of Imagination which knitteth the Soule to the bodie, seeing that the higher things are not drawne downe by the lower but contrariwise the lower are drawne vp by the higher? Nay rather (sayeth he) the higher substances come downe in themselves from vnderstanding into imagination, from spiritual things to bodily things, from high things to lowe things, from perfect things to vnperfect things. And wheras by sticking fast vnto God they might haue abidden firme, not so much by their own strength as by his, & might haue liued & wrought as vnder his forme; they be come to a fall of themselves by stooping to matter. And therefore (sayth he) in the substances which are inclinable to such things, there is befalne (as men say) a sinne and a errayne vnbeleefe which is condemned, because they fell in loue with the Creatures, and turned away to them from the Creator.

To be short he cometh to this poynt, that the fall of mens soules, is like the fall of the Jewes that is taught by the Jewes, and that though the fault of the wit and the wil, which he termeth vnbeleefe or vnfaithfulness, man is falne into the folly of concupiscence, that is to saye, from the fault into the punishment thereof, from the rebellion of the Soule, into the bondage thereof to the bodie. And ye must not thinke we speake contraries when we say, one while that man sinned by aduancing himself too high, and by presuming to become as it were equall with God; & another while that he sinned by stooping downe to these base and lowe things. For in very deede, the lifting vp of a mans selfe to Godward, is the true abasing and humbling of himself: for who is he that can rightly looke vp to God, and make account of himselfe, or rather not be abased in himselfe? And to encline to a mans selfe, is in verie trueth a presuming to make him selfe equall to God. For it is a seeking of that thing in our selues, which is not to be found but in God, namely of welfare and felicitie; and what els is pride, but a selfe estimation or an overweening of a mans selfe?

Proclus con-
cerning the
Soule & con-
cerning the
Feend. ca. 4.

Proclus doth ordinarily call the inclining of our nature vnto euill, a descending or coming downe; and the corruption thereof, a fall because the

the highest that our Soule can attayne vnto, is the beholding of God; and the descending, Clipping, or comming downe thereof, is to fall into estimation of our selues; and the fall is to bee thrust downe (in subjection) vnder our selues, like a body that falleth from some high place. But as touching the cause of the corruption, he fathereth it vpon our Mind, that is to wit, the highest part of our Soule; saying that if the same had continued sound, and sticke fast vnto God, (as sayeth Plotin) it had also helde reason sounde still, which is the Sunbeame thereof, and consequently all our actions should haue bin sound, so as wee should not haue bene subiect to sin. Being then y the punishment is come to y highest part of vs, which we see combered with so many passions, dimmed with so much darknesse, and defiled with so many vices, surely the fault proceedeth onely fro thence. Whereunto we might adde many other sayings; but we will content our selues as now with onely Simplicius the famous interpreter of Aristotle. As long as mans Soule (sayth he) cleaueth fast vnto God the author thereof, it abydeth sound, and holdeth her perfection wherewith she was created of God: but fall she once to shrinking away from him, by and by shee withereth as hauing lost her roote, and comes to nothing: neither can shee recover her former liueliness, except shee be reunited againe to her former cause. Now perceive we euerychone of vs, that our nature is withered; and therefore let vs say, that we be slipped from our roote. And the roote leaueth not the branches, but contrariwise the branches leane the roote. Let vs say then that we haue bereft our selues of the gracious goodnes of G D D, who would haue maintained vs still: for to nourish & quicken, is the proper tie & nature of the roote. In one onely thing doe the Philosophers differ from vs in this behalf: namely, that they vphold al mens soules to haue sinned euery one in himselfe; and we say, That the onely first man sinned, and thereby hath bound all his whole offspring to the punishment. But yet do both come back againe to one point, seeing that euen by their own reasons I proued the creation of the world, which of necessitie lea- deth vs to one man the father of vs all, whereas the Philosophers hang waivering still vnresolved in that point.

Among all people we see there were prayers to craue pardon for sin, Sacrifices to appease Gods wrath, Mysticall washings, and Satisfactiones or Notaries that were charged with the sinnes of some whole Realme, Citie, or State. All these (as I haue said afoze) are publike protestations of a publike corruption. The Philosophers were soze combered in finding a meane to cleanse Mankynd from his filthines; some would haue done it by the Poials; some by the Mathematicals; and some by Religious Ceremonies: but in the end they confesse that al these things can doe nothing in y behalf. They be soles in their remedies, but

Simplicius
vpon Epi-
ctetus.

Vniuersall
consent.

Agathias in
his second
booke of the
Persian warre

The generall
History of the
Indies. ca. 122.

Objections.

in discerning the disease. ~~It~~ is reade of the people of Affricke at this day, (who bee giuen enough to contemplation,) that they fall into great conceits of mynd, and are not able to perswade themselves that all their Churchservices are sufficient to make them cleane. And that is a proofe that they seele a mischief within them, whereinto neither the eye of the Christian can see, nor the medicine that he ministreth can atteyne. Also the Persians were wont to holde a holyday euery yere, which they called The death of vices: In the which feast, for a token of deuotion, they killed of all sorts of Serpents & wild Beasts. And doubtles that was because they had learned, that man both conuertly carie in his breast all maner of Beasts, & which it becometh him to kill in himself, according to this saying of the Platonists. That the readiest way to return vnto God, and consequently to a mans first nature, is to kill his owne affections. But what shall we say to that which we haue learned in these our dayes among the barbarous Nations of the West Indies? There came a man into their Countrey (say they) which called himselfe the Sonne of the Sonne, who by his word and power replenished the Land with men and women whome hee created, and gaue them great abundance of fruits. Who doth not hereupon cal by and by to remembrance the creation of man & woman in the Scripture where God sayth vnto them, Increase and multiply and fill the earth; I haue giuen you al heare bearing seede, & all trees bearing fruit, and so forth. But (sayth the booke of their Diuinitie) because some men prouoked his displeasure, he afterward chaunged the good soyle which he had giuen them, into drye and barreyne sandes, and bereft them of Rayne, and left them nothing but a few riuers to helpe themselves withall by their great labour and trauel. Who sayeth not here agayne the sinne of man, Gods curse vpon the earth, and namely these words, In the sweate of thy browes shalt thou eate thy bread all the dayes of thy life? And who should bee ignorant of God, when as euen those knowe him, whom wee esteeme to be almost of another kynd than we be?

But here the wicked perceyning themselves to want matter to replye, do fall to rayling against God, Seeing that man (say they) sinned through the freewill which God gaue vnto him; how can God be called god, hauing giuen man wherewith to sinne? By the same reason I say at once for al, if God be god; why hath he made Man, or any thing for Man? If he should take from thee all that thou abusest, I pray thee what should bee left thee? Thy Reason? What is there in thee y maketh thee more unreasonable? Thy Sences? To what other seruice dost thou put them, than to the marring of thy Sences? Thy young? How much more eloquent is it in speaking euil, than in speaking good? To be short, where shal the good things become which he hath giuen thee for the maintenance

nance of thy health and life? **Paye**, on the contrary part, which of them is it that thou turnest not to thy death and to thy baner? Now is y^e founder of them to blame, if thou kill thy selfe with the things without the which thou couldest not liue: Or if thou become euil by the things without the which thou couldest not be good? God hath giuen thee a wil & without wil thou couldest not be good. Unfo wil he hath added a good wit to giue it, & without wit thou couldest not be wise. If thou be loth to be eyther good or wise, it is but because thou art loth to be a man. Thy will was giuen thee to loue God withall. Now, loue delighteth to be freharted; neither would God bee loued of vs as inchaunted to it, but freely & utterly vnconstrayned. Therfore it behoueth this will to be free. Likewise thy wit was giuen thee to beholde God withall. And haddest thou but onely thy Sences, what haddest thou more than the brute Beastes? And if thou haddest no more than they, why were they and all the whole world made for thee? Now then, which of these two canst thou finde fault with, seeing that without them both, thou couldest be neither good, nor wise, nor no: a man? Thou wouldest haue bin created vchangeable; howbeit, not as a Rocke or a Mountayne, but as a man. Surely the vchangeablenesse of Spirits, was created to depend vpon their linking in with their maker. Thou wouldest peraduenture haue bin an Angel: but there are euen of the Angels that are false, and as they were farre higher than thou, so was their fall more dangerous than thyne. O man, acknowledge the goodnes of the Creator in creating thee good, and acknowledge the vanitie of the creature, which cannot stand in his own goodnes but in the goodnes of the Creator. But especially aboue al things commend thou his goodnes and mercie, in that he hath not only releued thee in thy fall, but also as it were vpheld thee that thou mightest fall the softer.

Another taketh exception to Gods Justice. What Justice is it (sayth he) to punish a man so rigorously for so small a fault? **Pay**, what is more iust than nature? what is more natural than to run into darknes, when a man turneth away from the Sonne? Or (as Plotin sayth) to impair & waie naught, why a man departeth fro y^e souereign god? But O thou man which thinkest thy self iustier than God, what punishment wouldest thou appoint to thy Sonne, not being a babe or a yong childe, but being com to yeeres of discreation, & a mangrowne, not pinched & pynd, but flowing in all wealth: if by a bzauerie & lustinesse of courage, he would disobey thee for a thing of nothing? Then set thou Adam also befoze thyne eyes newly come into y^e world by y^e goodnesse of y^e creator, not stark naked but furnished with the whole world to serue him, not witlesse but with a pure, sound and skilful minde not subiect to his lustes but able to holde them in awe to his wil and hauing his wil obedient to reason. Nowe whether thou consider his sinne, his rebellion, his vnfaith-

fulnes, & his pride; or whether thou haue an eye for the easines of abstin-
ning fro sin: what punishment wilt thou not doe him worthy to haue?

Pea (sayest thou) but why vseth he this rigor against his children? Say
rather, say, why is he so mercifull, why is he so gracious, as to keepe
them low in their fathers fall, least they should fall (more grievously)
through the same rashnesse: Thou buildest a Citie, and the custome
is to beautifie it with Priuiledges. Afterward this Citie rebelleth: thou
takest away their priuiledges, their Welles, their Armour, and their
weapons; and this punishment of their Insurrection extendeth to all
their posteritie, albeit they were but few at the beginning, and grew
to be mightily multiplyed after ward. The graunting of the Priuiledges
to the first, was appoynted of goodnesse; for otherwise they might haue
had occasion to complayne of thee. Likewise it is Justice to take them
so from them, and mercie to withhold them from their posteritie who
haue the same rebellious mind in them, and had els runne headlong
into extreme punishments. God gaue thee the priuiledge of freedome,
and enriched thee with singular gifts both of body and mynde: prayse
thou his goodnesse. Now, because thou hast abused them, he eyther
taketh them cleane away, or els diminisheth them: acknowledge thou
his Justice. And because thy children might doe as thou hast done,
and would not be amended by thine example, he taketh them from them
also and diminisheth them in thee: commend thou still his mercie in his
Justice, but specially honoꝝ thou his Justice in his mercie, in that
of this rebellious race he causeth the partie to bee bozne, which can ap-
pease his Justice.

Yet for all this, they giue not ouer. If by the sinne of the first man
(say they) nature be corrupted in all men: why be not the children more
corrupted than their fathers, by meanes of so many sinnes committed
by their fathers? In this behalfe they mislike of Gods clemencie, & yet
could not Gods Justice haue contented them. Now the Lords intent
in punishing the rebellious Citizens, was to make them submit them-
selues againe vnder his government, & not to destroy them utterly. And
it was Gods intent to humble mankind by making him to feele smart
of his fall: & not to breake him in peces in his wrath, but to reclaime him
by his mercie. We bee faine into a Pyt, we be faine from our highnes:
now what would a second fall be? We haue broken our wings already
against the Earth; whither would wee fall at the next sight? Wee be
faine (say I) from the goodnes of our nature into naughtines, from
Gods fauour into his wrath: how can wee fall any lower? Say ra-
ther by creeping halfe broken vpon the Earth, wee knowe that wee
be faine; and feeling the losse which wee haue susteyned, wee crye vnto
God for reliefe, and like little Purbeck children we beseech him to stay and
byholde

uphold vs with his mightie hand.

Now therefore let vs conclude for these two last Chapters, That mans nature is corrupted; and that it was not so created of God; but that man abusing Gods grace, did cast himselfe downe from godnesse into naughtines, and from Gods free saour into his iust displeasure; and that the man in whom the said Nature was first corrupted, was the first man: from whom we haue receiued our corruption, as well as our nature. But let vs not so much muse to take an account how we be salne into this pit of infection, as earnestly bethinke vs by what meanes we may get out againe, which is the thing that we haue to treate of next.



The xviij Chapter.

That God is mans soueraigne welfare, and therefore that the cheefe marke which man should ayme at, is to returne againe vnto God.



We say that the cheefe point wherein foles differ from wisemen, is that foles shot out their doings at allauenture into the aire, & that wise men direct al their doings to some certaine end. And againe, the point wherein god men differ from euill men, is that god men determine with themselves vpon the god things, and euill men vpon the euill thinges, the god vpon that which is god in deed, and the euill vpon that which is god in shewe. Therefore it standeth vs

greatly on hand, both to haue some one certaine marke, and the same to be god: and to haue but one, because God hath giuen vs but one wit, and the perfection of wit is wisdom: and to haue the same god, because he hath giuen vs but one will, & the perfection of the wil is godnes. Surely God being the very godnes and wisdom it self, was not without this one marke and the same very god, when he first created all thinges. For Nature (say the Philosophers) doth nothing otherwise than wel and to a god end. If they spake so of the Handmaid, what shall we say of the Maister

Things are
said to be
good, either
because they
come to good
end, or were
purposed to a
good end.

Mans end or
amingpoint
and his wel-
fare consist
rest both in
one thing.

The Markes
whereby to
knowe the a-
mingpoint
and welfare of
Man.

Paister of the house? But so much as he him selfe is the beginner, the holder on, & the ender of al things, he in all his doings did not set downe any other end than himselfe. All his creatures, who take our beginning and continuance from him, can haue none other end than him. Yet notwithstanding, the reasonable creature wiltheth wel to it selfe, and both alwaies purpose a certaine end with it self, which it thinketh to be behoofull. For the end of euery thing, is the peculiar good, benefite, or welfare therof: & this desire being in vs by kind, cannot be in vaine. Therefore it must needs be that the true welfare of man consisteth in his true end or in his true amingpoint: & that the true amingpoint of man, & the end which the Creator intended, must meet iump together: That is to wit, he must imploy himself to y^e glozy of God, whose creating of al things was for his owne glozy, & by tending thitherward attaine to his own welfare, which is y^e thing that al things do naturally seeke. And therefore if we find either mans chiefe amingpoint, or his soueraigne welfare; we find them both: for they be both but one selfe same thing; which in respect that his wit looketh thereat, is called his amingpoint, and in respect that his wil resteth thereon, is called his welfare, both of the together being the restingpoint of y^e whole man. And vnto this end is he to apply himself & al his motions, al his induozs & al his desires, as to his highest felicity, benefite & welfare.

Now, had we continued in our originall nature, we should haue had no paine at all to seeke them: for our wit was inlightened with the sight of our marke, and our will was drawne by our welfare, that is to say, by God by whom and for whom we were created; whereas now through our pryde our eyes are gazing at all things, sauing our right way and our chiefe welfare. Yet notwithstanding, we may trace it out by certaine markes, specially if we beare in minde that we be false: for then wee wil not stand groping for it in the filth of y^e things that are here beneath, as folke amazed at our fall; but we wil seek for it in the grace & in the face of our maker from whence we be false. For like as whe we seek to knowe the vse and goodnesse of a toole (as for example, of a sawe,) we consider it not by the rustinesse thereof that hath eaten away the teeth, or by the breakes that it hath taken by some falles; but by the teeth thereof which are sound, sharpe, and smooth, such as they were when they came newe out of the Smythmakers shop: euen so must we do with man; we must not iudge of his end by the blindness, ignorance, naughtinesse, & corruption that is come vpon him, but by the excellencie, goodnesse, and light that was in him at the first when God created him. Also we iudge not of the vse of the sawe by the mettall thereof in that it is Steele, or in that it hath a handle, or in that it hath an edge to cut withall: for a knife hath al these things, which yet notwithstanding is neuer the more a saw for al that: but we deeme thereof, by some peculiar shape, & by some property

propertie of the tēth therof, which make it to differ not only from a knife, the which hath no tēth, but also from a file which hath tēth, howbeit of another sort. When let vs see the like still in man. If we deeme of the vse wherto God hath appointed him, by that he liueth, or by that he hath senses; what needeth man to be made, seeing that the Plants are indued with life, and the brute beasts both with life and sence? But now hath he made Man, and he hath not made him in vaine. The vse of him therefore is to be taken, of that part which God hath giuen him specially & peculiarly to make him a man; of y^e (I say) which maketh him to differ from the things which haue but onely being, life, and sence: I meane the very highest part of his Soule. Again, the saide particular shape which giueth a particular vse to the Sawe, is common to al toles which beare the name of a Sawe: and therefore the speciall propertie of man which giueth him a peculiar vse which no other Creature hath, must needs be after such a sort peculiar vnto him, as it may neuerthelesse be common to al of the same kind: that is to say, as al mē are created with that property, so all men must tend to that ende. And soasmuch as that end is the soueraigne welfare of Man; it hath consequently certaine markes or tokens whereby it is to be knowne. Man seareth nothing more than his end, neither desireth he any thing so much as to continue for euer: and yet notwithstanding the soueraigne welfare is the end of man: and therefore it must needs be an end without end; an ende which doth not consume or waste, so as the thing which tendeth to it should thereby be done: but which perfecteth and fulfilleth it, so as beyond it there is not ought that can be desired or be. If there were any other beyond it, it were neither an end, nor soueraigne or chiefe. But for such a one doe we seeke. and if it could either waste or perish, we might be afraid to lose it: and the greater that the pleasure were, the greater also should y^e grāfe thereof be. But the propertie of felicitie or happinesse is, to content the desire & to exclude feare. Now then, as touching the thing which we seeke; in respect that we seeke it as our ende, it behoueth it to be agreeable to the very nature of man, peculiar to the whole kind, & common to all that be of the kinde: & in respect y^e it is our soueraigne welfare, it behoueth it to be vniuersal, perfect, & continuall. And now let vs see what that may be.

Surely if we consider man and the world; in man the Sences, and in the world the sensible things: Man as the beholder, and the world as a Theatre: man as the guest, in the world the Feast prepared of all things conuenient for him: we will say by and by, not onely that they be made the one for the other, but also that in verie deed the world was made for man, and not man for the world, or for any thing therein. And againe, if we consider howe that in the world there is wherewith to content the eye, the eare and all the senses; but nothing that

The world is
not the end to
which man
was made.

that can sufficiently content the minde, the which (as earth ly as it is) passeth from the things visible to the inuisible, from the bodily to the ghostly, and from the creatures to the maker: shall we not easily conclude (which thing I will treat of more at large hereafter) that as the world cannot be mans end, so can it not also be his contentation: And yet notwithstanding man is not created for nought; neither is the desire of his owne welfare planted in him to no purpose. For as say the Philosophers, nature hath made nothing in vaine, neither is shee maimed in thinges needful. Therefore it must needs be, and other wise it cannot be, but that the Creator is the end and contentment of man, whose minde cannot be satisfied nor his will contented to the full, if any part of him do rest vpon these vile and transitory things. By the way, whereas we commonly affirme that God is both the end and the welfare of al things for that they be guided and led whithersoever he listeth by his providence, and also be made partakers of his goodnes: we must vnderstande that this is verified of man after a more high and excellent maner. As the Creatures here beneath, some haue but sense and appetite, and other some but onely a bare inclination of nature: onely man hath wit and wil, which make him a man. Now all these are infallibly directed whithersoever it pleaseth God, as the arrow is leueled at some marke by the Archer, who shooteth the Arrow straight though it haue no eye to see with. But man by a peculiar priuiledge hath an vnderstanding wit which was given vnto him claresighted and cleane, that he might see the marke whereat he is leueled; and Wil, which he receiued franke and free, that he might repose all his delight therein: the one to know and discerne it, the other to loue and imbrace it; the one to see and behold it, the other to obtaine and inioy it. Now then, as the hither end of all creatures here beneath is man, and the furthest end of them is God: so the nearest and immediat end of mā is to know God, & his only welfare is to stick wholly vnto him.

God is the end
or Marke that
Man aimeth at

Let vs imagine man as much as we list, to be still as sound as euer he was: yet what end, or what contentment could he haue but only God? We make great account of riches; what could bee be the better which had gotten al, or which had al riches gotten for him already to his hand? for what els is the getting of this world, but a proofe of want and povertie: we esteeme highly of hono, of vaine titles, and of dignities: And what els are al these but a vaine gasing and wonderment of people which can be none at al where no people are? Surely then was not man set in the world, to the intent that that should be his marke to aime at; & much lesse could he seeke his contentment there. Yet notwithstanding he had receiued more wit than we haue, and not to no ende. And therefore we must needs say it was to direct him to some further thing than vanitie, which at that time could haue no place at all. Some wil say, his

soveraigne

soueraigne welfare consisted in his health. What was his health, but
 his very being, & what maketh health to be esteemed, but sickness, & who
 longeth for it, but he that is diseased? But whereto serueth so excellent
 a wit, if it be to haue nothing moze than the brute beast? Another saies
 it consisted in vertue. How in vertue, seeing that vertue is nothing els
 but the subduing & conquering of affection by reason; wherof he was in
 possession already by nature, [and had held it still without contradi-
 ction] if he had not of his owne accord yielded himself to euil? now then
 what remaineth, but y^e for as much as man had not any thing to do, ei-
 ther within himself or without himself, his wit was giuen him to stry vp
 both aboue y^e wo:ld & aboue himself, that is to wit, to the beholding of the
 creato:z, to y^eld him thanks & seruice for his innumerable benefits, & to
 be wholly inflamed with the loue of him? now looke what was the end &
 soueraigne welfare of y^e first man; the same must we thinke to be of al o-
 ther men, notwithstanding that our wit be weakned & our wil besotted &
 all our nature conered ouer with rust, & marred like the teeth of a sawe.
 Wherefoze as the end of the first man when he was in his perfect sound-
 nes, was to attaine vnto God; so the end of vs in that small soundnesse
 which remaineth vnto vs, must be to tend vnto him; and like as the first
 mans soueraigne welfare was to sticke vnto God; so cannot we hope to
 attaine to our soueraigne welfare, but by returning vnto him. In this
 welfare & vtmost end which we set downe vnto man, let vs try whether
 we can finde all the markes which we haue required therein. First, it
 ought to be peculiar to that kind of man, and consequently placed in the
 noblest part of him. Now in al these lower things where is there an vn-
 derstanding wit, but onely in man; & in man what is moze noble, than
 his vnderstanding? and what is it (to speake properly) that maketh him a
 man, but vnderstanding? Moreover, who sees not that many brute beastes
 do passe, man in liuely force both of life & sence? But in this alone he (as
 Plutarke saith) doth passe them all. Secondly, it must neuertheles be co-
 mon to al men. Now (as vtterly blinded & corrupted as we be) what is
 moze common among vs al, than the knowledge of God? If Riches and
 Honor be the marke we shoot at; how few of so many men which leuell
 at it with Heart, Cie, Hand, & Sinews, do hit it? If our welfare consist
 in hauing our helth, in being vertuous, in dealing vp rightly, or in calme-
 nes of mind; how few doe intoy it? On the contrary part, who is so blind
 that he seeth not God, as soone as he doth but looke out with his Cies? or
 which findeth him not within himselfe? or which attaineth not to him,
 if he looke aboue himselfe? And who seeth not this marke, so cleere that
 the wo:ld is but a shadowe to it? so great that the whole wo:ld is no-
 thing to it; and so nere, as that we be not nêrer to our selues? O; who
 can be afraid to be shut out from it, whose greatnes hath rōme inough
 for.

for al, and whose sufficiencie is such, as the forer that can be no impediment to the latter to haue a lighting place? Surely therefore we may wel say, that if we had continued sound, we could haue had none other marke or end but him; for al things els had bene nothing. And now also for all that we be corrupted; we ought not to tend or intend to any other than him; for he alone can be al to al, and this point can be nowhere but in him. To be short, like as the soule is the shape of man, so is the knowledge of God the true shape of al vnderstanding of man.ouertheless, although the shape of man was disfigured in the first man, yet there remaineth a certaine common conceauing of God, howbeit so defaced and beslobbered, that either we discern him no moze to be our ende, though he put vs in minde therof on al sides; or els imagining our selues to leuel at that marke, we swarue aside one while to vngodlines, and another while to superstition; or at least wise we had leuer for the most part, to rone at euery thing that our senses make withall, and to walow in these base things like beasts which haue no moze but their senses.

Thirdly in our soueraigne welfare, I required that it should be vniuersall. Now where shal it be found to be so but in God, who is in deede the very god of all godnes, and the verie welfare of all welfare that is in the world? Also that it should be perfect and full. And what desire we but the things that are? And what can he want, which possesseth him in whom al things are? Again, I added that the same must be euermore lasting and vchangeable. Now who can be so, but the maker of order & change it selfe? and what thing see we here in this world, yea euen in our selues, which abideth in one state by the space of two moments? To be short, if we desire to content our senses, he hath made sensible things for ynonce; and if we desire to content our minde, he himselfe is the things that are to be minded. Where then is the thing to be recovered which we couet, but onely in him? Now as touching this vniuersal soueraigne god, true it is that all of vs are able to desire it, but the most part of vs, vnable to discern it, and none of vs able to attaine vnto it. Where remaineth nothing to vs at al (I meane euen to the best of vs since our fall) but a grace that we haue it not any moze, and that we be not able of our selues to recover it again here below. When let vs say, that as it had bene a happy case for vs, to haue continued still in our first state: so is it now for vs to returne thither againe; that is to say, to be set againe in Gods fauour, that we may one day see his face yet againe. And because this blessednes cannot be brought to perfection in this life so full of wretchednes: we must dispose our life in this world, not to liue still in the world, but to die in respect of these dead things, and to liue vnto God; at least wise if we intend to liue the true life, and to liue euermore in him.

Now then we see that we haue found our true restingpoint and our true

The false ends
and the false
Welfares.

true welfare, that is to wit the turning againe vnto God, from whose fauour and fellowship we be departed. For p^{ro}ue thereof, we neede but to examine from point to point the other ends & welfares which worldly men doe set downe to themselves, by the tokens and p^{ro}ues which I haue made of the other already. Whereby as we shall find a common desirousnes in al men to seeke the welfare; so wil we doubtlesse wonder at such diuersitie of tastes, which like to the lustings of them that haue the greene sicknesse, (who be greedy of Dust, Coales, Ashes and such other baggage) cannot but be way vnto vs a strange distemperature & corruption of our whole nature. Most men haue in all ages spent their whole life, either in raking together of riches, or in Ambition, or in purchasing of Landes, or in puffing vp themselves with the winde of Pride. And what can be moze contrary to the liking of our vnderstanding, than those things? The end whereof things tend, is better than the things themselves. What is it then for a man to bend himselfe to these outward things: but to see we that we be woyle than Earth and Doo^g? And who woulde not beleue that the Soule of man were infinitely lesse made for such thinges, than cloath of Gold to w^{as}ppe by mire and dirt in?

Also we seeke the uttermost end of man. Now who is he that desireth not Riches for some other end, than for the Riches themselves? name, Riche^s ly that he might spend them either wantonly or honozably, or necessa^{ry} rillie: Say who would passe for them at all, if he might haue the other thinges without them? Were it not so, what were moze wretched than man in whose end consisteth his welfare, seeing that either the Winde, or Fire, or robbing may bereaue vs of that felicitie: that is to wit, ouerwhelme vs with miseries in one moment? Againe, how can Riches be the common marke of all men to shoo^t at, seeing that the enriching of one man is the impouerishing of another? Yea and that the very being of them consisteth but in the opinion of men, some counting Gold, some Stones, some Shelles, and some p^{ut}tes to be Riches: and al resembling yong children, which set al their felicitie in Cheekstones and pins? And what is it for men to set their felicitie in things which are neither Span^{ish} nor of Span, as if they should set the goodnes of a Knise in the Sheath, or of an Horse in his Footcloth or Saddle? To be short, how can that be the soueraigne God, which is no god at al? which is common as wel to be bad as to be good, and doth rather impaire men than amend them? And how can that be our cheefe marke to shoo^t at, which of all things turneth vs most from the true marke, that is to wit, from God: as in truth there is not a readier way to d^{is}uine vs quite and cleane from God, than to d^{is}uine vs nearer and nearer to worldly riches?

And what is Ambition? We might discourse of that time without Hono^r. end.

end: for in verie dede it hath no end. Some attaine to some certaine point: other some be quite excluded. Which of them in our opinion are the happiest? Sothly they that are excluded are disapointed of their pretended felicitie. That is all the harme they haue by it. They that attaine to honoꝝ, are in continual toꝝment, spightfull oꝝ spighted, doing mischēf oꝝ receiuing mischēf; ouermated oꝝ ouermating. What is this but many euils for one, and a multiplying of miseries without number, for the obtainement of one sillie shadowe of felicitie? We will leaue the residue to declaimers: what are the fruits of these hellish toꝝments, what are they? For soth Honoꝝ, Reputation, and Power oꝝ Authority. What is all this but winde, which cannot fill vs, noꝝ scarcely puffed vs by? I shall be saluted as I go abroade, I shall sit highest at meetings. In hauing these things, what haue I, which a wicked man may not rather haue than I? And if it be a good thing, how is it giuen to euill men? I shall haue reputation. If it be among euill men, how shall I be blamed among good men? Perhaps I shall haue it among good men. If for vertue: who seeth not that reputation is but a shadow, made to follow vertue? And who will runne after the shadowe to forgoe the bodie? If freely for nothing, (as men say) vpon credite: who knoweth not that thing to be nothing worth, which is giuen for nought, and by such as are noughtworth? And who wil beleue that we be bozne to such an end as that? Nay rather, how many be the slaunders wherewith godmen be charged: insomuch that diuers times they be faine to forgoe their reputation for the preservation of their Conscience?

Power, Authority and Souerintie.

Finally, I shall haue obtained power & authoritie, If that be the ende of Man; how happeneth it that for one mans hauing of it, so many millions are faine to go without it? And if it be his soueraigne god; wherof commeth it, that not onely it is turned to euil, but also commonly turneth the possessors thereof to euil? But let vs put the case that all this is good. To whom? For every one y is honoꝝed as a Prince, ten thousand are faine to kneele: for one that triumpheth, a hundred thousand are led in captivity: for one that reigneth, ten hundred thousand serue as slaves. By this reckoning, some onely one man should be the end of many men: & the felicitie of thꝛe oꝝ fower should be the infelicity of a whole world. Now our seeking is for the end & felicitie, not of some one oꝝ two men, but of all the whole kind. What wil ye say then if euen those fewe haue it not? I take to witnesse the happiest Courtiers that are, whether one wꝛie loke of their Prince do not sting them more at the hart, than a thousand flatterers & as many crouchers and cappers can delight their eares & eyes? Nay, I reposit me euen to the greatest Princes themselves, whether one Rebellion of their subiects against them, do not vex them more than all their honoꝝable triumphs do reioice them? and were it not a shame to say, that

that mans soueraigne god should stand in awe or depend vpon a grim looke? What els then are all these things, but resemblances of the Apples that grow about Sodome, which being pleasant to the eye, and prouoking to the appetite, doe vanish into smoke or into soote as soone as a man puts his teeth to them?

Besides this, the felicitie of man ought to abyde in the thing it selfe. But the contentment of the ambitious person, dependeth vpon another. Also it ought to bee euerslasting: But ambition endeth with the body, and is buried with it in the same graue. Againe, the things that ambition craueth, are sought some times for some other things sake: but we demande an end wherebpon to rest, and not a meane to an ende. To bee short, so farre off is ambition from being a way to bring vs to soueraigne god or felicitie; that in verie trueth (as I haue sayd afoze) it casteth vs miserably downe and maketh vs to fall quite and cleane from it.

Now, seeing we cannot finde the thing we seeke for, neyther among men, nor in these worldly things; doth it not follow that we must seeke it in our selues? Surely the world is not of it selfe, nor for it selfe, but was made by another, and for another; neither hath man his owne beginning of himselfe: and therefore he cannot be the end of himselfe. The maker of a thing maketh it not for the things sake, but for his owne sake: and therefore he himselfe is the ende of his worke. Againe, the thing that is made is not good in respect of it selfe, but for the vse or ende whereunto the maker maketh it: and therefore the maker himselfe is the soueraigne god thereof. But let vs discover the matter yet more largely. Man is composed of Bodie and Soule; the Bodie mortall, the Soule immortal. Now, if wee set mans felicitie in his body only; we do too great wrong, both to the Soule, and to the whole man. For if it consist in the bodie, it perisheth and fadeth away with the bodie. And then what remaineth to the Soule which ouerlineth, but wretchednesse? But wee looke for a felicitie which belongeth to the whole Man, and to his whole life both together. Againe what should be this felicitie of the bodie, vnlesse perhaps it be Beautie; which gladdeth more the beholder than the hauer thereof, and yet within a while after, is lost by some wound, some soze, some pimples, or some Sunburning: In the Soule ioyned with the bodie we haue three abilitie, namely of life, of sence, and of vnderstanding. Let vs see in which of these three, mans soueraigne welfare and end may be harbozed. The Soule giueth life to mans bodie, and the perfection of life is health. If our life serue to none other end than that; what had the first man to doe with it, who was created healthfull? If it must be the end of vs now after our corruption; what is more vnhappie than man? Nay, what is more vncapable of happinesse than man? A bodie

The vtmost end & soueraigne good of Man are not in himselfe.

Beautie.

Health.

subject

subiect to a thousand diseases, a thousand harmes, a thousand dangers; weake, frayle, fraught with miseries within, wrapped in them without; alwaies uncerteine of life, alwaies sure of death; whom a Worme, an Earbe, a graine of dust may kill: who if he looked for none other happinesse than that, were much better to bee a Plant than a Man. Againe, who is so sound and healthie of bodie, or so diseased in mynd, which (if he were put to the choice) had not leuer to haue a sound mind in a sick body, than to be out of his wits hating perfect health of bodie? Bothly then it is a very clere argument, your chiefe happinesse resteth in our mynd, seeing we can find in our harts to redeme it with the miseries of our body.

Bodily pleasure, Voluptuousnes, or Sensualitie.

Let vs come to the sensitive parte. The happines thercof seemeth to consist in Voluptuousnes or Sensualitie. If that make vs happy; then happy be brute beasts, as who doe vse it both moze freely, and with moze delight than wee: and unhappy is man, who cannot wholly become a beast, do what he can. The beast taketh his pleasure without regard who sees him, without remoyse of conscience, & without any arguing against himselfe. Contrariwise, what man is he which seeth not a Law in himselfe that goes about to bypde him: which seeth not a hartbyting in the middest of his pleasure: or whose greatest delights leaue him not a sting of repentance behind them? And what happines can that be whereof we be ashamed, and which compelleth vs to seeke couert for the doing thereof? Also what a fond workman was hee, that framed vs so farre unfit for such a purpose? insomuch that whereas all our body is lyable to aches & itches both within & without and on all sides: we scarcely haue aboue two or thzee parts vpon vs capable of pleasure, and euen those also subiect to grieue and paine. Let there be a man (saith Plutarke) that hath led his whole life in pleasure and sensualitie: and about a two or thzee howers afoze he dyatwe towards death, let him be put to his choyce whether he had leuer too delight his senses by lying with his Lais, or delight his mynd with deliuering his Country from some great perill. Will he (thinke you) be so very a beast, as to doubt which of them he shal chuse? who seeth not then that the pleasure of mynd, is both greater than the pleasure of the body, and moze peculiar to man, and moze agreeable to his end? We seeke a soueraigne good: if it be good, it will amend vs. But what doth marre vs and impayze vs moze both in bodie and soule, than fleshly pleasure? Also we meane it should be perfect. If it be so, it will make vs perfect too. But what consumeth vs, what decayeth vs moze than sensualitie? Againe, wee seeke an end; but yet an endlesse end, not which maketh an end of our pleasures, but which doth still feede our desires. Contrarywise, what is there which is sooner at an end in it selfe, which sooner maketh an end of vs, or which sooner wearieth vs and lesse contenteth vs, than the bodily pleasures: considering that (as the Poet

(saith

saith) the pleasure and paine go both together: For euer, how may that be the soueraigne good, which is not so much as a meane good: For who can denie, but that abstinence is taken for a vertue, euen among the vicious sort: And what manner of good is that, which may become euill by increasing, if it were not euill of it self also? Finally, all bodily pleasures consist in the Sences, and are executed by the sensitive parts. Now, the Sences are oftentimes forsalled in vs, either by diseases or by oldage: and the sensitive parts are dispatched at the least by death.

Now albeit that a man haue a double life, the one in this world, the other in another, the one dying, the other immortall; the first which is here tending to the second as the worse to the better; yet is not our seeking for such an end or such a felicitie as dyeth with vs, but for such a one as maketh vs happy, quickeneth vs, and refresheth vs euerlastingly: the which surely is not to be found in mortall things. Now followeth therefore, yet the vnderstanding part, which is occupied one while in it selfe, another while in the government of the world, & another while in contemplation of heauenly things: and of these three operations spring three perfections: namely Vertue, Policie, and Wisdome. Let vs see yet in which of these three consisteth our soueraigne felicitie and contentation. Doubtly it is not to be doubted, but that our end will be found to consist in that part: for whither can the minde of man reach, beyond the world, and man and him that made them both? But let vs see if we come nere it in this world. I pray you what is Vertue? The calmenesse of our affections. What are these affections of ours? The waues and stormes of our Soules, raised with euery little blast of winde, which doe so tolle and turmoule it vpside downe, that euen the best Pilots are faine to strike Saile, and reason it selfe is giuen welnere to forsake the Helus. If Man were created to this end, why was he created with calmenesse of minde? Or if his soueraigne good consist now in ouer maystering his affections; what more contrarietie can there be, than to be voide of affections and to be a man? Let vs put the case that some man attaine thereunto: shall he also stay there? No: for valiantnesse hath an eye to warre, warre to peace, peace to the prosperitie of the Commonweale, and so forth of others. Now, that which tendeth vnto another, cannot be the utmost end. But will man at leastwise be contented therewith? Nay, let vs commend Vertue as much as we list, and let vs busie our selues in making bookes of it: yet if it extend no further than to the things on earth, I dare wel say there is not any thing, I say not so happy, but so wretched & miserable as man. Folke will say he is an honest man: but yet as honest as he is, they will let him starue for hunger. The Prince will say he is a faithfull, a sound, & an vpright dealer, neither led by couetousnesse nor carried away with ambition: but yet he will not put him in trust with the

Vertue!

managing of his affayres in this world. The foulest vice in the world shall finde a mate: but if Vertue runne through the whole world, she shall scarce find a husband. Now then, if we seeke our felicitie in this life; what is Vertue but very miserie? And if we seeke it in the other lyfe; what shall become of this vertue where we shall haue no affections to encounter with? Surely then is not Vertue our end: for the end that we seeke, hath not an eye to a further thing; neither doth the souereigne good thereof, which goes ioyntly with it, come to any end.

Policie.

What then? Is Policie that ende? We call Policie the right vse of reason in the gouerning of worldly affayres. Besides that, it may also properly be defined, to be an art or skill of guyding mens doings to a certains end. Now the skill, and the end that it ameth at, cannot be both one thing. But (to be short) what is this world? Strife, Warre, Disoord, Enuy, Rancor, Burning, Sacking, Wasting, Spoiling, and Destroying; a miserable ground for man to build his felicitie vpon. What is the gouerning and disposing of all these things, but a dealing with Wyles, Botches, and Cankers, whereof if we haue no feeling, they can (to go the best way) doe vs no good; and if wee haue feeling, they woork vs nothing but sorowe, griefe, stinck, and lothsomnesse? Yea, but the happines or felicity is in healing them. Happy then is that commonweale which receiveth good by thy paine: but not thy paine happy which thou hast taken to heale it. For when a Physicion healeth a man, who receiues the benefite, the Physicion, or the Patient? And if the Physicion did his Cure for gaine, and the Magistrate his dutie for honour: who sees not that the skill of curing was not the end of the one, nor the skill of gouerning the end of the other: seeing that they tended either of them to a further end, and that so fillie a one? Notwithstanding all this, in the end Man dieth, & the world perisheth: but the Soule liueth still, & yet giueth ouer the dealings of the world. Therfore needs must some other thing than Policie be our souereign good, seeing that this Policie is limited within the bounds of this world.

Wisdom or
Religiousnes.

Now then, let vs examine Wisdom. It is the beholding of God and of things belonging to God. This requireth a man to lift vp himselfe aboue the world, and aboue himselfe; I meane that a man should retire from all outward things into his owne Soule, the Soule vnto her Wynd, and the Wynd vnto God. Surely there is great likelyhood that our dooings ought to be referred to this wisdom, and that our end and welfare should consist therein. For the perfecting of such a contemplation, wee say there are required wealth, Health, Vertue, and Policie. For want and povertie, bee as Fetters of Prison to a wel disposed mind: a sickely and diseased body, is as a torture to it: vnruely affections dazle it and make it see one thing for another: Policie is the stablisher of Commonweales, and whoe soeuer giueth himselfe to contemplation, it becometh him to be settled in a quiet

quiet place, that he may hold the Plommet of his minde steady without shaking or stirring. Thus doe all things seeme to serue to that vse. But when they come all to the fozenamed point, to helpe vs; yet I pray you how far doe they further vs? It is naturally bred in man to beleue that there is a God: and his workes doe put vs in minde of it enery howe. But shall we enter into our workemaster, seeing that the verie outside of the least of all his workes doth stoppe vs? Agayne, who knoweth not, that if there be not a God, there can be no happines at all? And sith wee knowe it, euen (as yee woulde say) from our birth; why take wee so much payne in seeking that which wee haue already? Reason telleth vs further, that God is good and iust; that is to say, that hee loueth that which is good, and hateth that which is euill. And our owne conscience telleth vs, that wee doe little good or none, but much euill. And if the little good which we doe be done amisse, what happines is there, or rather what unhappines is there not in that knowledge which maketh vs to feele a continuall torment in our selues? But the partie that is giuen to contemplation, mounteth by yet higher, and considereth that God is immortall, vnchangeable, and not to be wrought into: which is as much to say, as that he is not as we men are, who doe die, moue, and change: and when he comes to that point, he is at the highest that his wit can reach vnto. And what is all this saying by, but a creeping still vpon the earth? For, to say that of a thing which it is not, or to say it is not this or it is not that; what els is it but a protesting that wee knowe not what it is: as if a man should boast that he knowes an Elephant, vnder pretence that he knowes it is not a Snaille? What then is our highest contemplation but deepe ignorance? And who would make ignorance his highest felicitie and furthest end or shote-anker? Yet notwithstanding how few be there which attaine so far: And if any through rashnes aduenture any further; into what erro: and blindness doe they fall, no lesse than they which so go their sight by looking against the Sun?

It remaineth then in the end, that we must attaine to that by Faith, which wee cannot attaine vnto by Reason; that wee must mount by by liuely beleefe aboue our vnderstanding, vnto the things whereunto the eye of our minde is not able to reach. And Algazell the Arabian proceeded so farre, as to say that the roote wherby the felicity to come is attained vnto, is faith. And what is this faith in God, but a beleuing that our welfare lyeth in him? What is the beleuing, but the hoping for it? What is hope, but the desiring of it? What is the desire of it, but the not hauing of it? And to be short, what is the continuall beleefe of it here, but a be- waiying that here we can neither haue it nor see it? If we haue not faith, what haue we but ignorance? And if we haue faith; what haue we but onely a desire and longing; considering that the greater our faith is, the

Faith or Be-
leeffe.

Algazel in the
beginning of
his Supernat-
urallies.

more we despise these base things; and the greater our desire is, the more we hate our selues, and the more earnestly do we loue God. To be short, What is sayth? Welfare behighted. But we would see it. Again, what is sayth? The way vnto felicity. But we would possesse and inioy it. Loke then what proportion is betwene that which is present, and that which is to come; such proportion is there betwixt the hope which we haue here (yea euen aboue the world & aboue our selues,) & the perfect and full fruition of the good which we seeke to attaine vnto. But let vs in few words gather together what wee haue said heretofore. Whereas wee seeke for an ende or restingpoint, the world is made for man, man for the Soule, the Soule for the mynd, the mynd for a much higher thing than it selfe, and what els can that be but God? As for that which we vnderstand here as concerning God by our naturall wisdom, it is but ignorance; and that which we conceiue by our supernaturall power, is but belæse and belæse maketh not things perfect, but only moueth the vnderstanding. It followeth then that our doings can haue no end to rest vpon here, but only in the life to come, which is the beholding and knowing of God. Again, if we seeke the soueraigne good, our appetites owe obedience to our will, our will to our reason, & the perfection of our reason is the knowing of God. And so the contentment of our will is our possessing of God. Nowe we possesse not God, but so farre forth as we loue him: we loue him not, but so farre forth as we know him: and neither can ignorance ingender earnest loue, nor belæse ingender full and perfect fruition but onely a certain hope, which hope is matched with impatience eue in the best of vs. It followeth therefore that we cannot inioy our soueraigne welfare, vntill we be come to our vtmost end, nor haue our full contentation vntill we haue full knowledge: that is to wit, we cannot haue it in this world, nor in man, which two cannot content the mind or satisfie the wil of man, for so much as eyther of them both is a world of wretchednesse: but though we haue a double life, yet can wee haue our vtmost resting point and our onely soueraigne welfare, no where els but onely in God and in the euerlasting life.

Where I should declare what that felicitie of man shall be, when he is come to his vtmost resting point. But who will be so rash as to open his mouth in that behalfe, after him that hath told vs that neither eye hath scene it, nor hart can conceiue it? And how should we know it here, being vnable eyther to see it or to haue it here? Now therefore at one word, let vs be contented with this, that all our desires shalbe satisfied at that day, seeing they extend not but to the things that are; and that in God we shall at that day see, haue, and knowe all things. But yet for a more larger confirmation of this former point, it is now time to here what the Philosophers say thereof.



The xix. Chapter.

That the wisest of all ages agree that God is the vtmost end and
souereigne good, felicitie, or welfare of man.



Wrely man both naturally desire, for the
contentment of his wil, to be well; and for
the exercise of his wit, to haue some cer-
teine end. And therfore there is not a riser
nor a larger place in Philosophie, than the
serching out of the chiefe end & souereigne
god of man; insomuch that Cicero saith
that the whole authoritie of Philosophie,
consisteth in that point alone. Notwith-
standing, forasmuch as by reason of our
fall, we finde our selues astonished here by

loue like folke salne out of the Clouds, and mozeouer benighted with de-
rie deepe darkenesse in a place that leadeth many sundry wayes cleane
contrarie one from another; we knowe not in this perplexitie which
way to take, and yet euery of vs thinks himselfe wise enough to direct
his companion. One calles to the right hand, and another to the left: One
points ye vp the hill, and another sets ye through the plaines: and yet
all of them can as little skill of the right way one as another: and at the
last the most part of them perceiue in the ende of their trauell, that the
moze haste they made, the further they wandered from their way. But
what wonder is it if blinde folkes, or such as are guided by blind folkes,
or such as haue no guide at all, doe goe astray? May rather, were it not
to be esteemed for a miracle, if any of them all, howbeit being guided
from aboue, should happen to hit vpon the right way? Naturall desire
causeth men to seeke their welfare. And all Philosophie lieth in that point
of seeking out the welfare of man. Sinne hath put vs from it, and maketh
vs to lose it. And therefore the wiser sorte haue laboured to reconer it by
eschewing sinne. But most men knowing not that this sinne is come vpon
vs by a high fall, and therefore imaginig themselues to be nestled still
in their former place: doe bustle their heads about the seeking of it there,
not perceiuing that they be throwne downe very low, farre from God,
and vnderneath themselues. What is the cause why we to no purpose
doe seeke by groping round about vs, for that which is not to bee had

Austin in his
xix booke and
first cap. of the
Citi-

there, nor is to be found there. Varro saith, that in his time there were two hundred foure scoze and eight opinions, concerning this point in the booke of the Philosophers: that is to wit, two hundred foure scoze and eight Sects: for that was the badge of Cognisance that made the difference betwixt them. It was a wonder to see so many diuersities, and a more wonder, that of so many so few could hit vpon the truth. Yet not, withstanding they triumphed one ouer another, and were curious in confuting one another; as in deed it is alwaies more easie to reprove a fault, than to amend it; and to conuince a lie, than to finde out the truth. But yet at leastwise we haue wonne thus much at the hands of them all: That there is one chiefe ende, and one soueraigne god, whereat all men ought to aime: and we finde euen by the contrarietie of their owne reasons one against another, that it is none of all those things wherein they haue sought it: wherevpon we may easilie conclude, that it cannot bee anywhere els, then where we seeke it. Had they well considered, that Man is faine from his former dignitie, and compared the glorie of his former state with the wretchednesse of his present state; they would haue sought none other happinesse or felicitie than to returne thither, that is to say, than to be linked againe vnto GOD: and they would neuer haue followed so many fond fancies, more woorthy to be pitied than to be laughed at. Neuerthelesse there are some fewe to be found in all ages, which haue leueled at this mark, like as among all the rest, we see that some haue had a certaine knowledge of our first originall nature.

The Epicures. The Epicures sought this soueraigne god in the pleasures and delights of the bodie: and the Stoikes mocked them for their labor, perceiuing well, that there is not here so faire and sweet a Rosebush, which hath not very sharpe prickes, and that it was the next way to make a man a beast. To be short, the Epicures themselves were so much ashamed of the matter, that to make Lady Pleasure to go for an honest woman, they were faine to disguise her as much as they could, and to say that by Pleasure they meant the delights of the minde, and not the seuerous pleasures of the body, which passe alway in the turning of a hand. But in the end, what were their pleasures? Forsooth (say they) to bethinke a mans selfe how oft he hath made good chere, or how oft he hath seene his trull. O strange beastlinesse! As who would say (saith Plutarke) that the pleasures of this world were to be kept in Conserues, or to be layd vp as Resozatiues in the closet of mans memorie: or rather (say I) as though the remembrance of troubles past, yea or of some græuous sicknesse recovered, were not more delightfull than the greatest ioyes that are possible to be had.

The Stoikes. The Stoikes therefore doe giue vs another kinde of happinesse or welfare; namely For all vertue, which consisteth in the quiet reigning of reason

reason in vs. But what is this els than a mere imagination? How will they answer to the Peripateticks, which say that man is not made for himselfe alone, but for common societie: That his vertue must ayme at a further ende: That vertue neither in respect of that whereat it aimeth, nor of that whereon it worketh can make men happy: To be short, what will they say to their owne companions, who for the vpholding of this their surmised felicitie, do vnderprop it with wealth, health, courage, and measurable pleasure, as vn sufficient to stand alone without aide? But I haue ripped by this point sufficiently in the Chapter going last before.

What then do the Peripateticks set vs downe? As the Stoicks left the Bodie to mount vp to the Soule, so these mount vp from the Soule to the Spinde. There are (saith Aristotle) two sorts of Blessednesse. The one ciuill and publike, called *Policie*; which consisteth in action: and the other priuate and of household, called *Wisedome*, which consisteth in Contemplation. He thinks verely that he hath said somewhat. But how can *Policie* be this blessednesse, considering that according to his owne saying, *Policie* is but a cunning or skill to lead things to a certaine end, and is not the ende it selfe? Or how can *Wisedome* be it, seeing that (as he himselfe saith) our vnderstanding seeth as little in matters concerning God, as the eye of an Owle doth when she commeth nere the Sunne? Our vnderstanding is dull, our iudgement vncertaine, and our memorie deceitfull. The deepest of our knowledge (saith Socrates) is ignorance; and all Philosophie (as Porphyrius vpholdeth) is but mere coniecture, easie to be overthrowne with enery little push. How then, how may this be a happinesse, vnlesse we will graunt that the Owle is happie in coming nere the Sunne; or a blind man happie in beholding colours?

His Disciples Alexander and Auerrhoes, perceiuing that all our contemplation is but veration of minde, most commonly to no purpose; haue found vs out another device. Which is, that all our happinesse consisteth in ioyning the capacitie of our minde, or rather of our imagination, vnto certaine separated substances, to bee informed by them in all maner of knowledge: for the which device they be reproued of most Philosophers, and as I beleue, in the end they laughed themselves to scorn for it. But as I haue said already, what are these separated substances of theirs? Or rather why did they not set our felicitie in being knit vnto God, whome they confesse to be better than all these things? Again, who is he, were he neuer so fantastickall, euen though it were Auerrhoes himselfe, that could haunt himselfe to haue euer attayned to that imagined Coniunction of theirs in this life? And seeing that (as they beare vs on hande) the knowledge of the nature of all sensible things, is required to the attainment of that felicitie of theirs; how shall we attayne to the full height thereof, if we stop at the very beginning?

The Peripateticks or walkers. Aristotle in his Moralles. lib. 5.

Porphyr. in his first booke of the Soule, to Byrithius and Anebon.

The Academicks. Plato in his Commonweale lib. 10. In his Epinomis. In his Theetetus.

The

Laertius in
the life of
Plato.
Plato in his
Phædon.

The Academikes therefore, who take vpon them to weare Platoes liuery, mounted by one step higher, and considered very well that all our contemplation is but a continual wrestling, one while against the darknesse of the things, and another while against the darknesse of our owne minde. And as they acknowledge our hurt to procede of a fall, whereby we bryake our wings, which (as Plato interpreteth them) were for all vertue and contemplation: so conceined they thereupon, that it were a great good turne for vs to recouer them againe. But whether to be caried by them? Let vs heare that of Plato. All the things in this world (saith he) which we call goods, as Beautie, Riches, Strength, Nobilitie, and such other; are so farre off from being goods in deede, that they be rather corrupters and hinderers of good. When are they very farre off from being the Soueraigne good of man, or consequently the End whereat he ought to stay. Again, It is vnpossible (saith Plato) that men should be happie in this life, doe what they can: that is to be had in another life, where the vertuous shall receiue felicitie for a reward. In vaine then doe we seeke that here beneath, by our dooeds and contemplations, which is not here to be found: and in vaine doe we set our vtmost end heere, where is not the furthest end of our life. But in the end, what is this felicitie? It is (saith Plato) to be ioyned vnto God, and to become like vnto him, who is himselfe the highest top, the furthest end, and the vtmost bound of all felicitie. Thus yee see that (by Platoes iudgement) the two things which we seeke, doe meeete both together alonly in God. The end of our life is to be ioyned vnto God. And our Blessednes or felicitie which ought to content vs, which consisteth in the full fruition of all good things, is the possessing of God, who is the very felicitie it selfe. Yet neuerthelesse, Aristotle seemeth to haue come at length to the same point, in that he saith, That God is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things: and againe, that mans felicitie consisteth in the same thing wherein the felicitie of the Gods consisteth, that is to wit, in perfect contemplation of that which is aboue all moueable things.

Aristotle in
his booke of
the World:
And in his
Morals: and
in his first
booke of the
heauens.
The Philoso-
phers of old
time.
Pythagoras.
Mercurius
Trismegistus,
otherwise cal-
led Hermes.

Zoroastres.

Pythagoras said that the ende of this life is Contemplation; that the end of all Contemplation, is God: and that the felicitie of man is to be lifted by vnto God. Also he taught vs that we be but as Pilgrims in this world, and as folke banished from Gods presence: and what dooth the banished man desire moze, than to be restozed home into his owne Countre: And Mercurie saith, that our end is to liue in Soule, which in this world is as good as buried: That in this world there is not any thing that is woorthy to be said to be well or good. It is in another place therefore that man must liue and inioy his welfare, namely (as he saith) in being become one againe with God. And Zoroastres saith, that we must trauel with al our power towards the brightnes of the father, who is the giuer of

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of our soule. Also he hath told vs that we be falne away from this brightnesse of light into thicke darkenesse, and haue lost Gods fauour by going about to set our selues free from his seruice. But as the world hath taught vs more and more that there is no god in the world: so the later Philosophers haue discoursed yet more largely thereof, than those that went afore. Here therefore we might rehearse a good part of Seneca and Cicero and others, whose opinion soasmuch as I haue alledged already in the chapter of the Immortality of mans soule, where it may be knowne well enough: I wil content my selfe for this time with a soure or five of them.

Surely Plutarke is wonderfull in confuting the beastlines of the Epicures, and the awke opinions of the Stoicks: setting against the Epicures, the pleasure that a good man receiveth in seeing God well serued here on earth, and in hauing him for his Leader from aboue: and against the Stoicks, the strife which man hath against himselfe, which all their Philosophie is not able to appease, and therefore he resolueth himselfe in the end, that as in the miseries of the men of olde time, the looking vpon them was the end why they toke the orders of them vpon them: so the end of true Philosophy is the Contemplation and beholding of the mindfully and immortall nature, that is to say of God the Creator.

Iamblichus was surnamed the Diuine: and it is saide that he was so called, because he spake so Diuinely of this matter. Thus therefore doth he say: Shall we say that to be healthy, to be faire, to be riche, to be honored, to be of a good wit, and such like are mans happines? No surely. The strength of man is but a iest, and his honour a mockerie. Yea, Man himselfe and all that he maketh account of, are but a fleeting shadowe. Neuerthelesse, vnto good men, they be good possessions: but vnto wicked men, they be euill and dangerous. What then? should not the possessing of them for euer, and not as in a Dreame that vanisheth away, be the true happines? No: the possessing of them for euer, if it were without vertue, were a very great mischiese, and the sooner they were taken from vs, the lesse harme it should be. Nay, the very true meane to attaine to the heauenly felicity, is praying and calling vnto the Goddes, & chiefly vpon the great God which reigneth ouer them all. And therefore he saith in another place, Whatsoeuer a man doeth or leaueth vndone, ought to bee referred to the Godhead, and all this life is ordeyned for nothing els but to followe God; the knowledge of whome is perfect vertue, Wisdome and Blessfulnes, which maketh vs lyke the Goddes, that is to say (after his manner of speaking,) like the Angels. Let vs heare yet more of him. The time hath beene (sayth hee) that man was fast tyed to the beholding of GOD: but afterwarde hee was made subiect to the bodye, and tyed to the necessitie of Destinie; and therefore it behooueth him to bee well aduised, by what meane hee may bee rid of it.

Now,

Now, other knowledge there is none that can deliuer him, but onely the knowledge of God. For the paterne of felicitie, is to knowe the good, and the knowing of good, is the holy gate whereby to come to the maker of all things. Now *(saith hee againe after ward)* the care of these inferiour things which maketh vs to forget God, cannot be separated from this transitory lyfe wherein we be: for this body will neuer suffer vs to play the right Philosophers in deed. *It followeth then that this knowledge of God vnder the which he comprehendeth all vertue, all wisdom, and all studie of Philosophie, cannot be atteind vnto, nor become perfect in this lyfe, but onely in the life to come.*

Plotin. Enn. 1:
lib. 4. cap. 15.
16.
Plotin. Enn. 6.
lib. 9. Cap. 10.

The finall end of Man (*saith Plotin*) is the pure Good, that is to wit God; and all other things are but appurtenances to that end, and not the end it selfe. Whosoever possesseth this good, can haue no good taken from him, nor any good put vnto him. For it is not only an vniting vnto God, but almost a being of God him selfe. *Now who is he that can take such possession of it in this life? And therefore he addeth,* There our mind beholdeth the fountaine of life, of vnderstanding, of being, the cause of good, and the roote of the Soule. There lyeth our welfare after such a sort, that to be farre from it, is as good as not to be at all. There is the beginning and end of life. The beginning; for from thence dooth it proceede; and the end; for there is the welfare whereon it resteth. The welfare, say I; for in atteynning thither, it becommeth again that which it had bin afore. For as for the being which it hath here, what is it but a downfall, whereby it hath lost hir wings? Here reigneth a base and vile Venus; but there reigneth a heauenly one. Here a loue of the Worlde; there the loue of God. And what a greef ought it to be vnto vs, to be wedded to the earth? And on the contrary part, how desirous ought we to be to feele God in all parts aboue? Yea and to be so ioyned vnto him, as one center is within another, so as both of them may be but as one? *Now he is full of such and larger sayings; and alwaies he concludeth* blessednes and euerlastingnes follow one another, whereby hee excludeth them, both out of this world and out of this life.

Porphyrus in
his worke of
abstinence.
lib. 1. cap. 2.
Porphyrus
concerning
the Soule, to
Byrithius and
Anebon the
Ægyptian.
Simplicius vp-
on the natu-
rall and vp-
pon Epicetus.

But for the more speede, let vs come to others. What is the end of Man (*saith Porphyrus*)? It is vndoubtedly to liue in Mind. And how is that? By contemplation in this life? No (*saith he in another place*). All Philosophie is but gessing, a light beleefe receiued from hand to hand, & which hath nothing therein which may not be called in question. *What manner of Contemplation then shall the true one be?* Not a heape of words (*saith he*) nor a patching together of precepts; but a true vnion of the beholder and the thing that is beheld, that is to say of our Minde and of God.

Simplicius the Peripatetik, whether he learned it of Epicetus or some where els, speaketh of it thus. The greatest good that is in the know-
ledge

ledge of Nature, is that it is a faire path to leade men to the knowing of the Soule, of the separated substances, and of Gods beeing. Moreouer it inflameth vs to the seruing of God, leading vs by the effects to the Maieftie of the Creator; whereupon followeth an onement with God, with assured faith and hope, which are the things for which Philosophie is cheefly to be vsed. And in another place; The beginning (saith he) and the end of happy life, and the perfection of our Soule, consisteth in being bent and turned vnto GOD, as well by acknowledging that hee governeth all things with Iustice, as by consenting to all that hee dooth, as proceeding from a rightfull iudgement. For so long as our Soule abideth in him as in the roote, it abideth in the perfection wherein God created it. But if it fall to starting out of him, it becommeth withered and droopeth, vntill it turne backe and be vnited againe vnto him. The cause then of our unhappines, is our separating of our selues from God; and the cause of our happinesse is our linking in againe with him; and man seeketh a happinesse agreeable to his kinde, as all other things doe. The end of man therefore is to turne againe vnto God, that he may become one with him.

Syrian the Scholemaister of Simplicius writing vpon Aristotle, hath comprehended the matter in one word; we deale with Philosophie (saith he) for our owne benefite: that is to say, for our owne welfare; which welfare is to be vnited vnto God.

Vpon these words,
το αγαθόν
είναι.

And Alexander of Aphrodisie commeth not farre behind when he saith, that our souereigne felicitie consisteth in deuotion towards God, beyond whom there is not any further reward to be desired. For seeing (saith he) that the worthiest operation of the soule is contemplation; and contemplation properly is the knowing of the best things; and none are so good as the things that concerne God: our end and felicitie ought to be the contemplation of things belonging to God. To be short, the best esteemed interpreters of Aristotle, do make him to yeld to this point whether he will or nill, as men ashamed in his behalfe, that hauing sought so much for the true end of man, he hath not set it downe moze certainly.

Alexander in
his booke of
Prouidence,
cited by Cy-
tillus.

Now, the Philosophers of old time knew in all times, not onely that those which attaine to the said end for which Man was created, are happy; but also that those which despise it doe fall into extreame wretchednesse: the one sort receiuing euerlasting felicitie, the other sort being by Gods Iustice condemned to endlesse paine. Also it is an article expresse set downe in the Creedes of all people, as a point that is probable to all men at the very first sight, That God is righteous and good; and that euill is accompanied with punishment, and good is accompanied with reward. As for the Cabalistes of the Iewes, it is no wonder though they haue handled this matter well: for they haue drawne matter out of the

The ends
both of the
good and of
the bad.

In their booke
of shame
concealed.

fountaines

Hermes Trismegistus in his Permander.

Orpheus.

Pythagoras.
Pindarus.
Diphilus.
Sibylla.

ὁ δὲ δὴν πρῶτος, ἀλλοτρίῳ
μῆτις ἐν τῷ ζῴῳ
ἀλλοτρίῳ τοῦ
ἀνθρώπου, αὐ-
τοῦ δὴν τῷ πρῶ-
τῷ ἀλλοτρίῳ ἵματι
ἐκδύλακεν ἑαυτὸν.
That is to say,
they that wor-
ship the sooth-
say and euer-
lasting God,
shall inherit
life for euer
time without
end, dwelling
in Paradise a-
like ouerflo-
rishing green.
But of the o-
ther sort the
saith thus.

δαίμονες ἐν μὲν
τοῦ σώματος
καταμένοντες.

That is to say,
rosted continu-
ally with fire-
brands of pains.
Socrates in
defence of
himselfe.

fountains of the holy scripture. And therefore let vs hear but the Death. Those (saith Hermes) which haue obteyned the fauour of God, are of mortall become immortall, and conceyue the only Good, which maketh them to fall into a misliking of these inferiour things, that they may in-
deuor with all their power to returne to him the more speedily.

Orpheus speaking yet more clérely, bringeth god men into Gods pre-
sence, to the seate of felicitie, and to the feast of the righteous, where he maketh them drunken with the perfect and euer lasting contemplation: but as for the wicked he burieth them in a quagmire, tormenting them with vaine thoughts, and making them to draw water into a Shue: that is to say, he assureth the one sort of perfect contentation, and put-
teth the other sort in extreame dispaire.

Of Pythagoras we haue these verses.

If reason here thou followe for thy guide,

Then at thy parting hence thou shalt be sure,

In Heauen a God immortall to abide,

No death then forth for euer to indure.

And these verses were followed by all Poets, who commonly represen-
ted the receiued opinton: among whō Pindarus & Diphilus proceed to far,
as to describe an excellent Garden replenished with all things, and ap-
pointed to be a reward for god men, as if they had heard speaking of the
Paradise of the Jewes, or els had read Sybilles verses concerning a cer-
teine Greene Garden which she also calleth Paradise, affirming it to be
assigned for an heritage to such as followe the way of God: that is to
wit, which take him for their shofanker, with whom they shall haue e-
uerlasting life and light: whereas on the contrary part, the wicked (saith
he) shall lie burning like firebrands and Torches in endlesse paines.

Also Timæus of Locres hath not forgotten this point in his little booke,
where he saith thus. There is a certeine vengeance both according to
the Lawes and according to the Oracles, which maketh vs to feare both
heauen and earth. For strange and vintreatable punishments are prepa-
red for the wicked in hell.

As for Plato, he taketh so great pleasure in this matter, that he can-
not be drawne from it: & he scarcely passeth any one dialogue, wherein he
hath not some speech thereof; meaning doubtlesse to do vs so vnderstand;
that without that, all Philosophie and all Diuinitie be maimed; and it
should seeme that the constancie of Socrates his teacher, had confirmed
him not a little therein; in whose defence of himselfe, which was as it
were his last will, we reade these words. Death would bee greuous to
me, if I were not sure, first that when I am departed hence I shall goe to
the wise Gods (so did they terine the Angels or Created minds) and se-
condly to the men that are deliuered out of this life, who out of doubt are

in better case than those that are here. And vnto Cratylus again he saith, when the good man departeth this world, he commeth to great honour and to a great inheritance; for hee becommeth a Dæmon according to the true signification of the word, that is to say, skilfull & wise. That then is the perfection of a Philosopher, whose end and profession is to haue knowledge and skill. And in his Theetetus he saith, that with the Gods there is no euill, but euill walketh beere beneath among these transitorye things, and therfore that we must hie vs thither and flee from hence, that is to say, we must become righteous and wise. For (saith he) such as shall haue followed the way of folly and wickednes, shall not be admitted into the resting place of the blessed sort which are exempted from all euill; but according to their leawd life, they shall be condemned to dwell for euer with the euill. In his Gorgias he maketh mention of an auncient Lawe vnder Saturne, which he affirmeth to haue bene then still in vse, namely that when god men depart out of this life, they be sent into the fortunate Isles (which Isles Pindarus also describeth very curiously) and the wicked into the Faile of Vengeance, which he calleth Tartar; vndoubtedly betokening these vnknowne places, by places knowne vnto them, which they tooke commonly to be either most pleasant or most horrible: like as the Ietoes betokened the Restingplace of the blessed sort by a godly Garden, and Hel by the valley of Onam or Ghehinom, which was an irksome place neere Ierusalem. In his Phædon he bringeth in a certaine Prophet raised from the dead, which reporteth that those which are iustified, go on the right hand, pure, and cleane, and are sent vp to Heauen: and that the damned sort go on the left hand, besmeared with filth and mire, weeping and gnashing their teeth, and in the end are sent into lowe deepe places. Hee also he describeth there the blessed Countrey in such termes, that some men haue taken the paines to confer it, with that which is written thereof in the Apocalyps. To be short, in his Axiochus he calleth the place, of Iudgement the field of truth: from whence (saith he) they which haue followed the inspiration of the good spirit, shalbe sent into a Paradise or pleasant Garden, which he describeth there in the delightfullest manner that he can deuise, to represent the things which hee cannot conceiue, by the things which we see here on earth: and that they which haue bene led by wicked sēds, that is to say, by the instinct of the deuill, shalbe condemned to darknes and confusion, where he describeth a great number of endlesse torments. Neuerthelesse he sheweth that these things are not to be taken according to the letter, when he saith in his Commonweale, that neither the punishments nor the rewards of this world are any thing at all either for number or for greatnesse, in respect of those which are prepared for either sort in the life to come.

Cicero who would needs be as a Plato in Latin, followeth him as it were

Plato in his
Cratylus.

Plato in his
Theetetus.

Plato in his
Gorgias.

Plato in his
Phædon, and
in his tenth
booke of
Lawes.

Plato in his
Axiochus.

in ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ χαρῇ
διὰ τὴν ἀρετήν.
Plato in his
Common-
weale.

Plutarke, concerning the
flowe punishment of the
wicked.

were step by step; and so doth Plutarke also, who counterfetting Plato, bringeth in one Thespeius raised from the dead, and maketh him to discourse of the life to come. And without calling in Plotine, Porphyrius, Proclus, Hierocles and such others, whome it would bee ouerlong to heare, onely Iamblichus shall suffice, whose words are these: The good Soule shall dwell with GOD, and walke vp and downe in Heauen, where it shall haue a dwelling place. But the Soule that is defiled with cursed deedes, shall be sent vnder the Earth, to the iudgements which are there executed vpon soules. Now what can wee demand moze of the Philosophers, than that which they confesse? Namely that the happiness and the ende of man, are not in this life but in the other, and that the marke which man should shoote at, is to imploy this in the knowing of GOD, that in the other life he may euerlastingly enioy all good things in him.

So then, let vs conclude both by mans reason and by the anthozitie of all Philosophie. That as the body of man relyeth vpon his Soule; so his mortall life relyeth vpon the immortall life that is to come: That the end whereto man was created in this world, is to know and serue God, and to possesse him wholly aboue. Howbeit soasmuch as by our fall we be falne from knowledge into ignorance, and therefore although we haue some little glimmering sight of our end which wee ame at, yet wee wote not how to shape our selues to it; And againe, by the same fall we be falne from our souereigne welfare into a bottomlesse pit of miserie, where we creepe so lame as it is not possible for vs to returne againe to our former state: Let vs see whether God of his mercie, haue not left vs some remnants whereby to get by againe, and to be directed into our right way; and whether he himselfe also doe not reach vs out his fatherly hand, through the cloudes of darkenes, wherewith we be ouerwhelmed, to pull vs backe, and to call vs home againe to him, as very Waywardes, Rebelles, and vniworthie Caitifes as we be.

The



The xx. Chapter.

That the true Religion is the way to attaine to the said end, & soueraigne welfare; and what are the markes of that Religion.



Haue proued already, That there is but one God the father of mankind: that he created the world for mans vse: and that he governeth both the World & Man by his prouidence. Hereupō the least man among all wil conclude by and by, That sith he is our father, we owe him obedience; sith we hold all things of him in fee, we owe him fealty and homage; sith hee prouideth all things for vs, we ought to cal vpon him in al our doings and in all our necessities.

Also I haue shewed, that Man is of nature immortall: and therefore he must apply himselfe with all his heart to immortall things. That by sinne he is falne from God & from himselfe: and therefore he must craue forgiveness of him, that his wrath may be appeased: That this offence was a certaine pride and ouerwining of himselfe; and therefore he must acknowledge his frailty and wretchednesse, and humble himselfe before God. Now in one word, what is all this to say, but that as there is but one God and one mankind; so there ought to be but one religion, that is to say, one ordinarie duty and seruice of man towards God? For what els are all the exercises of religion, but appurtenances of the Articles which we haue proued; that is to wit, of the creation of the world, and of Gods Prouidence; of the Immortalitie of the Soule, and of mans fall; and of mans soueraigne welfare? In religion men crouch, men kneele, men haue ordinances to obserue: this is done in toke of obedience. Again, they giue thanks and praise vnto God, and they giue him the first fruites both of their Cattell and of their Cozne: that is a signe of acknowledgment that they be but as his tenants: They cal vpon him in their aduersity, & they aske prosperitie of him in all their doings, be they

never so small: It is properly a commending of themselves to his providence. Also in Religion there is weeping, sorrowing, fasting putting on of sackcloth, and besprinkling of themselves with dust. This is in token that we ought to humble our selves beneath the verie earth. Againe, there be Sacrifices both generall and particular; and what are those but protestations that all of vs and euery of vs haue deserved death? In the end of al this, there cometh a promise and a pretence of euerlasting life, to such as discharge their duetie towardes God: which is as much to say, as that those Ceremonies & obseruations are not the things that we must rest vpon, but are means to lead vs to our right end, which is to lift vs vp on high. But betwene these two last Articles, namely betwene the death which we protest our selves to haue deserved, and the euerlasting life that is beighted vs to inherite, there is a maruelous waste distance to be filled vp: & yet notwithstanding either it must needs be that man is set in the world in vaine, or els that there is a way or a brydge ordained for the passing thereof. Therefore Religion, which hath brought vs to the pits byim, must also shew vs this brydge; that she may vnite and linke vs againe vnto God from whom we be gone so far and so strangely by our fal; and that she may reconcile vs as bastardly children to our father, and as rebellious Subiects to our prince: without which reconciliation or (according to the Latin deriuation) Religion, God ceaseth to be our father, and we to be his children; and al Religion, how gay and glorious she soeuer it haue, is vtterly vnprofitable and vaine. Now, the end that man should ameat in this life, is to returne vnto God, and it cannot be in vaine: but in vaine it should be, if there be no way to lead man vnto God, or rather to bring God vnto man. To intent therefore that neither God be defrauded of his glorie, nor man of his end and felicitie, there must (according to my former protes) needs be a way, that is to say a meane to reconcile man vnto God, and to vnite him againe vnto him, that he may be saued; which way we will (according to the common speech) call Religion.

There is but
one true Religion.

Marsilius Ficinus concerning the Christian Religion

Now, all the auncient men agree fully, that there ought to be a Religion among all men; as in deede there is not a thing that doth moze necessarily follow, than a God, a Man, and a Religion; a Father, a Sonne, and an Obedience; a Maister, a Seruant, and a seruice; a Giuer a Receiuer, and a reward: or rather a Lender, a Debter, and a Bond. And therefore full well doth one say, The Philosophers ought to haue beene the first Diuines. For inasmuch as we make towards God with two wings, that is to say, which Will and Wit: Wit can no sooner conceiue that God is our father, but by and by Will inferreth thereupon, Ergo we ought to obey him and to serue him: yea and it proceeded yet further, that sith he is our father and we his children, it is for our most

bshope

hose to returne vnto him. O Lord (saith Hermes) What thanks shal we yeeld thee? And by and by he answereth, Lorde, there is but onely one thanke, and that is the acknowledging of thy Maiestie. And againe: The only way to come vnto God, is godlines matched with knowledge, that is to say, to know how he wilbe serued, & thereupon to serue him. And Pythagoras was wont to say to the same purpose, forasmuch as wee be nothing without God, it becommeth vs to liue vnto God. Plato commendeth Religion in a thousand places, wherof I wil not take past two or thre sayings here. It is mans felicitie (saith he) to be like vnto God. As how? By being righteous and holy. How may that be? By Religion towards God, which is the greatest vertue that can be among men. Aristotle (by many mens report) was Religious, & as for Auerrhoes his interpreter, he was utterly irreligious. Neuertheles see how nature swimmeth ouer vngodlines. Aristotle saith it is gratted in nature to doe sacrifice. And Auerrhoes saith that we be bound by nature to magnifie God with Prayers and Sacrifices. What is this to say, but that it is naturall to man, yea euen in respect of his shape & substance, to haue a Religion? And why? Alexander professeth himself to be the interpreter of Aristotle and therefore he shal interpret him for vs here. It is (saith he) because our whole felicity consisteth in deuotion towards God. For we looke for none other reward but God himselfe, and him being the very soueraine good, we obtaine by seruing him. Now when we heare these words, we may think it was a strong torment of conscience that wrought this truth out of them. For al men know, that chiefly Auerrhoes bygeth the eternitie of the world, & the vniuersalitie of one onely Ginde which yet notwithstanding cannot match with godlines.

Epicetus maketh not the like flourishes of Philosophie, but yet he playeth the Philosopher much better in deede. If we had wit (saith he) what should we do but praise God continually, & sing Psalmes of thanksgiving vnto him, euen in digging and tilling the ground, & both in iourneying and in resting? As how? Euen saying thus: Great is God which hath giuen vs these tooles to till the earth withall; Great which hath giuen vs hands to worke withall; Great which hath giuen vs to grow euen not woting it, and to breath euen being a sleepe, for these are things that cannot be imputed to our owne cunning. Such (saith he) ought to be the Songs of euery of vs. And againe: If I were a Nightingale, I should do as Nightingales doe; but being a reasonable Creature, what shal I do now? I will euermore praise God (saith he) without ceasing; and I will exhort you al to do the like. And Simplicius his interpreter hauing first made goodly discourses, addeth that he which is negligent and slothfull in seruing & honoring God, cannot be diligent in any other thing, how needfull so euer the same be. Of all vertues (saith Hierocles) Religion is the guide,

In the last chap. of his Esculapius

Plato in his Epinomis and in his Thætetus.

Aristotle in his fifth booke of Moralles: & in his first of Heauen. Auerrhoes vpon that first booke of Heauen. Alexander of Aphrodise, concerning the prouidence of God, cited by Cyrillus.

Simplicius vpon Epicetus Hierocles in his first chapter against Atheistes.

Hierocles. cap
5. 19. 11.

Iamblicus in
his 45. Chap-
ter of Myste-
ries.

Proclus in his
booke of pray-
ing.

That there is
but one true
Religion.

for it concerneth matters of God, and therefore Pythagoras beginneth his precepts thereat. And the word which he useth there for a guide signifieth a Duene, which one word importeth very much, namely that all the vertues which we make account of, as Hardines, Wisedome, Justice, and Temperance, are nothing if they be not referred vnto God, and bled in respect of him, that is to say, if Religion do not direct and leade them to God the pincipal end whereto al our doings ought to tend. But what is religion? It is (saith he) the obeying of God, the mother of al vertues, and the disobeying of al vices. And our obeying of God must be of such a sorte, that we must rather disobey our parentes, yea and lose our liues to, than disobey him. For our obeying of our parentes must be for to loue God; and it is of his goodnesse that we possesse our liues. Iamblicus saith thus. Let vs begin at the best and most precious: namely the obseruing of Religion, which is the seruing of God. And in another place. Thou surmisedst (saith he) that there is some other way than godlines to attaine to felicitie, and thou askedst of me what that way may be. But surely (say I) if the very substance and originall power of all goodnes and welfare be in the Gods: onely those are happy which consecrate and vnite them selues to GOD after our example. For in that state are both contemplation and knowledge accomplished: and besides the knowledge of the Gods, there is also the knowledge of our selues, which is gotten by casting backe our vnderstanding towards our selues. To be short, Proclus as wel vpon his own iudgement as vpon the opinions of Plato, Iamblicus, Porphyrius, Plotin and others, saith that Religion and calling vpon God are proper and peculiar to man after the fourth manner as Aristotle termeth it, that is to say, a natural property which agreeth fitly to the whole kinde of man, and onely to man, and without the which he cannot bee a man. Now I am not ignorant that they speak sometimes of the seruing of the Gods in the plural number, as though there were moe Gods than one: insonmuch that some of the Philosophers turned aside to arte magike, and al of them yeldd to the Idolatries and Superstitions of their time. For in dede, to know that God ought to be serued, and to knowe after what sort he will be serued, and to serue him thereafter, are thinges farre differing. But it is enough for this time that we winne thus much at their handes, that of necessitie there is a religion, which thing euen the Pauigations of our time do shewe to be impynted in all the Clymates of the world, and in al kindes of men: as which haue discovered Nations that wander in Woods, without law, without Magistrate, without King, but none without some kinde of seruing of God, none without some shadowe of Religion.

Whereby then we knowe that there is a religion, that is to say, a way to Saluation, or a way whereby to come home againe vnto God. But
are

are there many waies, or but onely one? It is a high question, but yet easie to be decided, if we consider what Religion requireth of vs, and what it is to get for vs. Religion (as the men of olde time themselves haue taught vs) requireth of vs in effect, that we should be full obedience vnto God: full obedience say I, so as we should dedicate our selues to his glorie, both our thoughts, words and deedes, in such sorte that our selues and al that ener is in vs should be referred to his honour. If Religion require this, how can it be any other than one? What diuersitie can it admitte? And if any require lesse of vs, contented peradventure with the outward man, (which is al one as if they would rob God of one halfe of a man:) what is their doing but hypocrisie or high treason against God? But now againe, seeing that Religion bindeth vs in so great a bond, euen by nature, that there is not any man which is not inforced to confesse the debt so witnessed by the whole world: surely there is no man that feeleth himselfe able to pay it, or which doth not willingly plead guilty, yea and which is not inforced to say, that the most part of his thoughts, words and deedes, are not onely farre off from God, but also tending directly to offend God. Now then, if Religion offer vs not as well a meane whereby to discharge and cancell the bond, as it offereth the bond it selfe: It is so farre off from being the way to welfare which it ought to be, that it is rather a definitive sentence of death, and an expresse condemning of vs. Therefore let vs see whether there be many waies of satisfaction, or but onely one.

What shall the deuoutest man in the world offer vnto God for his owne discharge? What he offer his first frutes? God gaue him both the seede and the whole crop. Sacrifices? The Wood, the Fire, and the Cattel, are all of Gods gift. The whole world, if a man had it: He hath lost the inheriſance and the right thereof in seeking to infranchise himselfe from the seruice of God. Nay (which moze is) God not onely gaue the world vnto man, but also man to man himselfe. The world then & al that ener is therein, cannot discharge man against God. What may man himselfe do? Surely an acceptable sacrifice should man be to God (as Hierocles saith) if he were such a one as he ought to be. But what should the best of al men offer by in sacrificing himselfe? Soothly nothing but enuy, hatred, railing, backbiting, vaine thoughts, vntrue words, wrongful dealing, and (to go yet further) faine thanks, with cold and counterfet prayers. Now these are so farre off from amounting to a discharge, that they turn to a huge heape of worse and more vndischargeable bonds, according to the infiniteness of the greatness of the Creator, that is offended by them. Now then, if neither the world nor man can discharge man against God; what remaineth to do it, but God himselfe, whom Religion must offer to man for his discharge, euen God mercifull, to God iust: God a paimat-

Her to God the creator: Merily, that hauing shewed vs how depely we
 be indebted to God; it may also teach vs the wonderfull meane ordai-
 ned by God and in God, whereby he and his soueraigne Justice may be
 satisfied, and our extreme iniquitie be therewith releued? Nowe the
 debt of vs all is all of one sort and nature; namely that wee owe our
 selues all wholly vnto God; and our vnabilitie to discharge it is also all
 alike; namely that all that euer commeth of our selues can deserue no-
 thing but death vpon death. Our common bond (say I) entred into vs
 al by gods benefitts towards the first man, is by his disobedience become
 forfeited, both in respect of himselfe & of all mankind. Besides this, the credi-
 tor and the paier are both one, and cannot be but both one. For it is on-
 ly God that both doth & can satisfie himselfe. It followeth then, that the
 true Religion can be but one; namely euen that onely one which shew-
 eth vs the onely one meane of saluation: and that all other Religions, if
 they abate any whit of mans debt vnto God, are traitorous to his mai-
 estie; and if they set not down a sufficient meane of discharge, they be but
 vaine & vnavaileable ceremonies: and so as wel the one sorte as the o-
 ther, vtterly vnworthy of the name of Religion. Furthermore, if there
 be diuers true religions, I meane diuers, as in respect of the substance of
 them, wherof riseth y^e diuersitie? Of the thing which they point at? Nay,
 in God (whom Religion looketh at) there is such vnitie, that at other ma-
 ner of vnitie is diuersitie in respect of that. And then if it be so that one
 Religion rely vpon one God, and another vpon another, we be surz that
 there is but one God, and that all other Gods are either Creatures or
 Vanities, insomuch that (as Proclus himselfe saith) moe Gods and no
 G^d differ nothing at all. And so what shall those other Religions
 be, but either Idolatry or Atheisme, that is to say, vtter godlesnes? What
 of then? Of their ground? Nay, Man which is the ground whereon Re-
 ligion woorketh, is but one kind of thing. Also as the disease being in all
 men commeth of one roote, so is it of one selfesame nature. Likewise the
 remedie therof (as I haue said already) is but only one. Now where the
 ground is al one, the disease al one, and the remedie al one too: who will
 ever say that there should be diuersitie of Artes in the handling or mi-
 nistring of them? If a man be to humble himselfe, I would faine haue
 them to tell me, what other way there is than to know himselfe: what
 other way to knowe himselfe, than to beholde himselfe: what other
 way to beholde himselfe, than to looke into a faire cleare glasse? And
 what clearer glasse is there, than the Lawe of God, & the perfect obedience
 which God requireth at mans hand? And seeing that this Lawe, and the
 perfect obedience required by the same, can be but one, how may relig-
 ion be diuided into moe than one? Again, if man be to be lifted vp vnto
 God, what other way is there than to make him know God as his Crea-

so, that he may honoꝛ him; as his gouernour, that he may cal vpon him; as his father, that he may obey him; as altogether last, that hee may seeke to appease his wrath: Which thing nith he can do of himself, what shift hath he but to haue recourse to the remedie? And seeing that the remedie can bee but onely one; doth it not folow that saluation lieth in that onely religion which sheweth it vnto vs, & that to haue any mo religions, is but confusion and vanitie? And to speake properly, what is religion? An arte oꝛ skil (if I may so terme it) how to saue men. And wherein consisteth this art? First in shewing men their disease; secondly in shewing them that it is deadly; and finally in teaching the fit and conuenient remedie. In dede the very Law of Nature leadeth vs well to the first point. For who is he which euen of Nature accuseth not himselfe, and whose conscience nipeth him not when he hath sinned? Reason also leadeth vs to the second point. For who is he that concludeth not with himselfe, that the Creature which offendeth his creatoꝛ deserueth to be cast out, that is to say, that sinne ingendꝛeth death? and thus farre may all Religions come, & al Ceremonies oꝛdained by man, as Prayers, Sacrifices, Washings, Cleansings, and such others. But what is al this but a byrning of vs to Helgate, oꝛ rather a shewing of Paradise vnto vs a farre off, howbeit with such a horrible and infinite gulfe betwixt vs and it, as man and all the whole worlde can neither fill by noꝛ passe ouer? Yet must there needs be a passage: For the end of man is to be vnited vnto God, and this end is not in vaine, the meane to be vnited aboue, is to be reconciled here beneath: and the meane to be reconciled here beneath, is (as I haue said already) but onely one, which is, that God himselfe acquite vs without our discharging of the debt which we owe vnto him. Only that Religion then (& none other) which leadeth vs straight to the said passage, and by the following wherof we finde it, is the true Religion, as that which alonly attaineth to the end of Religion which is the sauing of man. May not men (will some say) worship God diuersly, some lifting vp their eyes to heauen, and othersome casting their faces downe to the ground? Yes, for the worshiping is but one, and the humbling of mens selues is but one still, though there be difference in the signes. But our disputing here is not of the Ceremonies, but of the substance of them. Also may not men offer Sacrifice diuersly? yes. But if the Sacrifices haue no further end then the shedding of the blood of a beast: then (as saith Hierocles) they be to th Fire but a feeding thereof with felowland bapꝝ: and to the Priestes, a superfluous maintenance of butchery. It is requisite therfore that sacrifices should be referred to some what, namely that by them thou shouldest protest, that whereas the illie innocent beastes doe suffer death, it is thou thy selfe that hast deserved it both in body and soule. Again, if thou haue nothing else in

the Religion, but Sacrifices and praiers; how godly a shew soeuer they make, thou hast nothing but a confession of thy fault, and a sentence of death against thee for the same. For if those Ceremonies aine not at a certaine marke, they be trifling toys; and if that be the end wherest they aine; then come they short, as which do but leade thee vnto death, and there leaue thee.

Anobedience.

There are some that would beare vs on hand, that Religion is but an obseruation of certaine Ceremonies in euery Countre; by which reason, that which is holy here, should be unholy in another place; and that which is godly in one Land, should be vngodly in another. To be short, they make it like the Lawes that depend vpon Custome, which passe no further than the bounds of the place where they be vsed. If Religion be nothing else but so; what science, art, or trade is more baينه than that? Or rather what is to be said of it, but that in orde it is no Religion at all? Leachcraft is vncertaine in many respects, as of aire, of water, of age, and of climate: but yet, that which is Leachcraft in one Country, is not manquelling in another. Lawecraft hath almost as many sundry Lawes as cases, and the cases that are in the world are infinite. Yet notwithstanding who seeth not that all these diuersities of cases are brought vnder one brightness and reason? and that they which yeeld not thereunto, are not reputed for men, but rather, for enemies of mankind and wilde beasts? Also vertue hath the affections to worke vpon, a ground more moueable than the sea and the wind. And yet who wil say, that that which is hardines betweene the two Tropiks is Colward: lines in al other Countries; or that that which is staidenesse is one halfe of the world, is vnstaidenesse in the other halfe? To be short, what thing is more subiect to rising and falling, or to be cried downe or inhaunced, than going of siluer and gold, as which seemeth to followe the wills of princes? And yet notwithstanding, for all their ordinances and proclamations, both gold and siluer do alwaies keepe a certaine rate and value. What shall we say then to Religion, which hath a firmer and substantialler ground than all these? I meane not mens bodies, goods, affections, or fantasies; but the very soule and minde of man, who also hath such a rest to stay vpon, as is settled, vnmouable, and the Lord of all Chaunges, that is to wit, God. How much more wisely doth our Pythagorist Hierocles teach vs, that Religion is the gouernesse of all vertues, and that all vertues tend to her as to their certaine end, as who would say, they be no vertues if they swarme from her; inasmuch that hardinesse being referred to any other than godlinesse, becommeth rashnes; wilddome becommeth wiliness; and Iustice becommeth Juggling: and as a worde, all vertue is but masking and hypocrisie? If Religion be the ende of all vertues, must it not needs be fixed and vnmouable? Or if it be moueable,

moveable, what is there then that is iust, good, or vertuous? And if the case stand so: what thing in the world is more bmanaylable than man, or to speake more rightly, what thing is to lesse purpose in man than his mynd? But there is vertue, and the wickedest man that is, will know it. Therefore there is also a certaine Religion, which maketh it to be vertue, and wherunto vertue referreth it self; and the vngodlyest man that is cannot scape from it.

Let vs looke yet further into the absurdities of this opinion. Who can deny but that among the diuersities of Religions, there were many sorts of wickednes and vngodlynes openly executed; some worshipping the creatures in Heauen yea & on earth, as the Egyptians did in old time and as the Tartarians do at this day; some offering by men in sacrifice, as the Carthaginenses did in old time and as the Westerne Isles doe yet at this day: and othersome permitting things not onely contrarie to all Lawes, but also euen horrible and lothsome to nature: If all this be good; I pray you what good is there, or rather what euill is there in the world? But if it be euill in it self; who can deny but that there were wicked & vngodly Religions in the world, (I vse the word Religion after the common manner) and that a man had neede of a Rule where by to discerne the good Religion from the bad. And in verie deede it is sowed in nature to beleue that there is but one Religion to be had, as well as to beleue that there is but one God; that (as we may daily see) a man will rather indure the change of a temperate aire into an extreme whot or into an extreme cold; of freedom into bondage; and of Justice into Tyranny, than any alteration at all (though neuer so little) in the case of Religion: verily as who would say, it were not so natural for a man to loue his native Contrie, to be free, & to be at his ease; as to haue some one certaine religion to guyde him to saluation.

Now my meaning hath bin to lay forth this trueth after the mo sort, of purpose to take away the doubts, and to auoyde the krinks inuented anew by certaine Libertines. But for as much as there are many Ceremonies which disguise them selues in the attire of Religion to deceyue vs: it is more needfull for vs to haue sure and infallible markes, where by to discerne the true Religion. First of all therefore let vs lay this foundation which I haue layd and settled alreadie heretofore, namely that Religion is the right Rule of seruing God, and of reconeyling and of reuniting man agayne vnto God, that he may be saued. Now mans Saluation is nothing els but his felicitie, happines, soueraigne good, or welfare: & his welfare (as I haue declared afore) is to be knit vnto God. For neither the world, nor any creature in the world can make man happye, but only he that made man. And it is a cleare case that wee ought to serue him where he is, who is to make vs happye above

The first mark
of the true re-
ligion.

about, and none other but him. All Religion therefore, (how goodly shewe so euer it haue to the eye,) which turneth away from serving God to serving the Creature, is but Idolatry and ungodlines vnto vs. Also all Religion which causeth vs to seeke our welfare any where els, than onely in him that is the maker of all welfare; wil be vnto vs not onely vanitie and a thrusting of vs out of the way; but also a murthering of our selues, and a casting of vs headlong into all wretchednes. They may well haue in them an offering of first frutes, of thanksgiuings, & of other seruices: but all these are but iniuries and blasphemies against God, if wee thinke our selues behouiden to any creature for the things which we neither haue nor can haue of any but the Creator. Also they may well haue prayers, and sacrifices, but those prayers shalbe both vayne & ungodly being made to him that cannot heere them, and which impute the gouernment of the world vnto Creatures, or so such as see them not, or can scarcely see the things that are aboue them. And as for their Sacrifices, they shalbe but smokie saouours, yea full of traiterous trechery to God, in that they confesse their lyues before dead things, & make amends to Creatures for the offences which they haue committed against the Creator. Now therefore let the first marke of the true Religion which we seeke, be this; that it direct vs and alour Church seruices vnto the true God the maker of Heauen and earth, the only searcher of mens hearts, which are the things where with he will cheefely be serued; that it may distinguish it from all Idolatryes, which seeke vnto wood, to stone, to the Sunne, to the Moone, to Men, to Angells, & to all the Creatures that are in heauen & in earth. And it is not needfull to heape vp here greate numbers of proofs, or to repeat again the things that haue bin discoursed in the second & third chapters of this worke. For sith there is but one God and but one Religion; there is not also any thing more agreeable to nature than to referre the same wholly to the creator. And in very deed Plotin, Porphyrius, Proclus, Iamblichus & such others; which worshipped the Angels or god spirites as they thought; sayd that their so doing (wherein neuerthelesse they were more vnercusable) was to attayne by degrees to the highest God.

The second
marke of true
Religion,

But will this sayd marke alone suffice vs? No we must not onely serue GOD, but we must also serue him aright, Now then, what is the rule of this seruice, or who is he that can set it downe in wryting? What we may serue him aright, it behoueth vs to know him aright: & which of vs can vaunt of that? How many be there which after long studie, can but so much as tell vs what it is not? And what followeth then, but that like as the wisdom of the world, cannot without the ouerthrow of it self, attayne any farther concerning GOD, than to say what he is not? so the same wisdom may well attaine so farre as to discerne what seruing of
God

God is false; but it can no more set downe and poynt out the true seruice, than it can attayne to the knowledge of the Godhead. The Countrey clowne shal be schooled for his labour, if he take vpon him to appoynt how his Prince is to be serued, and yet is he a man as wel as the Prince differing from the Prince, in state and calling, but not at all in nature and kind. What is to be sayd then of Man, who is but a worme, yea & lesse than a worme in respect of the euerlasting God, if he wil needs shape him & serue him after his own fancie? The Philosopher will say y God ought to be serued. And if he be a Diuine, he will passe somewhat further, & saye, that he is not serued with vapors and smokes, nor with y sheading of bloud. But which of them hath euer sayd, God is a spirit & serued in spirit? And if any of them haue come any thing neere it, how wide hath he wandred away againe when he came to y particular poynting out of that seruice? Of a truth, what are al y worshipings of God which man hath ordained of his own head, but childish imaginatiōs, not only vnbecoming the Maieſtie of God, but also inferiour to the discretion of a man: as Gamings, Helwes, Stageplayes, Runnings of Hozles, Fusts, a thousand sortes of Combatcs, Swordplayings, Wrestlinges, buffetings and such other? And what doth all this betoken, but that man mounteth not aboue man: and that when he thinketh himselfe to flye his lightest pitch, he scarce heaueth himselfe vp right vpon his feete, but neuer riseth aboue the earth? For what man is he which calling his wits about him, and looking aduisedly vnto himselfe, could finde in his heart to be honozed and serued after that maner? Surely then let vs say, that looke how farre God vouchsafeth to stoop vnto vs, so farre be we able to mount vp vnto him: for his comming down is our mounting vp. For if we cannot see the Sunne but by help of the Sunne, how well sighted so euer we be: much lesse can God be seene or knowe of vs, without the help & light of God himself. To be short, wee cannot serue God except we know him, nor know him except he vouchsafe to discouer himselfe to vs, and therefore we cannot know how to serue & worship him, further forth than he listeth to shew it vnto vs by his worde. And yet for the discovering of himselfe vnto vs, he needeth neither to drawe vs vp to his brightnes, nor to come down to vs in his maieſtie. For our mynds could no more abide it than our eyes can away with the beholding of the Sunne: but hee must be sayne to stoop to our small abilitie, by telling vs what seruice he requireth at our hāds, not according to his spirituall nature which we cannot possibly comprehend, but as it were thozough a glasse or a scarfe, according to the fleshy nature which wee beare about with vs. Thus haue we found our second marke of Religion, namely that the seruice of God which Religion is to teach vs, must be grounded vpon his word, and reuealed vnto vs by his owselfe.

Let

Plato in his
second Epi-
stle, and in
his Parme-
nides.

Aristotle in
his superna-
turals.

Cicero in his
first booke of
Lawes.

Iamblichus.

Alpharabius
in his booke
of Sciences.

The thirde
marke of true
Religion.

Let vs heare what the heathen say in this case, whose we very well
that al the ladders of their Philosophie were too short to reach therunto;
and that it behoued men to be enlightenred and instructed from aboue.
Diuinitie (saith Plato) cannot be layde forth after the maner of other
kinds of seruing, but hath neede of continuall mynding. And then our
wit is forthwith kindled as with a fyre, which afterward gathereth
light more and more, and maynteineth it selfe. Finally (saith he) we
know nothing of Gods matters by our owne skill. If he which of all the
auncient Philosophers saw most clere, confesse here that his sight fail-
eth very much if it be not ayded from aboue: what may wee deeme
of others? And in good sooth, in matters of Religion he sendeth vs en-
more to the auncient Oracles, that is to say (according to his meaning
to Gods word. Aristotle in his Supernaturals rehearseth and commen-
deth a certeyne aunswere of Simonides to Hieron King of Sicilie; which
is, that it belongeth to none but onely God, to haue skill of the things
that are aboue nature; and so we much lesse then to be skillfull in Diui-
nitie, and to dispose of Religion, that is to say to shewe the meane how
to overcome and surmount nature? And wheras Cicero in his Lawes
saith, that there is not any lawe among men wherto men are bounde
to obey vnllesse it be ordeined by GOD, & deliuered as it were with his
owne mouth: if he had bene wel examined, he woulde haue sayde no
lesse concerning Religion, It is certaine (saith Iamblichus) that we be
bound to do the things that please God. But which are those? Surely
(saith he) they be not possible to be knowen of any man, but of him that
hath heard God himselfe speake, or which haue learned them by some
heauenly instruction. And Alpharabius the Arabian agreeth therunto in
these words. The things that concerne GOD, and are to bee beleued
through holy sayth, are of a higher degree than all other things, be-
cause they proceede from diuine inspiration, and mans wit is too weake
and his reason too short too attayne to them. And therefore wee reade
as they which haue ordeined & stablished any Religion in any Nation,
haue giuen it forth as proceeding from God; verily because nature taught
them, & it belongeth to none but to God alone, to apoynt how he shal be
serued; neither woulde y ordinance thereof otherwise be obserued, because
the parties that were to obey it, woulde make as great account of them-
selues as of the partie that shoulde inioyne it. Thus by the diuinitie sen-
tence of the Philosophers, our second marke standeth firme, which will
serue vs to discern the true Religion from the inuentions of men, so
as we may wel refuse for vntruth, whatsoeuer is not grounded vpon
Gods worde. But in following our former purpose, let vs consider yet
further whether this will suffice or no.

We haue neede of a Lawe that proceedeth from Gods mouth: and
what

what may that I pray you be, but the same which proceedeth from holynesse it selfe, namely that we should be holy as he is holy? And if we cannot of our selues know God, nor how he ought to be serued; alas how shall we performe it when he hath declared it vnto vs? The end of Religion (sayeth Plato) is to knit man vnto God. The way to bring this to passe, is to become righteous and holy, or as saith Iamblicus) to offer vnto God a cleane minde void of all naughtines & cleere from all spot. What man (as euen they themselves confesse) could euer vaunt thereof? And what els then is Religion to all of vs, but a booke wherein we reade the sentences of our death, that is to wit our very death in deede, vnlesse that in the ende we find some grace or forgiveness of our sinnes? Yet notwithstanding Religion is the Pathway to life, yea euen to eternall life: a Pathway that hath a certeine ende, and which beguileth vs not. Therefore it must by some meanes or other fill vs by the great gulfe that is betwene endlesse death, and endlesse life, and betwene the dwellingplace of blessednes, and the horribleness of Hell. And therefore let our third marke be, That Religion must put into our hands, a meane to satisfie Gods Justice, without the which, not onely all other Religions, but also euen that which containeth the true seruing of the true God were vtterly vaine & vnprofitable. Now, mans reason hath well perceined that some such meane was needefull in Religion: but to knowe what that meane is, was to high a thing for mans reason to attaine vnto. In respect whereof the Platonists busied themselves very much in finding out some meane to cleanse men from their sinnes, and to knit them vnto God being reconciled to his fauour, and they set downe certeine degrees whereby to attaine therunto. But yet in the end they confesse all their washings & clensings to be vtterly vn sufficient. There are which say it is to bee done by abstinence, by vertuous behauiour, by skill, or by Iupiters mysteries; and some say it is to be done by al of them successiuelly one after another. But yet when they haue bestirred themselves on all sides, Porphyrius conclusion is, That they be Ceremonies without effect, yet notwithstanding that there must of necessitie needes be a meane to purge & iustifie men, and that the same must be vniuersal, and that it is not possible (admitting Gods prouidence as we ought to doe) that God should leaue mankind destitute of that meane. And that this remedie ought to be contained in Religion, he sheweth sufficiently in that he seeketh it in taking the Orders, and in the Consecrations, bellowings & other mysteries of his owne Religion, which in the end he letteth goe againe. But yet more apparantly doth Hierocles shewe it, who sayth that Religion is a studie of wisdom that consisteth in clensing and perfecting the life, that men may be at one with God, & become like vnto him: & that to attayne to that cleanness, the meane is to enter into a mans

Hierocles in
 his 14. and 24.
 Chapters, &
 in his prefac
 olwe

owne conscience, and to consider of his sinne, and to confesse it vnto God. Thus farre he is very well. Neuerthelesse, here they stoppe ouershort euerychone of them: for vpon confession insueth but death, vnlesse God (who is the very Justice it selfe, and moze infinitely contrary to euill than we can imagine,) be appeased and satisfied for our offences, whereas in Religion we seeke for very life. To bee short, of the great number of Religions which are in the Worlde, some haue no certeine restingpoint at all; as we reade of some people of Affrik, which worship that thing which they meete first in the morning; and that is but abaine Ceremonie: Some haue a restingpaynt, howbeit an euill one; as for example, all they that direct vs to the creatures; & those are nothing els but Idolatries. Some doe set vnto themselves a good end, in that they aime at the Creator; but they will needes worship him after their owne fancie; and that is a swaruing aside to superstition, or rather (which worlde is) a seruing of their owne fancie, & not of God. And among the residue, there is one which hath an eye to the Creator and honoureth his Lawe, and that is the Religion of the Jewes. This againe is a way that leaueth vs in the middes of our way, leading vs into the wood, but not leading vs out againe. But the true Religion in deed and which deserueth the name of Religion, is only that which hath God for hir Chetanker, his worde for warrant of hir worshipping, and a meane appoynted by him to pacifie him withal; and in that onely and in none other resteth any Saluation.

An obiection.

Some tell vs that Religion is nothing els but charitie that is to say, the performing of a mans duetie towards his neighbour: and those men would tell vs if they durst, that Religion is but an instrument of ciuill gouernment. But when they haue enlarged the commendations of charitie as farre as they can, what can they (at a woord) say moze than wee say thereof; namely, that Charitie is of such force and weight, that Religion can by no meanes stand without it: Neuerthelesse, to speake properly thereof, Charitie is not the marke whereby to discern the true Religion, but rather to discern who is rightly Religious. To the intent a man may be happie, he must returne vnto God; therefore he must needes serue him, that is the badge of Religion: But the godly or religious man vitereth his religion, (that is to say, that God hath touched him truly in his hart, (in that he performeth al the dueties of vnfeined friendship & godly affection towards his neighbo: who is the Image of God. Charitie therefore is nothing els but a rebounding of Godlines or of the loue of God, backe vnto our neighbo: or a reflexion or sight vpon this Image. Also that a man may be happie, he must be linked vnto God; and that he may be linked vnto God, he must be reconciled vnto his fauor. Now this charitie which they speake of, is but a linking of Man vnto Man.

Man. It is not that which maketh a man happie, neither doth the fault which hath destroyed vs all, consist in want of charitie, (I meane that Charitie which they pretend); but in rebelling against God. Therefore it booteth vs not to be at one with our neighbor, except we be at one with God. Nevertheless it is a good signe that our hart is seruent in the loue of God, as the child is in the loue of his father, when being vnable as yet to vnite our selues vnto him, we link our selues in one body & one mind to all those which beare his Image. To be short, the true marke of fire is not heate; for there are other things which are whot as well as fire: but it is a vertue that is so linked vnto it, that as sone as ye heare of fire it followeth immediatly that there is heate also but not contrariwise. Likewise Charitie is not the true religion it selfe, but a vertue which accompanieth it so of necessitie, that a man can no longer say ther is religion in this man or that man; but y^e it must needs follow incontinently, that there is charitie in him also. And what manner of charitie? Soothly not such as they take it to be which resreyne from misdealing for feare of mans Lawe; for that is but hypocrisie: nor a desire of credit that w^e may haue the better speede in our assayes; for that is but a chaffaring. For a desire of honor whereby we be spurred to do well; for that is but a selfe loue. But it is a certeyne feare and loue of God, which maketh vs to cherish & loue al those for Gods sake, which are of him & hold of him. Now what man is he that dareth vaunt of this perfect charitie, that he loueth his neighbor as he ought, and in such respect as he ought, that is to say as himselfe, and for the loue of God? For how can we haue this charitie if Religion go not afore? And if our loue towards God be so short and feeble (as I sayd afore); what rebounding backe thereof will there be vpon our neighbor.

Now therefore let vs conclude, That as a man hath but one end, namely of returning vnto God, so there is but one right path to leade him thither, and that is religion. And that as there is but one God, so there can be but one true religion, that is to say, one way that leadeth to saluatiō, which religion hath these three infallible markes whereby to discerne it; namely that it worship the true God, that it worship him according to his worde, and that it reconcile to God the man that followeth it. And now let vs consequently see which of al the religions in the world it is, that alonly is to be discerned by these markes.

The



The xxi. Chapter.

That the true God was worshipped in Israell: which is the first marke of the true Religion.



The first marke of the true Religion, without the which it cannot rightly beare the name of Religion, is the serving of the true God. And the true God (as I haue saide befoze) is the same that created heauen and earth, and all things in them; which gonerneþ them by his wisdom; which maintaineth them by his goodnes; which wældeth them according to his will, and directeth them according to his glorie.

By this so notable a marke wee cannot faile to decipher the true G O D from the false Gods, and by the selfe same meane, to discern the true Religion which beareth our first marke, from all other Religions how painted and disguised soener it is possible for them to be. This G O D which hath done those things can be but one. For seeing he created all things, all the things which we see here beneath are but creatures. Now then, whatsoever Religion pointeth vs to any mo Gods than one, wee ought to abhorre it even at the verie first approche. Again, the same G O D is also infinite and incomprehensible. For the worke cannot conceine the workemaster, but contrariwise the workemaster conceineth the worke. What soener worke therfore is made to counterfeit him, or to resemble him, or to shewe him vnto vs, can be nothing els but Idolatrie and Superstition, inuented by the Diuell or by man.

Now let vs come nêrer to the rabble of Religions; and we shal see there thongs of hundred thousand Gods distinguished by strange fantastical denices of men, of women, of beastes, of monsters. Yet shal we not see there any whit of that which we seeke for. But there is one religio to be seen among al the rest, which for all the rest, beareth this marke graued

who the true
god is

ther can be no
mo gods than
one

note why god
is said to be
infinite

grained in her forehead, In the beginning GOD created the Heauen and Earth: and soundeth out this speech aloud euery where, The Lorde our God is but one God; and in the middes of all the rout that barketh and biteth at her on all sides, cryeth cut coragiously, All your Gods are but error and vanitie. Therefore without staying vpon the others, which are not woorthie so much as to be looked on, we will procede to that onely one Religion which alonly in truth professeth the true way, and the knowledge of the place whereunto we would come. Now, to the we the way, the end whereto it leadeth must be knowne: and the end which all of vs tend vnto, is a happie life. And to leade a happie life, is to liue in God, who is the very happinesse it selfe. And the same God (as I haue made the heathen men themselues to confesse) is but one. The Religions therfore which were not the linery of that, but of many, cannot bring vs to the happines which we seeke: for it is but one, and to be had at the hand of that one. Which then is the one Religion that shall leade vs to the one God? Shall we seeke for it among the Assirians? They worshipped as many gods as they had Townes. Among the Persians? They had as many gods, as there be Starres in the Skie and Fiers on Earth. Among the Greeks? They had as many gods as they had sancties: Among the Aegipians? They had as many goddes as they sowed or planted Fruites or as the earth brought forth fruities of it selfe. To be short, the Romanes in conquering the worlde, got to themselves all the vanities in the Worlde, and they wantred no wit to deuyse others of their owne haine. What shall it auaille vs to aske the way of these blind Soules, which groping by the Wallles sides, and haue not so much as a Child or a Dog to leade them as some blinde folke haue, but catch hold vnadvisedly of euery thing that comes in their way? But yet among these great Nations, we spie a little Nation called the people of Isræll, which worshippeth the maker of all things, acknowledging him for their Father, calling vpon him alone in all their needes, as (for all the small account that others made of them) abhorring all the glistering gloriousnes of the great kingdomes that were out of the way. It is in the Religion of this people, and not elsewhere, that wee shall finde our said former marke. And therefore we must seeke it onely there, and leaue the damnable footsteps of the rest, as being assured that we may more safely followe one man that is clare sighted, than a thousand that are blinde. For what greater blindness of minde can bee, than to take the Creature for the Creator, a thing of nothing for the thing that is infinite?

Now, that the people of Isræll worshipped the true God in such sort as I haue described him; the continuance of their whole Historie sheweth well inough. All men knowe in what reuerence the Wyble hath bene had in all times among the Hebrewes. And if any man doubt

note

this end whereto man tendeth is a happy life, and that happines is to be in God

the number of gods among the heathen was almost infinite

the true God worshipped by Isræll

lets to followe one that is right truly beinge

whether it be Gods word or no; that is a question to be decided otherwise. But yet for all, that it is out of all doubt, that the Hebrewes themselves took it to be so and that we cannot better iudge of their Beliefe and Religion, than by the Scriptures, for the which they haue willingly suffered death. And what els doe those Scriptures preach from the first word of them to the last, than the only one God the maker of Heauen and of Earth: As some as you do but open the Bible, by and by ye see there, In the beginning God created the Heauen and the Earth. At the very first step in at the gate of that booke, it excludeth all the Gods made or deuised by man from that people, to the intent to keepe them wholly to the true God that created man. Open the booke further forth at all aduenture whersoever you list, and from line to line you shall make with nothing but the praises of that God, or protestations & thunderings against the strange gods. God made man excellent, who for his disobedience is become subiect to corruptio. Who could punish & imprison such a substance, but he that made it: He founded the world and peopled it, which after ward was ouerwhelmed by the flood, and who could let the waters loose, but he that held them at commaundement? The people of Israell found d:ie passage through the Red Sea; and who prepared them that way, but hee that founded the Earth vppon the deepes: Also the Sunne stood still and went back at the speaking of a word; and of whose word: but of his whose word is a deede? I dispute not here as yet, whether these things be true or no; but I say onely that the Hebrewes belaeued them, yea and that they belaeued them in all ages; and that they worshipped him whom they belaeued to be the doer of those things; who certesse cannot be any other, than the same of whom the first line of the booke saith, That he made the Heauen and the Earth. Aske of Iob who it is whom he worshippeth; and hee will not say it is hee whome the inuention of the Craftesman, or of the Ambroyderer, or of the pzoiner of Wines hath deuised; nor that is sponne, weaued, or hamered: nor that hath a Taile cut with a Razor: nor an Image turned artuerlie, nor some iuggling tricke to dazle childzens eyes withall: for such (as we shall see moze plainly hereafter) are the gods of the heathen: (but hee will say) it is the same God that founded the earth, and stretched out his Petline over it, which hath shut vp the Sea within dories, and bounded the rage of his waues: which made the light and the darknes: which holdeth backe the Pleyads and vnbindeth Orion: which hath created the world, and giuen vnderstanding to man. It is he (saith David) which spreadeth out the Heauens as a Curtaine, and maketh him Chambers among the Waters: which hath settled the Earth vppon hir Pillers, and chased away the Sea at one only threatning of his; which maketh the Windes his messengers, and the Elements his seruants. It is hee (sayeth Esay) which is the first and the last

we knowe
of the true God
off faith
shown in the bible

note

Iob. 38.

Psal. 104.

Esay. 48. & 61.

last: His hand hath grounded the Earth, and his right hand hath measured the Heauens. As soone as he called them, they appeared together before him: Heauen is his Seate, and the Earth is his Footstole. Yea, and besides all this, Moyses will tell vs, that streine we our selues to say what we can of him, we can say no more of him but that it is he whose name is I am that I am: euen he that alonly is, of whom all things that are haue their being, and in comparison of whome al things are nothing, whom neither woꝝds noꝝ woꝝkes can expresse, onely in effect, and yet infinite therewithall.

Some man will say, it may be that this so great a God, vouchsafeth not to stoꝝpe downe vnto vs, but hath left the charge both of the woꝝld and of men to some Seruants of his whome it behoueth vs to woꝝship. Nay, as he is high and great in power, so is he deepe also in wisdome and goodnesse. Art thou sicke? It is he that both maketh healtly and sendeth sicknesse; thou seest how he was Ezechias Visitation. Wouldest thou haue Childzen? It is he that openeth and shutteth the bearingplace. In so much that he made the old age of Sara frutesfull, and the barrain Anne a mother and a Surce. Doth thine enimie bere thee? He is the God of Hosts, whome Gedeon findeth as strong with a small army as with a great. Wouldest thou haue a prosperous wind? It is he (saith Iob) that sheadeth south the Easterne wind vpon the earth, and at whose call the northwind commeth. Doth thy Husbandrie drie away with drought? It is he that dealeth south both the morning and the euening raine; which beget the droppes of the dewe; and which maketh it to raine vpon the ground, yea euen where no body dwels. To be short, art thou afrayd of famine? He prepareth sode for the Hauens to pray vpon, and their yong birds crie vnto none but him. The Lions whelpes roze vnto him for sode and all things that liue in the aire, on the Land, and in the water, do wait vpon him for the supplying of their needs. And what is all this in effect, but that the God whom Israell woꝝshipeth, is the Creator and Corner of all things? The verie true God which mainteineth all things by his goodnes, as well as he made them by his power. As carefull for all things yea euen to the least, as he is mightful and of abilitie to maintein them. Al the whole scripture from the one end to the other, that is to say the people of Israell from age to age, sing nothing else but that. Now if we reade ouer the old ceremonies of the Aegyptians, Persians, and Thuscans leafe by leafe; where shall we find in them one woꝝd of the true God, but onely in renouncing and blaspheming him: And what are all their gods but carriers of Recrits, like these Dogleaches which professe but the curing of some one diseale onely, or like these common craftsmen, which professe but the skill of some one craft or mystrie? But this true G O D (as I haue said) is the only one G O D. What other people haue borne

*an obsequy
probant*

Iob. 38

Psal. 104.

forbidden to call vpon many Gods? Say rather, what other people haue not bin commanded to haue infinite Gods, as a token of Religion? He is a quickning Spirit which cannot bee counterfeted nor conceived, what other God hath said, Whereunto will ye liken me, which do hold the Earth betweene my Fingers? What house will yee build for me which make the Earth my footstool and the Heauen my seate? And to what o-
 ther people hath it bin said, Thou shalt not make any grauen Image? And what other people hath chosen rather to die a thousand times, than to breake that commandement? Insomuch that they would not admitte either painter or karuer into any of their Cities. Contrariwise, which of all the Gods of the Heathen haue not required Images? Yea and (as we read in Porphyrius) taught how they should bee painted? Much more vaine in god saith than the men that worshipped them. To be short, the true God which gouerneth the whole world, must also (as I haue said a-
 fore) governe both men and their wits to his glozy. And to governe them so, it becometh him to knowe them; and to knowe them, it becometh him to see them; and to see into their harts, it becometh him to haue made them. For the father which thinketh himselfe to be the begetter of a Child, seeth not into the hart thereof; neither doth the scholemaster see into his scholars wit, wherof he thinketh himselfe to be the framer. And much lesse can an Imaginative God do any of those things, hauing not made the one nor the other. What other God shall ye reade to haue said, Thou shalt not couet; or to haue required the sacrifice of the hart, or the tasting of the spirit, or a harttbroken and lowly mind? Who els can forbid Couetousnes and hipocrisie, but he which is able to punish it? And who can punish it, but he that sees it? And who can see it in man, but he that made man? On the contrarie part, who seeth not that the Lawes which are reported to haue bin inspired by the goddes at Rome, in Athens, and in Lacedemon extend no further than to the outward man? Insomuch that none of them (as saith Cato) is found to haue said He that is minded to steale, but only He that stealeth, shalbe guiltie. Which is as much to say, as that they be but Lawes of men, who see not into folkes harts; Lawes of Creatures which pearce no further then the Cote or the Skinne. The people of Israell therefore are the people that serued the onely true GOD that made man, and all other people serued Gods made by men.

Orige against
Celsus lib. 3.

Cato in his
oration for
the Rhodians.

The Heathen
acknowled-
ged the true
God to be in
Israell.

Now this sillie people (as we reade in Histories) was strangely de-
 spised and trampled vnder foote, as though all the diuels had conspired
 and banded themselves against that people, which alonely worshipped
 the true God. But what are the Heathen compelled in the end to con-
 fesse? Varro the best learned of the Romans, who made a bedroll of all the
 Gods, for feare (as he saith) least they should stray away: concludeth in
 the

the end, that those do worship the true God, which worship the onely one, without Images, and which beleue him to be the gouernoz of the whole world. Yea and (which moze is) he saith that the Iewes (by what other name soeuer they call him) do worship the same God truely: and that if after their example all Images had bin forbidden, (as they were a long time in Rome) men had not fallen into so many superstitions and errors. It is not to be doubted but that he which spake so of the whole rable of false Gods that were in Rome, would haue spoken much moze of them, if he had not feared men moze than his Gods. And whereas some of the heathen to excuse their owne sacriledge, haue bozne the world on hand that the Iewes worshipped the head of a wild Ass, because a beast of that kind had shewed them a fountaine in the wilderness, at a time that they were distressed with thirst: Polybius, Strabo, and Tacitus himselte the maker of that goodly report, do witnesse that in the Temple of the Iewes there was neuer yet found any Penon, Pensil, Relik, or Image, neither at the time that Antiochus through couetousnes sacked it, nor whē Pompey for reuerence spared it. And truely the said Assish report of the Asses head, is scarce worth the disproofe. But moze rather because the Iewes rested vpon the Saboth day, which the Gentiles dedicated afterward vnto Saturne, many men haue thought that they worshipped Saturne, where as if the heathen had asked but some Babe of the Iewes concerning that matter, he would haue taught thē that the God of Isreal neuer fled away for feare of a man as Saturne did, but that he abideth in Heauen, and that the whole earth quaketh at his ptesence. *Notwithstanding, the chiefe Monarkies of the world armed themselves in all ages against this small people: but yet the smaller that they were, the greater appeared the mightines of their God.* Sennacharib King of the Assyrians had subdued all his neighbours, and intended to fill vp the Diches of Ierusalem as he had done by the ouerthrowe of other Citties. For performance where of he sent Rabfaces the Generall of his Hoste to subdue Ezechias King of Iuda. In the opinion of men Senacharibs argument was good and well concluded. If I should send thee two thousand Horses (saith hee) ready furnished to battel, thou couldest hardly furnish as many men to ride them. And canst thou thinke then that thou art able to resist my whole armie? I haue conquered Aram, & Arphad, & Ana, & Aua, and Sepharnam, and what shal then become of Ierusalem, if it stand wilfully against me? But whē as he said, Consider what became of the Goddesses of those Nations, supposing the God of Isreal to haue bene of the same stampe: therein his argument failed, not for that (as the Logicians say) he concluded from the paticular to the generall, or from that which is true simply to that which is true but in some certaine respect, but for arguing from that which is nothing at all to that which is all, namely from the vanitie of Idols, to the almightines

Austin. in the
Cittie of God.
lib. 8. chap. 31.
Denis of Halycarnassius.
lib. 1.

Tacitus, lib. 5.
or (as some editions haue)
lib. 2.
Appian against Iosephus.

*The mighty power
of God appeared in
the small number
of the people of
2 Kings 18. I must
19.*

*the end of
Sennacharib*

*ut ipse noster
worship.*

times of the Creator. But what became of this victorious Monarke, & of his men, & of their Idols? Although the holy Scripture had said nothing thereof, Herodotus can tell vs it sufficiently. The Host of Sennacharib (saith he) was miserably discomfited, his state came to decay, his owne sonnes murdered him in the Temple of his Idols, the Babylonians gathered vp the scatterings of his Empire, (which more is) in a certaine Temple of Aegypt, an Image of his was set vp with this Inscription, Learne at the sight of me to feare God. What more almost saith the holy Scripture vnto vs thereof? And who can say that this was not a verie arche of victorie and triumph to the true God, against the goddes of the Heathen, in the person of that Prince which had destroyed so many of them? From henceforth the Monarchie of the Assyrians did neuer prosper, but the Medes and Persians came to be Lords of it, who at the first seemed to take warning by the example thereof. For they restored the Iewes home againe into their Countrey, according to the Prophecies, and gaue them leaue to build vp their Temple againe, furthering them by all meanes therein, and giuing them certaine allowances for the maintenance of their sacrifices, acknowledging in their letters to their Lieutenants, that the God of the Iewes was the true God, and none other.

But what shall we say of the gods of Greece, who in conquering the Persians, came to take a soule in Iewrie? For Alexander hauing subdued the Persians, made men to worship him as a God; and hearing that in the mountaines of Palestine, there was a people whom neither the Assyrians nor the Persians could subdue to their Gods, for all the rigour and crueltie they could shewe; insomuch that at his owne being in Babylon, certaine Iewes that had bene conueyed thither, did flatly disobey him, when he meant to haue builded there a temple to Iupiter Bele, as Hecateus reporteth, who accompanied Alexander in that voyage: he turned head towards Ierusalem, with a venemous rancour to that poore people. But when Iaddus the Highpriest of the Iewes came before him in his Priestly attire, accompanied with his Levites about him; Alexander cast downe himselfe at his fete and worshipped him. This *god I say whom the greatest personages worshipped thensforth, did there worship a man that came to make supplication vnto him. Parmenio thinking this to be a very strange sight, asked Alexander the cause why he did so. It is not the man (quoth Alexander) whome I worship, but the God whose Priest he is: for I sawe him (said he) in the same attyre, when I was yet in Macedony: and when I doubted whether I might meddle with Asia or no, he gaue me courage to proceed, assuring me that by his guiding I should overcome the Persians. Whereupon hee went vp into the Temple, and offered sacrifice vnto God, in such manner as the Highpriest instructed him: who shewed him the booke of Daniell, wherein it was

*Hecateus the
Abderita*

**Menina,
Alexander
who vaunted
himselfe as a
God.
Iosephus in
his Antiqui-
ties lib. 11. ca. 8*

was prophesied certaine hundred yeeres afore, that a certaine Greeke should come and conquer the Persians, which now fell out to bee hee. Whereupon hee suffered the Iewes to live after their owne lawes, and from seauen yeares to seauen yeares released them of all tributes, which thing he denied to the Samaritanes. Now, of all the great number of Nations, of whom he conquered many more than he saw, where reade we that ever he did the like to any of them? And whereunto shall we attribute this dooe of his, but to his bethinking him of the thing which he had learned in secret of the great Priest of the Aegyptians called Leon, namely, that all the gods whom the Gentiles worshipped, were Kings of old time, of whom the memorials had bin consecrated by their posteritie: and therefore he as a greater King than any of them all, thought also that he might well be the greatest god of them all. But in the God of Israell he acknowledged another manner of thing: namely, that he was God of gods, and King of Kings, the changer of Empires at his pleasure, which upholdeth Kings with his hands, not to performe their vaine attempts, but to bring to passe his owne everlasting decrees. By the death of Alexander the Monarchie of the Greekes came to be dispersed, so as the Ptolomies gate the souereintie in Aegypt. And what greater proues would wee haue of their acknowledging the only one God, than to see Ptolomic Philadelph cause the Bible of the Hebrewes to be so solemnely translated at his owne charges? For what do Conquerours desire, but to giue lawes to those whom they haue vanquished: and therefore what els was this, than a receiuing of lawes at the hands of the Iewes? And seeing that the men of Israell were weaker than the men of Aegypt: what can wee say, but that the God of Israell had subdued the gods of Aegypt. And soothly, afterward when Ptolomic surnamed the bountiful had gotten the souereintie of Syria, he offered not sacrifice for his victories vnto the gods of Aegypt (which notwithstanding were very many in number, and seemed to haue giuen law to the Nations round about them): but he went to Ierusalem, and there acknowledging himselfe to haue receiued his prosperitie of the God of Israell, did consecrate the Monuments of his victories vnto him. And yet was this in the time of the greatest aduersitie of the Iewes, even when their Countrey was forsaied, and their Temple unhallowed by their enemies and by their owne Priests themselves; that is to say, at such a time as all outward things should haue distraded him from worshipping of the God of that people, had not the most manifest trueth giuen him to the contrarie.

As touching the Romaines, what time they extended their warres into Iewrie, we read that they reuerenced the Temple of Ierusalem: insomuch that Augustus ordeined certaine Sacrifices to be offered there both yeerely and dayly, and that diuers Heathen princes, being prouoked by

Cicero in his
oration for
Flaccus,

this sending of offerings thither so carefully, folloved his example in doing the like. But seeing the Romaines brought all the Gods of all the Nations whom they had conuenered into Rome: how happeneth it that only this God could finde no place there? Cicero answereth, that it seemed not the Maieſtie of the Empire. But if I should appose him vpon his conscience, did Bacchus, Anubis, Pryapus, and their shamefull night wakes and myſteries celebrated in the darke, yeld renowne to the estate of the Emperre: Say, if he will say the truth, they knew that the God of Iſreall (and none other) was the true God, and that for the harbouring of him, it behoued them to diue away all the rest: but they had so long time foaded folke with Idolatrie, that they were afraid (as manie Princes are at this day) least they might be deposed by their Subjects in receiuing their rightfull Lord.

Seneca in his
Booke of Su-
persitions.

Yet notwithstanding (wil some say) this illie people of the Iewes were caried away from their owne Countrey into the fower quarters of the world, scattered among other people, and parted among all Nations of the earth, at the pleasure of their enemies that had gotten the vpper hand of them. Surely Gods wonderfull prouidence is to be noted in this case, farre moze without comparison, than if that people had conquered the whole world by force of armes. For by the things which the Poets haue written of them, we see in what contempt they were had of all men. But yet let vs heare the wonderment that was made thereat, not by a common person, but by the great Philosopher Seneca. Yet notwithstanding (saith he) the custome of that Nation hath so preuailed, that it is the rather receiued of the whole worlde, and they being vanquished, haue (I wote not by what meanes) giuen lawes to theyr Conquerours. Who seeth not here a great motion of minde in this Philosopher? And what man hauing common reason, is not raiſhed thereat as well as he? Is it possible for Kings to haue subdued a people whome they could neuer inforce to chaunge their owne lawes? The example thereof is Iewrie, which hath bene troden vnder foote by the Assyrians, Persians, Greeks and Romaines; and yet for all their chaunging of their Masters, they could neuer be brought to alter their lawe. There may perchance some like constancie be found among other Nations, as in respect of their lawes: but that a people being conquered, caried away, brought into bondage, vnaccounted of, led in triumph by diuers Emperres, as the Iewes were, should not onely subdue the hearts of their Conquerours to their God, so as the Conquerours could not fasten their lawes vpon the vanquished sort, but contrariwise the vanquished sort haue fastened their lawes vpon their vanquishers, the Subjects vpon their Prince, the captives vpon their Master, & the condemned vpon thei Judge: who (I pray you) would belue it unless he saw it? And if a man see it, how can he say that
any

any other can possiblie doe it but **G D D**: But if Seneca will vouchsafe to heare Seneca quietly, it may bee that hee himselfe shall finde a resolution to his owne wonderment. Namely, that the Gods (as hee saith) which were called inuolable and immortall, whom the Iewes left to other Nations, were dumbe and sencelesse Images, disguised in the shapes of Men, Beastes, and Fishes; and some in vgly and ilfaouered monsters; and that the Feends which possessed those Images, required woofse things of men for their seruice, than the horriblest Tyrants that euer were; as that men should gash themselves, maim and lame themselves, geld themselves, and offer men women and children in Sacrifice to them. But when folke heard speaking of the true God the maker of Heauen and Earth, and that he wilbe serued with the hearts and minds of men: that word issuing out of the mouth of a poore prisoner, caught men prisoners and overcame their Gods. And in very deede (as wee shall see hereafter) if we reade the good authoys of that time; either they speak but of the one God, or if they speake of moe Gods, it is but for customes sake and in way of condemning them. What els then were the manifold flakings of the Iewes, but as many conueyings abroad of companies of Preachers, to shewe forth the true God; and as many Armies to destroy the Idols and to rote them out? We reade that the Coniurers which were in old time among the Gentiles, did vse the name of the God of Israel, the God of the Hebrewes, and the God that drowned the Aegyptians, in coniuring such as were possessed of Demiles, and that the Demilles trembled at that name. This serueth not to proue that they worshipped not other Gods, but that they knew those Gods to be of no force. Iulian the Apostata did vnder set his shoulder, to shoue vp the seruice of the false Gods as much as he could. But yet durst he not deny, but that the God of Abraham Isaac and Iacob is a great and mightie God; and he sware by all his Gods that he was one of them that were conuerted to his seruice, & that he knew him to be very gracious to such as serue him as Abraham had done. Who now could euer make an Israelite confesse that any other God was good, than the same whom he worshipped? And if he be the very God, how can it be (euen by Iulians owne saying) that all the residue should not be euill, seeing that this good God condemneth them, and declareth them to be all wicked Spirites and enemies of mankind? But if Iulian himselfe would tell vs what befell him at Antioche, when he asked counsell of his Demilles who made all his Philosophers to quake, and all his great Sorcerers to runne away for feare: we should see well enough what stuffe they be; insomuch that euen his owne Historiographer Zosimus, is ashamed to make report of it.

Now, I would faine that the Heathen or their Advocats should but shewe me one of these two things; either where any Authoys of the Iewes yieldeth

Seneca in his booke of Superstition. Austin de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 6. cap. 10.

Origen against Celsus, lib. 3.

Iulian against the Gallicans

Zosimus, lib. 4. Socrates, lib. 3. cap. 11.

yeeldeth recoꝝ to any god of the beathen: or where any graue Wharthen authoꝝ hath condemned the God that is worshipped by the Iewes. Forasmuch then as in a Chapter appoynted to the same purpose, I haue already pꝛoued by all the auncient Authoꝝ, and by consent of all people, that there is but only one God: and by Varro euen now, that the Iewes do worship the same God: what followeth therof, but that al of them be Iewes in that point, and that as many as are not so, are al ydolaters and deceiued: And so, that cause when Orpheus had praised God in these and such like verses alledged in the third Chapter.

*There is but one perfect God the maker of all things,
Who cherisheth and fostereth all things.*

He addeth immediatly,

Neuer man yet knew his incomprehensible being, saving one of the blond of the Chaldees.

Which saying of his some referre vnto Abraham, other some to Moyses: and some of the Platonists to Zoroastres the graundchild of Noe. And Apollo himselfe being demaunded by the Gentiles, what people was rightly religious from of old time: answered him thus.

*The Chaldees and the Hebrewes haue all wisdom twixt them twaine,
And of the true God only they the worship doe maintaine.*

Whereunto agreeth this verse of Sybilles:

The Iewes are sure a heauenly race, diuine, and full of blisse.

But it will be yet much moze, if we can by their owne best Authoꝝ, pꝛoue their gods to bee nothing but vanitie and leazing: which is as much to say, as that they haue not onely allowed the God of Israell, but also condemned all their owne gods.

The xxij. Chapter.

That the gods worshipped by the Heathen, were men consecrated or canonized to posteritie.



Haue sufficiently shewed heretofore in the second and third Chapters, that there is but one God: That both Angels & Feends are but Creatures, the one seruants, and the other slauies: That Nature & Philosophie consent together therein, notwithstanding that ouerruled custome haue like a water streame caried folke away, & that the wise of the world haue loned better to followe the course of the streame, than to rowe

rowe againſt it. Yet ſo; all that, it ſhall not be ſuperfluous to ſhew what they themſelves haue written of their owne Gods, both generally of them all, and particularly of euery of them. Therefore to begin with Hermes, whom we haue heard ſo highly commending the onely one God: He writeth of them in theſe wordes: Like as the Lord God (ſaith he) is the maker of the Gods in Heauen, ſo is man the maker of the gods that are content to dwell in Temples, that they might be neer vnto men. Man then maketh Images after his owne likenes, whereunto he calleth ſpirits by Arte Magick, or els they come into them of their owne accord, and foretell vnto men things to come. But the time wil come, that all this kind of Religion of the Aegyptians ſhalbe aboliſhed, and that all their worſhippings ſhall vaniſh away. And in very deepe (ſaith he) Eſculapius the Graundfather of Aſclepius, and Mercurie mine owne Graundfather which are worſhipped at Hermopolis in Aegypt, were Men, whoſe worldly men, (that is to ſay their bodies) lie the one in Lybia & the other in Hermopolis, and vnder their names are worſhipped certeine Diuels, whome I allured and drue into their Images. What moze ſubſtantiall witneſſe now could we produce againſt the Gods of Aegypt, than the very partle himſelfe that made them? And what els were they then, than either men, or Diuels ſhrowded in the Images or in the dead carkeſes of men: But I procede with theſe two parts the one after the other.

The great Highprieſt of Aegypt called Leon, being asked ſecretly by Alexander, concerning the originall of their gods, and fearing moze his power than their wrath; beſought him, that all the great gods, yea euen thoſe whome the Romanes termed The gods of the greater Nations, were all of them men. But he prayed Alexander that he would not tell it to any body, ſauing his Mother Olympias, and that ſhee ſhould burne his Letter as ſoone as ſhe had read it. For as for the Beaſts which the Aegyptians worſhipped, Plutarke ſaith that ſome of them were worſhipped as Planets and ſignes celeftiall: and otherſome becauſe that when Oſyris led his people to Baſſell, he had diuers Antefignes according to the diuerſities of the Countries, as in one a Dog, in another an Oxe, and ſo forth: which after ward through emulation were turned into Superſtition. As touching the Phenicians, their next neighbours, Sanchoniaton their owne Chronicler writeth, that they honozed ſuch men ſo; gods as had bene great among them, or had inuented any thing profitable ſo; the life of man: and that as they were long time Lords of the Sea, and conueied many companies of their owne countrifolke into Lybia and Spaine, ſo inhabit there: ſo they peopled them with their gods alſo. Concerning the gods of the Greekes, we read that Orpheus, Homer, and Heſiodus were the firſt byingers of them in, and did ſet downe their Pedegrees in writing, giuing them names and Surnames, and

Hermes in his Eſculapius. tranſlated by Apuleius.

Auſtin de Ciuitate Dei, lib. 8. cap. 23. The Gods of the Egyptians

Cyprian concerning the vanity of Idols.

Plutarke in his treatiſe of Iſis and Oſyris.

The Gods of the Phenicians. Sanchoniaton tranſlated by Joſephus.

The Gods of the Greekes. Herodotus, lib. 2.

apokt.

Anlus Gellius
lib. 3. cap. 11.
& li. 17. ca. 11.

Pophirius in
the life of Py-
thagoras.

Apuleius and
Aulus Gellius.

appointing them honours at their pleasures. Of whom Pythagoras saith, that their soules were hanged vpon a Tree in Hell, and there pinched with Serpents on all sides for their so damnable deuices. And what he himselfe deemed of those Gods, we may see in his life wrytten by Porphyrius. For he wrote verses vpon the Tumbe of Apollo at Delphos, declaring him to haue bene the Sonne of Silenus that was slaine by Pithon, and buried in a place called Tripos, because the three daughters of Triopus came thither to mourne. Afterward againe, comming into a Caeue of Ida, where he found a Throne set vp vnto Iupiter, hee wrote this inscription vpon it: Pythagoras to Iupiter. Heere lieth the greate Zeus whom men call Iupiter. Socrates in despite of those Gods did sweare by an Oke, by a Cote, and by a Dogge; and was condemned to drinke poison, because he taught that there was but only one God. Which is as much to say, as that he deemed lesse Godhead to be in those Gods, than in the least creatures. Yet notwithstanding, he was the onely man whom Apollo auowed to be the wisest mā of al Greece; wherein he had shewed himselfe to haue had lesse wit than those beastes, if he had deemed such a one to be wisest as had condemned the Godhead. But it is the property of the Deuill, both to abuse men and also to mocke them for their labour. They cried out against Socrates that he was a blasphemmer and made him to drinke his owne death. But within a while after, the Athenians did set vp an Image of him in one of their Temples, and in a rage did put his accusers to death: [which dede of theirs made notably against themselues:] for surely they could not better haue condemned their Gods, than by their iustifying and honoring of the partie that condemned them. As for his Disciple Plato, this saying of his shal suffice. When I write vnto you in good earnest, I speake but of one God, and when I meane otherwise, I speake of many. He employed his Gods about vanitie, because he esteemed them to be but vaine. To be short, one saies, If they be Gods, why mourne ye for them: and if they be liuelesse why worship ye them: Another saies, be of God chere my Countrey-men, men liued afoze the Gods, and the Gods die afoze men. And the Poets themselues, who made the Gods to be such as they be, take as great pleasure in the vnmaking of them, as little Children doe in playing with their Puppets: insomuch that there is no Tragedy good, which doth not baffle some one of the Gods, as Euripides (among the rest) doth in these verses.

*Thou Neptune and thou Iupiter, and all you other Gods,
So wicked are you enerychone, so fell, so farre at oddes,
That if due iustice for your deedes were iustly on you done,
Ye should be banisht out of Heauen and from all Temples soone.*

You will say perchance that the Romanes may possibly haue some better

better stuffe. By the originall of them which they themselves describe, we may iudge what they were. And let vs note that the writers of these things were no Greekes, which might haue bred some suspicion; but they were Romanes, even the Idolaters themselves. The first that ordeined Religion among them, was King Numa; who to authorize it the more, feyned himselfe to haue had conference with a goddesse called Egeria which was a witch: and vnder that gay pretence, he bewitched the ignorant people with a thousand superstitions. A long time after, in the Consulship of Cornelius and Bebius, it happened that in the ground of a certaine Scriuener named Petilius, nere to the place called Ianiculum, there were found two Coffins, in one of the which was the body of Numa, and in the other were seauen booke in Latin concerning the Lawes of their Priesthood, that is to say, their Ceremonies and Churchseruites; and other seauen Bookes in Greeke concerning the studie of Wisdome; whereby he ouerthrew, not onely the gods of other Nations, but also the very selfe same whome he himselfe had instituted. The Senate hearing thereof, caused the Bookes to be burnt openly before the people; which was as much to say as that they condemned all the gods and all their Seruites to the Fire. Among many other Stoories, Varro reporteth the same too: and he concealeth not that Numa vsed Waterspelling, and had communication with Diuels. And as touching the gods whome the Latins worshipped before the time of this Numa Pompilius; Varro and Caius Bassus say, that Faunus ordeined Sacrifices to his graundfather Saturne, to his father Picus, and to his Sister and Wife Fauna, whom the good huswines call Fatua of Fate, that is to say Destinie, because she was wont to read their fortunes; and afterward the people worshipped her by the name of Good Dame or Goddesse. And surely of no better value were those whome Aeneas brought thither, whom Virgill termeth vanquished gods, and after a sort putteth them and little Babes both together in one Basket. Sceuola the Highpriest of the Romanes (as I haue said afoze) made thre sorts of gods: Poeticall, worse than the worst men, Philosophicall, whome they taught to haue beene men, howbeit that it was not good for the people to knowe it; and Ciuill, made by Princes to holde their people in awe with; for the which purpose also Varro addeth, that it is good for Captaines and gouerners to bee perswaded that they bee descended of gods, that they may the more boldly vnderfak and the more happily performe their enterprizes. But who could answer better to the matter, than the Highpriest himselfe? And which are these better gods, which are no gods at all furtherworth than it pleaseth men? Varro saith likewise, that his writing of humaine things afoze diuine things, is because there were Cities afoze there were gods made by them, as the Painter is afoze his Picture.

The Gods of
the Romanes.

Titus Linius,
Decad. 4. libro
ultimo.
Valerius Ma-
ximus lib. 1.

Plinius lib. 13.
cap. 13.
Austin lib. 7.
cap. 14.
Lactantius.
lib. 1.

Austin de Ci-
uitate Dei.
lib. 7. cap. 17.

Cicero con-
cerning the
Nature of the
Gods, the
first of his
Tusculane
questions.

Picture. How much more reasonable had it bene that the gods should haue committed themselves to the custodie of the Cities, than that the Cities should haue committed themselves to the custodie of the gods? Also he deuidenth his gods into certaines and vncertaines. The certaine (saith he in his second booke) are as much or more subiect to vncertaintie than the vncertaine. What certaintie will be report of the gods, if they themselves be vncertaine? But behold the godlinesse of the man. He saith he will make a Register and an Inuentorie of them: and wherefoze? for feare (saith he) leaſt they should be loſt, not so much by some ſacking of the Citie, as by the negligence of the Citizens, which began soze at that time to make no account of them. Somthly the Romanes had bene the more excusable, if they had deſiſſed this Varro that had ſuch a care to ſaue and preferre their gods. But the wiſe Senate thought themselves to haue pꝛouided well for the matter, by making this ordinance, That no God should be admitted into Rome without their aduice. As who would ſay, that to be a God it was meete that a bill of petition should firſt bee exhibited vnto them, and men were to be ſeued vnto for the obtinment of their voices. By which one argument of theirs they declared themselves to be more diuine than their Gods. And therebpon it came to paſſe that they receiued into their Citie all the Demiles, all the Tirants, and all the filthie Kakehels of the world for Gods. As for the onely one true God the Creatoz of men, the ſounder of Cities, and the remouer of Empires; he had no name at all among them. Concerning the nature of the gods, Cicero hath writte thre booke; which to ſpeake properly, are made to ouerthrow al the gods of the Romans. For he reckoneth by their ages, their garments, their deckings, their offsprings, their ancetozs, and their alliances. He saith that their Temples are their Tombes; their Sacrifices and Ceremonies, representations of their liues; and that from the leaſt of them to the greateſt, they were all men, and all their Religions Superſtitious and old wines tales. As touching the true God, he ſpeaketh ſar otherwiſe. For hee saith that he made all things, that he made man, that he made the very Gods themselves, and to be ſhozt, that it is much eaſier for him to wonder at God, than to vtter what he is; and to declare what he is not, than what he is. And whereas ſometimes after the maner of the Stoikes, he goeth about to draw naturall things out of the fables of the gods; he dooth it but onely to keepe the people in ignorance, and according to his owne ſaying in the ſelfe ſame booke, where hauing condemned his owne gods, hee saith that yet for all that, thoſe things are not to be vttered to the people; and his allegories are ſo cold, that it is to be thought that euen he himſelfe laughed at them. As touching the Birdgazers he himſelfe being a Birdgazer dooth flatly ſkozne them, that is to ſay, euen his owne profeſſion, yea and all ſuch as ſought coun-

conſell at Crows and Ravens, that is to wit, the whole Senate of Rome. Likewise we reade that Caſar held ſtill the Province of Affricke againſt the ſoꝝ warnings of the Birdgazers; and that Cato wondered how two Birdgazers could make one another oꝝ looke one vpon another without laughing. And Seneca ſaith in his booke of Queſtions, that the Bowelgazers were inuented ſoꝝ nothing els but to holde the people in awe. So little did the Wiſemen beleeue the things which they themſelues did to be wondered at and worſhipped of the common people: And thus much concerning their Gods in generall.

Seneca lib. 1.
cap. 4. and 41.

But if wee come to the particulars, the matter will bee yet moze clere, wherein I will be as bꝛiefe as I can, becauſe it is a matter that is treated of expꝛeſſely by others. Among the innumerable rable of gods, they haue twelue of principall renowne, whoſe names are comprehended in theſe two verſes of Ennius.

The Godde
of Greater
Nations.

*Iuno, Veſta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars,
Mercurius, Iupiter, Neptune, Vulcanus, Apollo.*

And vnto theſe ſome added Bacchus and Saturne; this latter, becauſe he might ſeeme to haue wzong, if he ſhould not be counted a God as well as his ſonne: and the other, becauſe it might come to paſſe, that (being a ſirle fellowe) he would els make ſome fray, ſeeing that Ceres is a Goddeſſe. To diſpatch the chiefe of them quite and cleane of that doubt, Euhemere of Meſſene will alone ſuffice: who gathering the hiſtoꝝie of Iupiter and the reſt, ſetteth downe their titles, Epitaphs and Inſcriptions which were in their Temples, and namely in the Temple of Iupiter Triphillian, where was a pillar ſet vp by Iupiter himſelfe, whereon the notableſt of his doings were ingrauen. And this hiſtoꝝie being called holy was tranſlated by Ennius, the words whereof are theſe. Saturne (ſaith he) tooke Ops to his wife, and Titan being his elder brother claimed the kingdome: but Veſta their mother and Ceres and Ops their Siſters, counſeled Saturne to keepe his poſſeſſion. Which thing when Titan perceiued: finding himſelfe to bee the weaker, he compounded with Saturne, vpon condition that if Saturne had any Sonnes, hee ſhould not ſuffer them to liue, that the kingdome might reuert againe vnto his Children. According to which compoſition, the firſt Childe that was borne to Saturne was killed. Afterward were borne Iupiter and Iuno Twinnes, both at one birth: of whome they ſhewed but Iuno, and deliuered Iupiter to Veſta to bee brought vp in ſecret. After them came Neptune, who was ſerued likewise. And laſt of all came Pluto and Glaucæ; of whome onely Glaucæ (who dyed within a while) was ſhewed, and Pluto was nurced ſecretlie as Iupiter was. Nowe this came to Titans hearing, who aſſembling his Sonnes to him, tooke Saturne and Ops and put them both in priſon. But aſſoone as Iupiter came

Euſebius de
pꝛæpar. euan-
gelica, lib. 4.

Euhemere as
he is cited by
Lactantius.

came to age, he gaue battell to the Titans; and getting the vpper hand of them, deliuered his father and mother out of prison. At length perceiuing that his father, whom he had set vp againe, was iealous ouer him and sought his life: he deposed him from his estate and droue him into Italy. In this only one hystorie we see what Saturne, Iupiter, Iuno, Vesta, Ops, Neptune and Ceres were, that is to wit, men and women; yea surely euen men, and among men, but onely mere men. And yet were they the fathers and mothers of the rest of the Gods, and reigned in the Isles of the chiefe Midland Sea; and in Candy, a litle afoze the warres of Thebes & of Troy. And by that meanes we see also, from whence the Poets haue fetched their fables; which are not (as some thinke) mere fancies or imaginations without ground, but disguisings of the trueth, and of the Hystorie: True in that they report daides rightly becoming men; but true in that they attribute them as to Gods, and not as to men. Saturne is taken for the father of them all. And loke what is found of the father, is to be verified of his offspring. The Hystoriographers therfore haue said, that his wife did hide his children from him: and the Poets haue said that he did eate them vp, because a Soothsayer had told him that one of them should depose him. To auoide the absurditie of the word Krouos which is Saturne, the Stoikes haue turned it to Chronos, (that is to say, time,) which deuoureth all things. But how will they applie all the rest of the Allegorie vnto the Hystorie? Who shall be the daies lost, and who the daies saued? What shall Ops be, and Iupiter, and Pluto? who shall bee this sonne of time, that perisheth not with the time nor afoze it? But Hermes (whatsoeuer he be) who knew this pedegree well enough, holdeth himselfe to the letter, accounting Vranus, Saturne, and Mercurie, among the rare men that were in time past. And Ennius saith, that this Vranus was the father of Saturne and reigned afoze him. Now because Vranus in Graeke signifieth Heauen; the Stoikes moze fabulous, as saith Plutarke, than the Poets, haue called his sonne, Time; and his graundsonne Iupiter, the Welkin or highest region of the ayre; whom Euhemere reporteth to haue ordeined Sacrifices vnto Vranus. And Ennius his translator reporteth, that he ordeined them vnto his graundfather Heauen, who died in the Ocean and lyes buried in Aulatie. To be short, of all the writers of antiquities, such as Theodore the Graeke, Thallus, Cassius, Seuerus, Cornelius Nepos and others were: none describeth him otherwise than a man: insomuch that euen Orphens himselfe who canonised him for a God, speaketh of him after the same maner. What reade we of Iupiter? Iupiter (saith the Hystorie) deposed his owne Father, held his assemblies in Mount Olympus, stole away Europa in a ship named the Bull, and carred away Ganymed in another ship called the Eagle: but hee forbore Thetis, because an Achilles (which should be a

Hermes in his
Asclepius

man

man of greater might than his father) was to be boyne of hir. Finally after he had made certayne Lawes, and parted the offices of his estate among his friends, he dyed and was buried in the towne of Gnosus. What a life is this, but the life of a man? yea and of a most wicked man, vntoworthie, not to reigne in heauen, but euen to goe vpon the earth? Seuerthelste, because his succellozs inforced men to worship him as wel as his Grandfather, yea and he himselfe in his life time had caused his Subiects, Vassalles and Confederates to dedicate Temples vnto him; by reason whereof wee see he was called by the names of Labradie, Aca-burie, Tryphill, and diuers other: all things were sayne to be applyed and referred vnto him: insomuch that of a man, the Poets made him a God; of the Mountayne Olympus, they made Heauen; of a Shippe, an Eagle; and of Thetis, a Goddesse. Yet for all this, his buryall place putteth al out of doubt, and so doth the Epitaph that Pythagoras wrote thereon. For to haue a Temple in one place, & a Tombe in another and to be worshipped with prayer in the one, and to be eaten with wormes in the other, are things farre differing. Callimachus will needes taunt the Cretanes for shewing his Tombe with this inscription, *Ἰὺπὴρ τοῦ Κρήν*, that is to say, Iupiter the sonne of Saturne: and yet he considereth not, that in saying that Rhea was deliuered of him among the Parrhasians, he himselfe maketh him to dye. For what is birth but a beginning of death? And therefore Sybill speaketh of the Gods in these words:

*The fond waynglory which the Cretanes vse
About their Goaldes doth many a man abuse.
They be but gasty Ghosts and feends of hel,
Or graues of men in whom no soule doth dwell.*

To be short, Amalthea, & hir Goate & nurced Iupiter, which were hono-red in the Capitoll, & all his other mysteries, represented nothing els but & trauells of his childehood & of his lyfe; as, how he was stolen away, how he was hidden, and how he was nurced: all which things are a manifest derogation of his Godhead. And Seneca taketh it to be a matter so toworthie to be laughed at, that he forgetteth his owne grauitie to giue a mocke vnto it. Seeing (sayth he) that this Iupiter was so lecherous, why begetteth he not Children stil, if he be yet aliue? Is it because he is threescore yeeres old? Or hath the Lawe of Papie restreyned him? Or hath he obteyned the priuiledge of three Children? Or finally, is it come into his mynd to looke for the same measure at other folks hands, which he hath measured vnto others, so as he is afrayd least some Sonne of his should deale with him, as he himselfe delt with Saturne? After that manner did this greate Philosopher mocke at his greate God: wherein he was so much the lesse to be excused, because he worshipped him, knowing so much as he did.

Seneca in his
Moralles.

The Lawe of
three children

As.

As

As touching Iuno, I will not stande so much vpon the Poets. Varro himselfe saith that she was brought vp in Samos, and there married to her brother Iupiter, by whome she could not conceiue, in respect whereof, that Island was called Parthenie, that is to say Maydenland. There also was her famoussest Temple, where she stode in wedding attyre; and her yerely feastes are in verie deede but playes ordeined after the fashion of olde time, to represent her life, that is to wit, her marriage, her ielousie, and her incest.

And as concerning Minerva Iupiters daughter, wee read that she was deflowred by consent of her father, who had made a promise to Vulcane, not to deny him whatsoeuer he should aske: so monstrous & latollesse was the whole race of them. For as for Venus, whose aduotries are mo than her childe; Euhemere reporteth her to haue bene the first bringer vp of Stewes in the worlde, and that her worshippers to hono her withall, did call her *anaphrodisia*, *traipeia*, *androphora*, *phylodora* and such other, which names euen a woman that were very farre past shame would take in great disdaine. To be short, in the Temple where Cinaras King of Cyprus was buried, who was the first that intertained her; surely I am ashamed that the Heathen were not ashamed of such shamefulness, but yet much moze, that such as beare the name of Christians are not ashamed to make songs thereof in their booke.

Let vs proceede to the rest. Neptune (as their holy Historie reporteth) had the Seacost for his share, or (as other some affirme) he was Iupiters Admiral, in respect whereof the Poets of our time call Admiralls Neptunes. Pluto had the gouernment of low Countreies, which they disguising turned into Hel. Mars had the Leading of Souldiers in the wars, and should haue bin hanged at Athens for a murder. What maner of gods (I pray you) be these, which stand at mens courtesie for their grace? And what is the Lawe of that Heauen, which receyueth those for Gods, whom men would haue hanged on gallowes vpon earth? Also Apollo became a Shepheard for loue, he became Laomedons Mason. He playd a few Juggling tricks to deceiue folk withall, but in the end (as Porphyrius telleth vs) he was killed by Python, mourned for by the daughters of Triopus, and buried at Delphos. Who euer sawe a thing moze against reason, than the transfozming of him into the Sonne, which is as much as to shut vp the Sonne into the earth? But yet such are the Gods of the Greeks and Romans, that is to wit dead folks, euen kings and Quenes whome loue or feare hath made to be taken for Gods. And in good sooth, they did not any thing to their Gods, which men do not at this day to their dead and to such as are of reputation. They make them Temples, Chappels, and alters, they apparrell them after their age, they set them vp pensils and Pedons according to their degree or trade of lining.

living, they make them a funerall feast, they celebrate Anniversaries
of Peeringynds all of one sorte. Insomuch that (as Tertullian saith) the
Obitfeast differeth not from Jupiters feast, nor the wodden Canne from
his drinkingcup, nor the Ceare of deadfolks fro the Birdgasers, for the
Birdgasers also had to deale with the dead. And therefore wee must
not think it strange, that Alexander would needes be a God, sith he
knew that men worshipped such: or that Scipio Affricane thought that
the greate gate of Heauen ought to be set open for him; for his argu-
ment concluded the lyke, saying.

Scipio Affri-
can in Ennius

*If men for slaughter made, to beauen admitted be,
Then should the greatest gate of Heauen be opened vnto me.*

Or that the gentle Ladies Laurentia and Flora were Canonized
at Rome, for they deemed themselves to haue deserved as much by
their profession, as Venus had deserved at the hands of the Cyprians:
Or that Caligula took vpon him to haue Altars erected and sacri-
fice offered vnto him, for he was both mightie and also moze mische-
nous than those whome he worshipped. Let this suffice for the Great
ones. And for the little ones, wee will content ourselues with Escula-
pius alone, whom the Emperour Iulian, that greate enemy of Christi-
ans commendeth as his sauour aboue all the rest. Hee is (sayeth he)
the Sonne of Iupiter. When (say I) he is a man for men begot not Gods.
But he came downe into the world by the Sonne, and from the Sonne
vnto the Earth, for the health and welfare of men. What Autho: eyther
in earnest or in iest, did cuer so? No, but he was (sayth the Historie)
the sonne of the fayre Coronis renowned in these verses.

Esculapius.
Iulian against
the Galileans

*A goodlyer Lady was not to be found,
In all Emonia going on the ground.*

This Coronis being with Child by Apollos priest, gaue it forth, for
the sauing of hir honoz, that she was gotten with Childe by Apollo him-
selfe, whereby it appeareth that hir sonne Esculapius, was not the Child
of Heauen as Iulian repositeth, but (as men sayd in old time) a Chylde of
the earth, that is to say a bastard. And Tarquilius a Roman writeth that
he was a child found in Messine, & learned the vertues of some herbes at
the hand of Chyron the Centaure & playd y Wedlar a whyle at Epidaure
& that afterward being stricken to death (as Cicero saith) with Thunder,
he was buried at Cynosures. To be short, what miracle reade wee
to haue bine done by him, moze than that he shewed men the hearbes
called Scordion and Asclepiodotes: By which reason we may as well
Deifie the bird Ibis for the Clifters, or the Stag for the herbe Ditanie.
But to conclude, what a beastlynes were it to leaue the Creator of all
things, & to worship a ma for his knowing of some two or three of them?

Among other Nations of the world, the Aegyptians haue vpon the

Xenophon in
his Equiuoca-
tions

lyke reasons Deified their King Apis, forbidding all men vpon payne of death, to say he was a man: and I am euen ready to shudder at the remembrance of his mysteries. Likewise the Babylonians deified their Belc, the Mawres their Iuda, the Macedonians their Cabyrus, the Latines their Faunus, the Sabines their Saucus, and the Romanes their Quirinus: that is to wit the first founders of their Townes and Cities, or the leaders of them to inhabite in sojrein Countries, and the eldest of these their Gods, that is to say their aunciētest Princes, they called Saturnes, their Sonnes, Jupiters, their Grandsonnes, Herculeses, and so forth. Whereuppon it came to passe, that in diuers Nations there were diuers Saturnes, Jupiters and Herculeses. Afterward the Emperours deified themselves, and their friends, and some their Synions, as Alexander did Ephestion, and as Adrian did Antinous, and some their Children, and some their wiues. Cicero being but a Citizen of Arpie, was so proude that he would needes Deifie his daughter Tullia & he sticke not to say to Atticus, that he would make hir to be worshipped as another Iuno or Minerva, considering that she was not inferiour to them in any thing. But he came in too rough a time to make Gods. What more? Euen in one man were a thousand Gods to be found. For they made Gods of faithfulness, of constancie, of wisdom, & of al the other vertues, and likewise of Loue, of Pleasure, of the instruments of pleasure, and of all other vices. Also of feare, painesse, gawfulness, and all passions; Likewise of Ageues, the of Demorodes, of the Falling siknes, and of maladies & diseases; Also of Daughills, of Snow, of Blasting, & of the very Winds, insomuch that the greate Emperour Augustus did sacrifice to the winde Circius, which troubled him in Gall. The cause of these absurdities is in two things, the one is Gods iust striking of men with blindness for their turning away from him vnto man, insomuch y whereas they will needes become equall with God, they fall by degrees from poynt to poynt, euen to y casting of themselves downe vnto Beastes and Wormes, that is to say, they become inferiour to beastes. The other is, that Princes enlighbened by God are so desirous of bainglorie, and their Seruants are such flatterers, that the Princes perceiuing themselves to haue men at their comandement thinke themselves to be more than men, and their seruants, to be made Idols themselves doe willingly make Idols of their Princes. Hereof wee reade in the very Lawes of the Christian Emperours, that their answers are called Oracles, their persons Godheads, and their countenances diuine brightnesse. Who reading this can doubt, but that if such Lawiers had come in the first ages, they would haue made vs good store of Gods: For would God wee saue not still among vs, greate numbers of lyuely and playne speaking examples, of mans inclined disposition to the worship-
ping

notwithstanding that our Lawe in every lyne thereof doe reprove vs
for it, and after a sort twich vs every howe by the Cote, to pull vs
from it. Now therefore let the promises be a president vnto vs, both of
the vanitie of the Godes, & of the blockishnes of men, which haue both
worshipped them and made them. And so let vs commit the knitting
up of this matter to Cicero himselfe, who saith thus. The conuersion
and custome of men (sayth he) hath allowed the aduancing of those
men into heauen, both in reputation and in good will, by whome
they had receiued any greate benefite. Of that sort are Hercules,
Castor, Pollux, Esculapius, Liber, and such other, so as Heauen
is peopled with mankind. And if I listed to search and ransacke the
Antiquities and Registers of the Greekes, I should find at the same Gods
whome we take for the greatest, haue had their originall from among
vs. And for the verifying thereof, Inquire whose the Tumbes are that
are shewed in Greece, and consider with thy selfe what their mysteries
and Ceremonies are, and thou hauing access thither, shalt vnderstand
without doubt, that my saying reacheth very farre.

Cicero con-
cerning the
Nature of the
Godes, in his
booke of
Lawes, and in
his Tusculane
Questions.



The xxiiij. Chapter.

That the spirites which made themselues to be worshipped vnder
the names of those men, were feends, that is to say, Duels or wic-
ked Spirites.



Now seeing that the sayd Gods were but
men, yea and not Men, but Stocks and
Images of men, and that the same Stocks,
if they had bene any more than Stocks,
should rather haue worshipped men: we
must needs say with Seneca, y the men
which worshipped them were verome
worse than Stocks. But hereunto it will be
answered, that they gaue answers of
things to come, that & they wrought effects
beyond the reache of man; which shewed

that there was a lyfe and power in them, or els they had not seduced

folke so long time. This is the second part which I haue taken in hand to pꝛoue: namely, that although all the auncient Philosophers agree, that there are both good Spirites & bad, the one sort (whom we call Angels) Seruants and Messengers of God; and the other sort Diuels, enemies to Gods gloꝛy and our welfare; yet notwithstanding, the spirites which were serued in Stocks and Images as Hermes hath told vs, were vncleane and mischieuous spirites. These kinds therfore (to purchase themselves authoritie) did borrow the names of men, & most commonly of the wickeddest men. Yea and when they were asked what they were, they said in their owne Oracles that they were so: as for example, he that was worshipped at Delphos, said he was the sonne of Latona, Esculapius, the sonne of Apollo, Mercurie the sonne of Iupiter & Maia; and so forth, as we reade in Oracles rehearsed by Porphyrius. But what honest man will not refuse for neuer so greate gayne, to take vpon him the name of a wicked man? or rather abhorre both the name and the very remembrance of him? And who then wil not conclude that those Diuels which (to winne themselves credite) clothed themselves after that sort with the cases of so wicked men, were worse than the men? Also they were dꝛawne (sayth Hermes) into Images by Art Magicke; yea and (by the report of Porphyrius and Proclus they taught men receyts wherewith to dꝛawe them thither and to bind them there, as we read of Proserpyne, Hecate and Apollo. Of whome, one commaunded to be set her Image with Waxewood, to paynt a certeyne number of Mattes about it, and to offer vnto her Bloud, Myrthe and Storax, to draw her thither. Another commaunded to wipe out the lines and figures, to remoue the fuzzimuzzies of flowers from his secte, and to take the bꝛaunch of Olife out of his hand, that is to say, from his images hand, that he might with dꝛawe himselfe. Who sees not that they made themselves to be dꝛawne in & driuen out by things that haue no force at all, specially ouer Spirites? That is to say, that as Iamblichus also perceyued full well) their whole seeking was to deceiue vs by their comming, and to go away agayne when we will not what to say; more desirous to lye, than we bloudish to beleue? And when they obeyed vs or pretended to obey vs, let vs see what seruice they required at our hands: verely that their Images should be wel painted & well coted, & that they might be worshipped prayed vnto & senced. Now if they were the Images of Spirites; what greater vntuelt can there be, than for a Spirit to be resembled by an Image? And if they were the Images of men; what greater beastlines (sayth Seneca can there be, than to offer Sacrifice to a stocke, & to make the Carner which made it, to eate at the second table, & to kneele downe before a counterfet of his owne making, or to make the Paynter thereof to stand bareheaded vnto it? Now then, what els were they but teachers

Porphyrius in
his booke of
the Answers
Eusebius de
pꝛeparat. e-
uangel. lib. 3.
Cap. vltimo.

Porphyrius in
his said booke
of the answers
of the Gods.
Eusebius de
pꝛeparat.
euangel. lib. 5.
Cap. 6. and 7.

Iamblycus
concerning
Mysterics. cap
27. and 31.

of intrueth whose intent was to turne men not onely from God to his
workes, but also to themselves, and finally into verie stockes?

Apollo being asked what service was to be yelded to the Gods, de-
clared that Sacrifice is to be offered to them all, as well them that dwell
in the Ayre and the Fire, as them that dwell in the Sea & in the Earth;
to some with white Beastes, and to some with black; to some upon Al-
tars, and to other some upon bankes of earth: to some the forepartes of
Beastes, and to othersome the hinder parts, and such other like stuffe.
And because they would needs playe the Apes with God in all thinges;
they required this service after the example of the old Testament. For
(as saith Porphyrius) nothing delighteth them more, than to be esteemed
as Gods: insomuch that the greatest of them al (whom they call Serapis &
Iue Beelzebub) wil needs be worshipped as the soueraigne God. But
what resemblance is there betwixt them and the true God? God requi-
reth of vs the firstlings of our fruites & of our Cattell. And for as much
as he hath created them for vs; is it not reason that we should acknow-
ledge our selues beholden to him for our cozne, & for our increase of cat-
tell? On the contrary part, these Gods require the acknowledgement of
those things to be done to themselves & to their Images. Gods inioyn-
ing of vs to sacrifice byute Beastes, is to witnesse the death that we de-
serue by our sinne: but they beare vs on hand, that by the death of a beast
we be discharged from all sins. God saith vnto vs, your Sacrifices are
nothing worth, I will haue obedience and not Sacrifice: your Oblati-
ons loath me, and your Incence stinketh: the thing that I loke for is a
broken and a lowly heart. The false Gods speake of nothing but of the
shedding of blood, without telling or knowing why or wherefore, with-
out end, without ground, without signification, & without comming any
whit nere the heart. Now then, what are they else than lawlesse rogues
& rebelles, in deuouring to filch away the praise of our Creator? And yet
for all their disguising of themselves for a time, they be not able to con-
ceale their owne lewdnesse any long while. For they commaund vs to
sacrifice Men, Maides, and Childzen vnto them. Had they ordeined such
things at their first comming in, who would not haue abhorred them?
But when they had once wound themselves into credite by some au-
swers delightfull to our curious eares, and by some iuggling trickes
which seemed wonderful to the weaknes of our eyes: we suffered them to
go by little & little whither soeuer they themselves listed, as though it had
bin impossible that they should haue said otherwise than wel, or that we
should haue done otherwise than wel in obeying them. According wher-
unto we read, that childzen were sacrificed to Saturne, in Candy after
the maner of the Curets; In Rhodomene, the sixth daye of the moneth
Geitnion; In Phenice, in times of Plague, Warre, and Famine: and

Porphyrius in
his booke of
answers &c.
Euseb. lib. 4.
Cap. 4.

The Sacrifi-
sing of Men.
Euseb. lib. 4.
Cap. 7.
Denis of Haly:
carnassus lib.
1.
Diodorus of
Sicilie. li. 10.
Porphyrius in
his booke of
Abstinence.
Histrus and
Manethon
cited by Eu-
sebius.
Tertullian in
his booke of
Apol gie.

Erichthoin
Lucane.
The godly
Aenzas in
Virgill.

Cæsar in his
bookes of his
Warres in
Gaullond.
Procopius li. 2
of the warres
in Gothland.

Iulch. li. 4
Cap. 7

The yere af-
ter the buil-
ding of Rome.
657. Plinie,
lib. 30. cap. 1
Quintilian
in his booke
of Fanaticall
things.

likewise in Afrik they sacrificed men, untill the Viceconsulship of Tyberius, who caused the Priestes themselves to be crucified in the same Woods where they were wont to do their Sacrifices. Also they offered the like kind of Sacrifice in Cyprus to the Pimp Agrawlis, and to Diomedes; and in the Ile of Tenedos unto Bacchus; and in Lacedæmon to Mars. And all these abominations are reported by Porphyrius, who thereupon concludeth, that all such gods were of the wickedest sort of Diuels. Moreover, we reade that Aristomenes of Messene sacrificed three hundred men at once to Iupiter Ithometes, of whom Theopomp King of the Lacedæmonians was one: And that the Latins sacrificed the tenth of their own Children to Iupiter; and that because they had discontinued & doing thereof, they thought them selves to be plagued with dearth and diseases. That those false gods themselves answered the Charchaginenses, that the misfortunes which lighted upon them, happened for that whereas they had used to sacrifice the choicest of their children, they sacrificed none but they rascals, Chaungelings, Bastards, and Bondlings. The like was done by the Druides in Gaullond, by the Almanes, by the Scandinauians, by the Tawricanes and others; inso-much that Chyron the Centaure had such Sacrifices offered yearly vnto him. So farre and with so passing superstitious crueltie was the Diuels kingdome extended, that the Diuel and none other could be the founder thereof. Whacan now doubt after all this, but that those gods were diuels, which were workers of such things as not onely good men mislike, but also euen wicked men cannot but abhorre? In deede we read that one Diphilus King of Cyprus, made the Idoll of Cyprus to be contented with an Ore in stead of a Man; and that Amosis King of Aegypt appointed that in stead of the three yong men which were wont to be sacrificed to Iuno in Heliople, there should be offered three Calues: and that after ward Pallas of Laodicea was contented with a Wynd; and that Hercules in traueling through Italy, gaue them men of Hay to be thowen into Tyber, but surely it had bene more to his commendation, if he had punished those gods, than to haue overcome the great monsters for which he is so renowned. Yet was that custome obserued still: Inso-much that euen in Rome, every yere the same daye that men had bene wont to be sacrificed, the altars were washed with mans blood, notwithstanding, about a fourscore yeres afoze & coming of Christ, the Senate had condemned such sacrifices at Rome. Now seeing that (as Seneca saith) they required such a seruice as Busyris or Phalaris durst neuer to haue demanded: who wil not conclude with Porphyrius, (as great an enemy to Christians as he was) that they were all diuels & wicked fends? Or with Quintilian, that such gods could not be but witlesse & sturke mad? And whereas the Senate which thowipped them, did neuertheless condemn

and

and abolish their Sacrifices, was not their so doing a condemning of the founders of them also? I meane of the wicked fændes themselves, which required those kindes of Sacrifices so instantly, and were so soze offended at the discontinuing of them? Labeo whom men take for a great maister of those Histories, said that the god spirits were to be discerned from the wicked by this, that this latter sozt became not favourable but by manlaughters and deadly supplications, (which was a flat condemning almost of them all: and that the other sozt were pacified with Plaies, Gamings, Feastes and Banquetings, Pomeries and Maskinges, and such other thinges. But if these god ones (as they terme them,) delight in such thinges as wise men shunne & soles are ashamed of, what followeth but that enen those god ones are worse than the worst men? Let vs examine their Plaies and thewes, for it is the difference that Labeo setteth downe. The Gods being sought vnto in an extrême plague, commaunded for asswaging thereof, that they should ordaine certaine Stageplayes. Contrariwise, Scipio Nasica the Highpriest of those fændes, to the intent (as he saide) to eschew the plague, sozbad the setting vp of y Scaffolds. Now of this Scipio or of the Gods, which I pray you shal be found the wiser? The Stageplaies that were ment, were tales of lone, of adulterie, and of lecherie, interlarded with a thousand filthy speeches, insomuch that the Husbonds sozbad their wiues, and the Parents their Daughters to come at them. Foles laughed at them, and wise men blashed at them, and all men at their going away from them, did with one cōmon consent banish the players of those Enterludes out of all good companie, and declared them to be infamous persons by excluding them from all Offices, and by reiecting them from bearing any witnes. Now seeing that the seruing of God is so commendable a thing; if these were Gods, why was it an infamie and reproach to serue them? The requirers of those plaies, are honozed; and why then are the plaiers of them reppoched; The Greeks step vp to reason against the Romanes, and say that such Gods are woorthie to be woorthipped, their Stageplaiers deserue to be reuerenced too. This proposition of theirs is well grounded, and apparant of it selfe: But the Romanes taking another ground as sure as that, affirme it to be vnpossible for the Comedy players to deserue reputation, considering what they do & say. Where, vpon we are to conclude, that those Gods ought not to haue bene woorthipped at al. And so hath Nasica gotten the better hand against his own Gods and their Plaies. And yet are they the selfesame Gods that were confirmed by so many Oracles, whom Zosimus that great enemy of Christians so much bewaileth, that he affirmeth the welfare of the Roman Empire to haue ended with the abolishing of them by Constantine. And what else are the misteries which he highly commendeth, but

Shamefull
Seruices.
Austin in his
second booke
of the Citie of
God, Cap. 11.

Austin in his
first booke of
the Citie of
God, Cap. 31.

Austin, lib. 2.
Cap. 4.5.6.13.
In infinite
places in the
Digestes.

Zosimus lib. 2.

but remembrances of the whoredomes, incests, murders, and deceits committed by the men whose names those Devils did beare? And what man is so brazenfaced, as that he will not bee ashamed of his sinne, and blasse to here it tolde vnto him? Nay who doubteth that if those men were alive againe, they would be both ashamed and astonished at those things befoze the standers by? And who then can doubt that those Gods were of the worst sort of Diuels, which not onely take pleasure in ill doing themselves, but also doe bebaube themselves with the euil which they did not? As for example, who would thinke that the godly Gossip whom they call the Spother of the Gods, but whom the veriest knaue in the world would be loth to haue to be his Spother, could haue heard the vilanous speeches wherewith hir least was solf-nised, and not haue hidden her selfe away for shame? And if Dame Flora could haue read the flozalles of Auleius, who doubteth that she would not haue done the like, & much moze bene abashed to se so great a Clerke and so graue a Senatoz as Cicero, caried with deuotion to the celebrating of them? For what else, at a worde, are all those miseries, but Scholes of Lecherie, Sodomie, and Incest? And if the ende of Religion be (as Plotin saith) to become like the partie that is worshipping, what else could be the marke that those Ceremonies aimed at, than to make men ripe in all sortes of wickednes? and what reidier way could there be to become Diuels in deede, than to resemble them? For whereas they say that after their speewing out of all those filthy things openly, they giue some precepts of vprightnes and modestie to their Schollers in secret: thereby their naughtines appeareth the moze plainly to be altogether diuelliish, in that they first corrupt the manners of a whole people, both by their Religious Services and by their example, and afterward preach of modestie and temperance to two or thre, making as it were publike Sermons of all naughtines, to lay the Bible in euery mans necke, and then (to keepe credet with a few that are of moze conscience then the rest) rowning the secretly in the Care with some litle talke of vertue. For who hath euer read that any of them did euer giue one god precept, or one god example to the people, whether it were for the withdrauing of them from vice, or for the drauing of them to true vertue? And yet notwithstanding to what end desire we to haue God or his blessed Angels conuersant with vs fraile and weake men, but that they of singular god will, should induce, leade, and guide vs into the way of saluation?

The Oracles
of the Gods
were false, vn-
certaine, vain
and wicked.

But their defenders reply, saying: Yet notwithstanding, they prophesied and wrought great and strange miracles. Let vs omit that it is moze naturall to beleue the partie which preacheth good things, without diuinations and miracles, than to beleue the partie that keepeth

peth a Schoole of evils, though he prophesse & work miracles. But in the end what were the Oracles and Miracles which they so highly commend? The Oracle of Delphos was one of the greatest in reputation. The beginning thereof may be an argument for the rest. A heard of Coates (saith Diodorus) was the first meane to bring it into credit. And afterward a young wench was set there, to utter forth the Oracles which she receiveth, (as they say) by her private partes. And for the slanders that grewe thereof, it was ordained that the wench should be a maid of fiftie yeares olde. By these circumstances a man may gather what manner of God that could be. So Cresus therefore being desirous to knowe what should be the issue of his warres against the Persians, the Oracle answered.

*King Cresus passing over Haty streame,
Shall overthrowe the poudre and stately Realme.*

Cresus gathered hereof that he shoulde overthrowe the Empire of the Persians, but in dede he overthrowe his owne; which thing the Oracle had provided for also; and, by making the answer so doubtfull that it might be taken both waies, yet was there great reason that Apollo shoulde have preserved Cresus: for of singular devotion he had greatly enriched his Temple at Delphos. And unto Pyrrhus (as Ennius saith) he answered thus.

*I say the sonne of Aeacus
The Romanes sure shall overcome*

Whereupon that he shoulde overcome the Romanes, he himselfe was overcome of them. Also he counseled the Athenians to flie before Xerxes; and he foretold the Salaminians that they shoulde be overcome by the Persians either in Winter or in Sommer. Who perceiveth not by these doubtfull speeches, that Apollo knew nothing certainly, and therefore that he ever left himselfe a backdore to scape out, at all assaies? And as for the consuming of these foresayings to passe; who doubteth that Themistocles perceivung so puissant an armie to appoach, deemed not as much thereof himselfe, specially seeing that also he had heard the answer of Apollo, he counseled his Countreymen to wait for their enemies upon the sea? And what a number of wise Senatoars & good Captaines were there (thinke we) in those free Cities and kingdomes, which would have given their aduice moze to the purpose in that case?

Zosimus reporteth that when the Palmirenes asked counsell, whether they shoulde obtain the Empire of the East or no; an Oracle answered them in this wise:

*Go get ye hence like guilefull folke and Couseters as yee be;
The things ye now do take in hand displease the Gods I see.*

And some such other doth Zosimus report, whereof he maketh greates reckoning.

Porphyrus in
his booke of
the Answer
of Oracles.

reckening. But what else are such wandering and generall answers, but deceitful doubts, and (as ye would say) shewes that will fitte both sides, as agreeable to folke that are furthest off, as to the parties that aske the Counsell? Therefore Oenomaus a Philosopher and Orator of Greece, hauing oftentimes (as he himselfe confesseth) bene beguiled by the Oracle of Delphos, gathered a register of the lies thereof and did set forth a booke against it, intituled the falschood of Oracles. And Porphyrus who likewise made a collection of them, even without adding, diminishing or chaungeing so much as one word; saith that vpon examining of them, he found them ordinarily false: and he addeth the cause thereof to be, That their foretelling of things is not by foreknowledge, but by coniectures taken of naturall causes, and of the mouings and meetings of the Starres, as hath appeared in many Oracles. For Apollo being asked by one whether he should haue a Sonne or a Daughter, answered, a Daughter; bicause (quoth Apollo himselfe) that at the time of the conception, Venus ouershadowed Arares. And being asked another time whether that yeare should be vnhealthfull or no; he answered yea, because the constellation thereof was daungerous for the Loongs: and so of other things. Howe many wise women and learned Physicians woulde haue answered that matter better, and yet so; so dooing men woulde not haue offered sacrifice vnto them? Say, which moze is, Porphyrus saith that vpon a time, Apollo of Delphos being vnable to coniecture by the Starres, desired folke to let him alone, telling them flatly that they were importunate vpon him, he woulde answer them with lies. And that at another time he answered flatly, that at that instant the course of the Starres could shewe him nothing. Now I pray you what manner of Gods are these, which learne their wisdom of the Starres? Say, which woze is, howe can they be said to be god spirites, which threaten to lie, if they be bzged too farre? And in god sooth such are the answers which the coniuersed Demils do yelde yet still at this day by these Sozcerers and Witches; for the doing whereof, these seruantes of theirs are by all lawes condemned to be burnt, as he was that deceiued Manfred when he was to fight with Charles Duke of Aniw in the Realme of Naples, by this doubtfull construction of Grammer, *Non, non Gallus superabit Appulum*: which may bee Englished as doubtfully thus: No the French man the Italian shall not ouercome. For Manfred considered not that in Latin two Negatiues may counteruaile an Affirmatiue. Many such other like trickes there are, which we may with lesse trouble reade in Histories. And if they know not the certaintie of the things that are demanded of them; why doe we either worship them or wonder at them? And if they speake that which they know not, are they not deceiuers? And if they speak against their own knowledge,

are

are they not liars? And if it belong vnto Gods to deceiue and to lie; wherefoze doe we blame our neighbours and beate our children for so doing? Nay (which moze is) to lie and to deceiue in matters of such importance, where the case concerneth the bloud of so many sile Soules, & the sacking of so many pze houses; who can denie it to be the pzoertie of the Deuill, who euen from his first beginning hath bene found to be both aurtherer and a liar? As for Birdgazers, I haue touched them in a woꝝd oꝝ twaine afoze. The Egyptians obserued them after one sort, and the Africanes after another; the Greekes on the right side, the Romanes on the left: and Aristotle scorned them because they determined not the time; and Plinie mocked them, because that euen by their owne doctrine, they touched not them at all which had no regarde of them. Yea and euen the greatest Birdgazers themselves, as Cato, Cesar, and Cicero made a mocke of it. And if at any time they happened to hit right vpon a thing; it was but after the maner of our Almanackes, the flat contrary wherof who so foloweth, shal commonly come nereſt the truth. Neuertheſſe, if their Gods foresawe any Plague by naturall Coniectures, as Philosophers, Whiſtions, Hunters, and Shepheards also doe; they feined themselves to be angrie at some State oꝝ Commonweale. And for what cause? Forsooth for omitting of common Plaies and Enterludes; that is to say, for shutting vp the Schooles of Lecherie and Ribandrie: Or for that they had not made their wonted shewes of fencers and swordplaiers: that is to say, of men that shewe one another openly to please them withal, and to make a whole State guiltie of manslaughter & murder. And if they iudged by the season of the yeare that the Plague should cease: Then it was the godly Sacrifices that had appeased them, and that made men the carefuller to continge them. Inſomuch that when the Romanes had loſt the blondie battell at Cannas; it was said to be, because their Conſull Varro had put a faire yong boie to the Galley. And when things went amisse in the City, it was either because some Dauncer oꝝ Gambolder had displeased them at the Gamings and shewes in the Birke, oꝝ because some Paleſtor had bin conueied that way to the Gallows. What a Godhead is that I beseech you, which is prouoked to anger by Modestie, and appeased by michiefe? In the fauour whereof a man cannot stand, but by dealing wickedly: but is so straungely offended by the doing of Justice?

But let vs ſee further whether they be any better Diuines than Prophetes. The Oracle of Delphos ſaith thus:

A God in ſooth is Cleomede, and not a mortall wight:

The laſt begot of heauenly race; an Altar to him dight.

This Cleomede was one of thoſe that pleaſured theſe Gods, by beaſting one another with ſtrokes of hand and ſote: of whome we read that
he

he flew his aduersary at one blow. But of such a one as Socrates, Plato, or Pythagoras, he would neuer haue said so much.

Againe he saith thus.

Archilochus is a very Saint and seruant of the Gods: Yea verily of such Gods in deede; for he chose the wickedest and lewdest subiect of whom to make his verse. But of Theognis, or of a Phocylides which had exhorted folke to good life, he would neuer haue said so much.

Of Cypselus he said thus.

A happy man is Cypselus and loued of the Gods. If it be so: then what are Busyris, Phalaris, and all other Tyrantes? For there neuer was a greater Tyrant than hee. But the said Oracle saide also, that Iupiter and Apollo had prolonged the life of Phalaris for his well handling of Cariton and Menalippus. Now, what fitter meene can there be to make Tyrants, (that is to say, enemies of mankind in the world) than to beare men on hande that such are beloued of the Gods: Zosimus their great patron, rehearseth an Oracle which answered, that for the appeasing of an Earthquake at Athens, it behoued them to honour Achilles as a God. This was a plaine turning away of man from God to the creature. The same answered likewise to the men of Methymnus that it behoued them to worship a wooden head of Bacchus that was found by fishing in the sea. And this was a making of them moze blind than the stocke it selfe. And when they were demanded concerning the maner of worshipping and seruing these Gods; they answered:

καὶ κεφαλὰς ἀπονέμει, καὶ τὸ πᾶσι μέγαρον φῶτα.

That is to say:

Send you the heads to Iupiter, the lights vnto his Syre.

The dubble signification of the Græke word *φῶς*: Fos, which signifieth man, and may also signifie a Torch or a Light, did cut off the lines of many folkes. Which doubtfulnesse of ppreach the god loued, not of any intent to spare them, but to haue matter of excuse against such as made conscience to doe it. For being asked by the Athenians how they might make amends for their killing of Androgeus; hee willed them to send yearly to King Minos, seauen bodies of either sex chosen from among them all, to appease the wrath of God; and that kinde of Sacrifice continued still in Athens in the time of Socrates. Now then, what else is all their doctrine than a seruing of the Deuill and of Creatures, yea even with a seruice which in very deede is denilish and horrible? Al these Oracles are reported by Oenomaus a Heathen man, who sought them out: by Porphyrie our enemy, who by them would induce vs to make great account of them; who in the beginning of his booke, appealeth vnto God that he setteth not any thing downe of his owne heade: by Chrysippus the stoike in his booke of Destinie, who by those Oracles

goeth

goeth about to proue it : and by Zosimus himfelfe, who maketh fo great moane to fee their mouthes stopped and their Temples shut vp. And surely it is not to be marueled, though the Peripatetikes putting them to trial, did offer great græfes againſt thoſe Pyacles : & that the Platoniftes (which went to worke faithfully) were driuen to conclude, that not onely the vncleane Spirites, but alſo euen their Gods whom they thought to be pure, were ſubiet to lying.

Let vs come to their Pyacles. In the temple of Venus there was a Lampe that neuer went out ; and the Image of Serapis hung vnfaſtened in the aire. Diuers deceits may be wrought in the like caſe ; and it is wel knowne that the like wonders are ſene euen in natural things as a fountaine to light a Torch, and a ſtone to hang by yron in the aire. And they which haue the ſkill to vſe ſuch things, and to gether together the vertues of many into one, may wonderfully bleare the eies, euen of the wiſeſt. As for example, it hath bene ſene that ſome haue founde out a deuile how to burne vp one water with another ; and to bzeake open a ſtrong Locke, almoſt without touching it. And that the Frændes (which know moze than we) do better ſerue their owne turnes with the wonders of Nature than we doe, it is not to be doubted : Inſomuch that the Whiſtion which knoweth the vertues of Herbes, maketh things of them which the Gardiner that ſowed them & cheriſhed them vp would wonder at and cannot doe. But loe here a ſtrange caſe Accius Nauius the great Birdgazer of Rome, did cut a ſunder a Whetſtone with a Raſor in the preſence of the King Tarquine. What a number of Witches are daily burned which doe much moze by their familiaritie with the Deuill ? For they ſtop a Tunne that is pearced full of holes ; they holde faſt a waterspout from running ; and they binde the naturall abilities : and yet notwithstanding they confeſſe that there ſo doing is by the wicked ſpirits, and the wicked ſpirits diſcouer not themſelues otherwiſe than ſo vnto them. And in very trueth, the Angels and the Frænds differ not properly in ſtrength and power, but in will and practice : like as among men, the good men differ not fro the wicked men either in ſtrength of bodie or in ſtoutneſſe of courage, but in the applying of their bodies and mindes. Alſo it may be that the Image of Feminine Fortune hath ſpoken, and likewise the Image of Iuno Moneta, and ſuch others : And that Caſtor and Pollux haue wiped away the ſweat from the Hoſes of the Romanes as they traueled : And that the Ladie Claudia dzelue the Shippe wherein the Fool of the Goddeſſe Bona was, which ſo many yong men could not once ſtirre. Let vs admit all theſe things to be true, notwithstanding that Titus Liuius ſay that he becometh old in reckoning them vp. We ſtand not to diſpute whether ſpirits can ſpeake by Images or no : for we doubt not therof. But I ſay that the

Faſſe Miracles.

Spirites

Spirites which speake in them be wicked Spirites, and turne vs away to the Creature, to make vs offend the Creator. Neither do I hold opinion that Spirites cannot take bodies vpon them; no; that they be vnable to do feates farre passing the power of men: so; thereof examples are to be seene, yea moe than were requisite. But the thing that I hold is this, that the Spirites which seeke to haue the praise of a victorie obtained, or of the asswading of a Plague, which is due but to the only one God; or which will haue them ascribed to Fortune, which is but an imagination; or to a Iuno, which is but a blocke; or to a good Goddesse the mother of the Gods, a mother whom the veriest wretches in the world (as I said afoze) would disclaime to be their mother, are very Deuels. And in good sooth, wheras the Deuil which tooke vpon him the name of that Goddesse, suffered himselfe to be drawne by Claudia, who had so ill report among all men: It agreed very wel to the life which the Goddesse her selfe had led, and to the miracles of the fændes, and to the marke that they shot at: namely, to giue the moze boldnesse to Claudia to continue her lewde life, and occasion vnto others to follow her.

Iupiter
microscop.

Also one was counted a God because he drawe away Crashoppers; another because he killed Frogges, Crickets, and Flies. And hereof it came that the Chananites called their Belzebub, and the Greekes their Iupiter, by the name of Scarecye. Another (saith Zosimus) sent Birds to deuoure the Crashoppers. Admit that all these effects haue not their particuler causes: yet what miracles are they to make Gods withall? For by that reckoning, why should not those also which by certaine reiects do kill Serpents, Kats, and Fieldmice, or which do moue ouer driue away vermin out of mens bodies, be counted Gods? Nay, if we wil see miracles, let vs looke vpon the doings of the onely one God, which are vtterly vnpossible, wonderful, and vncommunicable to any creature. He made the world, and he destroyed it. He made the Sea, and he drieth it vp. He made the Sun, and he causeth it to stand still. Yea and (which is yet much moze) he made al these things by his word, and with a blast of his mouth he chaungeth them as he listeth. These are the miracles of the God of Israel, which haue not there like among the other Gods. And if they will deale vprightlie in disputing, they must as well beleene our bookes for these miracles, as we beleene their bookes for theirs.

Also if we looke vpon the miracles of the good Spirites, and of the seruants of that one God; they be not castes of Legierdemaine to dazzle mens eyes withall; no; nimble trickes and sleightes, no; wonders to no ende, to no reason, to no instruction: but when they strike, it is to chastice men; and when they heale, it is to glorie God. If they speake, it is to teach; and if they appeare to vs, it is to lead vs to welfare. If they
fozetell,

forgettell, they do it as messengers from God; and if they worke miracles, they doe it as executers of his power. And they be so farre off from being angrie at a Song mistuned, or at a Gambauld misbegun in the honoꝝ of them after the maner of the Heathen Gods; that (as we reade in our Scriptures) they be offended with nothing moze, than when men thanke them or honoꝝ them foꝝ the things which they ought to thanke and to worshipping the Creator.

Markes wher-
by to knowe
Diuels.

By the tokens which the Platonists giue vs thereof, we shal perceiue yet better whether those Gods were good Spirites or bad, Angels or Devils; notwithstanding that that Sect was too much overtaken in the seruing of them. The Devils or wicked spirits (saith Porphyrius) delight in bloudshed, in filthy and ribawdly speech, in giuing poyson, in furnishing folke with charmes of loue, and in prouoking them to lecherie, and to all vices. Yea, and they beare men on hande, that all the Gods and the very soueraingne GOD himselve taketh pleasure in such things; either faining themselues to bee the Soules of some deade folkes, or taking vpon them to be Gods. Which of all these tokens haue I not noted already in their Gods? Againe (saith Porphyrius) They turking themselues as much as they can into Gods, that is to say, into Angels of light, to beguile our sence and imagination with strange vanities: Inso- much that he that is the cheefe of them, wil needes bee esteemed to bee the soueraign God. And yet notwithstanding, their foretelling of things is but by gesse, & al of them generally be subiect to lying and deceiuing. They be angry at euery small trifle; and are pacified againe with fond and vaine thinges. Neuerthelesse they haue beguiled some vaine Poets and Philosophers, and consequently by them haue drawen the sillie people to the worshipping of them as Gods. What is al this but a description of the verie same Gods whom hee himselve worshipped? Likewise Iamblicus who maketh an Anatomie of them, saith thus. They transforme themselues (saith he) into good Spirites; but in deede it is but a brag whereby they pretend more than they be in deede. They make a gallant showe, and daunt men with their words. They play the Gods, and yet are troubled with light passions. But the great Witch Apuleius saith yet moze. They be pacified with giftes (saith he) and wroth with wrongs. They be pleased with Ceremonies, and angred with the want of them be it neuer so little. They take vpon them the ruling of Birdgazers and Bowel gazers, and of the Oracles and Miracles of Witches and Wizards. To be short, they be vnkindly wights, passionate of Spirit, reasonable of vnderstanding, ayrie of bodie, and endlesse of time. To whom can these thinges agree but to his owne Gods? And what remayneth then, but that they were Denels; so much the moze miserable, as they be moze vehement in their passions, and immortall in their nature.

Porphyrius in
his second
booke of Ab-
stinence.
In his Epistle
to Anebon al-
ledged by Eu-
sebius lib. 4.
cap. 11.
Iamblicus in
his booke of
misteries in
many places.

Iamblicus in
his booke of
Misteries.

Apuleius.

Now is there nothing behind but their owne Confession, and therefore of we shall not yet faile. Apollo therefore as one vpon the Racke, both in many of his Oracles acknowledge the Soueraigne God, and to make the most of himselfe, he termeth himselfe one of his Angels, as appeareth by this Oracle of his alledged afore.

We Angels are a parcell of the Soueraigne God of all.

And being asked vpon a time by what name he would be called and praiſe vnto, he answered,

Call mee the feend that knowes all things to whom belongs all skill.

And in another;

The wistie Feend, the Harmonie and Cresset of the World.

And againe.

We Feendes which runne through Sea and Land, do tremble shrinke and shake,

To see the Whip of that great God which makes the World to quake.

*Austin in his
ninth booke
of the Citie of
God. chap. 19.*

*Austin in his
ninth booke
of the Citie of
God. chap. 19.*

And yet notwithstanding, the Greeke word Dæmon (which is the word whereby they termed their Gods, and which in this place I English Feend) was so odious euen among the learned men themselves who knewe the originall thereof, that they would haue bene loath to cal a Slaue so. But when as we reade further that these Gods do quake at the naming of the Stigian marris, that is to say of Hell, insomuch that euen Iupiter himself sweareth therby, and is afraid to be so: swozne; what else is to be thought thereof, but that these Gods which saue themselves to raigne in heauen, are tormented in hell? Besides this, the miracles and Oracles of these Gods are come to an ende, and their Seruitors and sacrifices are come to nought, and at length folke haue acknowledged the onely one God the maker of Heauen and Earth, and ruler of the whole world, to be the same whom the Iewes haue worshipped. And in that respect it is that Seneca cried out, That the blamish Iewes had giuen laue to the whole Earth. But who can maruell that he which made both the world and man, should in the end make men to acknowledge him to be as he is? So then, let vs conclude for these last three Chapters, That there is but onely one God; That the same was worshipped, serued and called vpon by the people of Israell: That the Gods of the Heathen were men; That vnder the names of those men, diuels were worshipped; and finally that our first marke whereby to knowe the true God, is not to be found elsewhere then in the Jewish Religion; whereupon it followeth that all other Religions were Idolatry and Vanitie. For whereas some alledge in excuse, that the seruing of many Gods may wel match with the seruing of the onely one; If they be Gods indeed, that is to say Angels; they take themselves to haue wrong; for they seeke nothing but the honoring of God. And if they be Devils, then

then are they Gods enemies; and then the worshipping of them is a rebelling against God. To be short, as little agreement is betwene the seruice of the true God, and the seruice of the Heathen Gods, as is betwene light and darkenesse; the true godnesse and vtter naughtines; most extreme holinesse of will, (which is in him) and extreme lewdnesse of will (which is in them;) welfare and soule health, whereof we be desirous, and destruction and wretchednesse, which they haue purchased to themselves by their rebellion.



The xxiiij. Chapter.

That in Israel Gods word was the Rule of his Seruice; which is the second marke of true Religion.



¶ We haue we sene by the former Chapters, how blinde man is in matters concerning God, and his owne welfare; seeing that in stead of the true God his maker and Saniour, he hath worshipped not onely the vilest and basest creatures, but also the verie enemies of Gods glorie & of his owne welfare. And that ought to warne vs the more, how needful this second marke that I haue giuen forth, is in religion; namely that Gods worde is the Rule of his seruice.

For surely he that ouershoteth himselfe so farre as to take, not a starre but the verie darkenesse it selfe for the Sunne: cannot but ouershotte himselfe much more in discoursing of his owne nature, course, and vertue. And like as hee that hath missed his way at his first setting forth, the more he hasteth him the more he goeth astray: so doubtlesse he that is ouersene in the obiect of Religion, that is to say, the true God, the more he talketh of Religion and diuine seruice, the more shall he blaspheme the name of the everlasting, and the further shall he wander away from his welfare. The heathen (as we haue

scene) did worship the deuil in stead of the true God; & what seruice ensued thereof? Playes, Fables, Combats; which were Schooles of whozdom, of Incests and of murder; bluddie Sacrifices, and ordinarie man-slaughters. If their godlinesse, were such, what might their vngodlines be? These extreame mischæses made some to suspect that there was an abuse. But what did that auaille them? One sozt said, seeing that Religion consisteth in such thinges, it were mate to be banished quite out of the Worlde; and thereof sprang the Schoole of Epicurus: and that is a falling from one breakenecke to another. Another sozt sacrificed as the common people did; and held opinion in their hearts with the wisest sozt. Such were Aristotle, Cicero and others; of whom the former bequeathed a Sacrifice to Ceres by his last will; and the other celebrated the shamefull feastes of the Goddesse Flora. What else is this, than a mocking of God, a deceiuing of folke of set purpose, and a betraying of their owne saluation? There haue bene some fewe who in their writings haue let slip some words against such vngodlines, & haue taught that there is but onely one God, and that he was not serued with such Ceremonies. But when they come to giue a rule of Religion, at what point are they? One speaks one thing and another another, euerie man after his owne fancie. They dispute and criе out one against another, to ouerthrow one another. But if ye take the hottest of them aside, and let them coole the heate a little; they will tel you that they be scarce sure of that which they assure you; and that they be but the opinions of men, & therfoze are disputable on both sides; onely they thinke they finde more likelihoode of trueth in their owne, than in the opinion of their aduersaries. To be shozt, among al the thinges which the wise men of the worlde haue written here & there of the seruice of God, ye may hap to find some one good saying in a hundred yeares, & some one other in another hundred: but when ye haue gathered them altogether as diligently as ye can yet shal ye not be able to make of them neither Rules, nor Grounds, nor scarcely good Problemes. So greatly is man by his corruptiō, both blinded in thinges concerning God, and retchles in thinges that concerne his owne welfare. Yet is it soth (& so haue we proued,) that God hath set mā in this worlde to serue God his Creator; & that seruice we cal Religion. Whereupon it followeth, that enen since the first time that there was any man in the worlde, there hath also bene religion. For the duty which man oweth vnto God, is of the same date that man himself is; and the dutie which he oweth vnto God, is true godlinesse and Religion. Again, Religion could not be the inuention of Man: for the inuention of men tending to their owne pleasure or profit, proceed from ground to ground from principle to principle, and from experience to experience, and at the first are rude & afterward are polished, not by the same man that found them

them out, but most commonly a hundred yeare or twaine after: where as Religion (that is to say, mans dutie toward Gods) was not so much instituted as bred with man, for his own welfare & for the glory of God. The thing (say I) without the which, God should not haue made man, and man might haue bene sozie that he had bene made; ought (euen at the first beginning) to be perfect and fully accomplished to his end: which thing Religion could not be, if it were deuised by mans braine, considering that after his fall he was stricken with ignorance in his wit, and with forwardnesse and lewdenesse in his will. Needs therefore must it be, that the rule of Gods seruice was giuen to man by God himself, who alonly is able to utter his owne will, to make rules of his seruice, and to tell vs what things do please him. Now, true Religion is the true seruice of the true God: and the true God (as I haue proued already) was not knowne in olde time elsewhere than in Israel. As for the Gods of the Gentiles, they were Devils, and consequently their Oracles were the woꝛde of Devils. Whereupon it followeth that there is no seeking for the true seruice of God and for the true woꝛd of God, but onely among the people of Israel; yea and that it must of necessitie also be found there. For seeing that of necessitie there must needs be a Religion; and that in Religion there must needs be a rule proceeding from God according to which rule God wil be serued; and that God was serued in Israel and no where els: The Rule which we seeke must needs be found in Israel too. For as it is vnpossible that it should be elsewhere, because the true God was not anywhere else: so is it not possible that it should not be there, forasmuch as there was one there, and that the true God also was there. Now therefore, the people of Israel had alwaies certaine booke which we call the Bible or olde Testament, which booke they reuerenced & followed as the very woꝛd of God, whereby he hath shewed vnto men after what manner he wil be serued & woꝛshipped. And those booke haue bene kept continually from time to time, euen since the creation of the woꝛld: & they haue bene of such authoritie among the true Israelites, that they belæued not any other booke, & for the maintenance of them haue indured wars, oppressions, banishments, remouings, deaths, and slaughters; which are such things as are not to be found among other Nations, notwithstanding that the Lawmakers of other Nations in giuing them their lawes, made them belæue that they proceeded from the Gods, because it was a thing as good as granted among al men, that the setting downe of rules for Religion and for mans soulehealth, belonged onely vnto God. And therefore we might well gather this conclusion, whereof the premises are proued heretofore; That there is but one true God, one true Religion, one true Rule of seruing God, reuealed by and from the true God. And that this true God was not knowne and

What and
where the true
Religion is.

woꝛshipped elsewhere than among the people of Israel. Vnto Israel then was the said woꝛd reuealed, and that woꝛd must needs be the Bible oꝛ olde Testament, whereby the Israelites were taught the seruice of God. But soasmuch as we haue to doe with folke that will soner be diuened to silence by arguments, than perswaded by reason to beleue, as though it stode God on hand to perswade them foꝛ his honoꝛ, and not them to beleue foꝛ their owne welfare: I will by the Readers leaue, set foꝛth this matter at large.

Marks where-
by to discerne
Gods word.

First of all, soasmuch as there is a seruice of God to be had; and that seruice should rather be a misseruice than a seruice, if it were not according to his will; and his will cannot be conceined of vs by coniectures, but must be manifested vnto vs by his woꝛd; I aske them vpon their conscience, if they were to discerne that woꝛd from all others, by what markes they would knowe it, that they might not be deceiued. This woꝛd (say I) is the rule of Gods seruice and the way of welfare. Vnto this seruice is man bound from his very creation, and it is the marke wherewith he ought to shoute from his very birth. Will it not then be one good marke of this woꝛd, if it be auncienter than all other Lawes and Rules, than all other woꝛds, than all inuentions of men? And will it not be another good marke, if it tend to none other end, than the gloryfying of God and the sauing of mankind? If (say I) it withdꝛaue man from all other things to lead him vnto God, and to turne him out of all bypaths? how great pleasure so euer there be in them, to lead him to saluation? Nay I say yet moze. If we finde things in the Scripture which no Creature could euer haue soꝛetolde oꝛ spoken; things which coulde neuer haue come into any mans minde; things not onely aboue but also against our nature; Will any man be so wilfull and so very an enemy to his owne welfare, as not to yeld and agree, when he seeth both the hand, the signe, and the Seale of God? In dede I vndertake a matter beyond my abilitie; but yet the higher it is, the moze wil God aid me with his grace. And first of al, soasmuch as the woꝛld was made foꝛ man and man foꝛ God, and man coulde neuer be without true Religion, noꝛ true Religion without the woꝛd of God: I demaund of the great Nations and flourishing kingdomes that haue giuen Lawes to al the woꝛld, and among whom the liberall sciences, artes, and learning haue bene most renowned; whether any one of them is to be found that hath had a Law set downe in wꝛiting, concerning the true seruice of the true God? Pea oꝛ one woꝛd either right oꝛ wꝛong that hath bene beliened to proceed from him, I meane from the only one euerlasting God the maker of Heauen and Earth? Also I demaund of them whether among the Assyrians, Persians, Greekes, and Romanes, a man shall finde an Historie of Religion deduced from the first beginning of the woꝛld, and continued

That the Bible is of more antiquitie than all other writings.

so on from time to time, and from age to age? And on the contrarie part, whether there be any Heathen man which is not driven to confesse, that the very latest writer of our Bible, is of moze antiquitie than the ancientest authoꝝ that are renowned among the Gentiles? And whether that little which the Gentiles haue learned concerning God be not borrowed from other men; and finally whether in matters of religion, they haue not walked by groping, without light and without any direction? This matter is handled at large by diuers aunient writers. Peruerthelesse, foꝛ the ease of them which cannot reade them all, I will gather them here together in fewe words.

The Bible beginning at the creation of the world and of man, lea-
deth vs from time to time, and from Father to Sonne, enen vnto Christ.
It deliuereth vs a diuision of men into Gentiles and Israelites, into
Idolaters & true worshippers of the Soueraigne God; and their com-
ming together againe into one after a certaine time, and by a meane
appointed euerlastingly to that end by God. And the writers thereof are
Moyse, Iosua, the Chronicles of the Iudges and Kinges, the Prophetes
euerie of them in his time, Daniel, Nehemias, and Esdras; of whom enen
these latest were about thre thousand and sixe hundred yeares after the
creation, and yet were they afoze any Chronicles of the world were in
the residue of the world. I desire all the Antiquaries of this time, which
make so great account of the antiquitie of the Greekes and Romanes,
oꝛ of an old Coyne, oꝛ of a wetherbeaten Piller, oꝛ of a halfeaten Epi-
taphe, what finde they like vnto that? Esdras is the latest in the Canon
of the Hebrew writers, and yet liued he afoze the time that Socrates
taught in Athens. And what rule of Religion was there among the
Greekes of his time, who condemned him foꝛ speaking of the onely one
God? At the same time were Pythagoras, Thales, Xenophanes, and
the seauen Sages which haue bozne so great fame in Greece, who in
their whole life time had said some good words concerning maners, and
conuersation among men, but as foꝛ God, they haue spoken nothing of
him but dreamingly, noꝛ deemed of him, but ouerthwartly, noꝛ knowen
ought of him but that little which they learned of the Aegyptians. Whi-
ther went Orpheus, Homere, Lycurgus, Solon, Pythagoras, Plato, He-
raclitus, Democrates, Thales, Oenopis, and the residue of them to schole,
as they them selues doe highly boast in their Bookes. And what learned
they there but Superstition, as I haue shewed afoze? And what else
then could they bring into Greece? And what might their ignozance be,
saing they were counted wise so good cheape? Of the same date are the
lawes of Solon in Athens, & (anon after) of the twelue Tables at Rome
which the Romanes sent to seeke in Greece by the aduice of one Hermo-
timus an Ephesian, As touching God and his seruice, which should be the

Cicero in his
second booke
of the Ends of
things.

Aulus Gellius
in his 20 booke
Cap. 1.

Denis of Ha-
lycarnassus
lib. 1. cap. 2.

Plinie lib. 34.
cap. 5.

Pomponius
ff. of the origi-
nall of Lawe.

ground of all good lawes, scarce was there one word of very Justice in
deede, further than peculiar interest required, which was very little.
But shall we seeke the lawe of godlines at the hand of the Greekes and
Romaines, who a thre thousand and five hundred yeres after the Crea-
tion of the world, knew not whether there were many Gods or but only
one? He knewe any further of Religion, than they had learned by their
Trafficke into Aegypt? Who in respect of others are of so late time in
the world, and (which worse is) had reigned thre or fower hundred
yeres without inquiring after godlinesse and righteousnesse? Surely
we must hold vs to this point, that since, the verie first breeding of man
in the world, there hath alwaies bene Religion in the worlde. For he
was not bred in vaine: neither could there be any Religion without re-
uealing from God. For (as the Philosophers say of nature) God saileth
not in things needful. And therefore where men haue bene so lateward,
and God so smally knowne; there we shal not find them. For as for the
Oracles, that is to say the sayinges of the Denils that abused them; if
they were of elder time than the people, they spake not to them: and if
they were bred after them, then were they newe. And in verie trueth,
even by their own Histories, the first original of the false gods of Greece
& of their miracles, toke beginning about the wars of Troy, which befell
about the time of the Judges, towards the two thousand & eighthundred
yeare after the creation of the world. The great Kings of Assyria be of
moze antiquitie than the Greekes; for they fell into the times of the
Kinges and Prophets of Israel, whereas there was not any notable
thing in the storie of the Greekes afoze the Captiuitie of Babylon. But
how will they shewe vs any lawe concerning the seruice of God, yea or
how could they haue any, seeing they forsooke the true God & worship-
ped false Gods? Nay, as touching those false Gods, what memorial al-
most haue we of them, but in the Bible, & that is of the victories which
the true God had against them, & of his Conquests ouer them, which are
spoken of from lease to lease, to their ouerthrow & bitter confusion? Con-
trariwise, what be the Kings of Israel, but maintainers, & the Prophets
but expounders of the law of Moyses? These as publishers thereof from
time to time, to the intent that folke should not forget it, which thing
we see not in any other Nation; and the other as copellers of men to ob-
serue it, as wherunto euen kings themselves are bound. But if we goe
backe from the time of the setting forth of the law of Moyses; what haue
the Heathen of that time to set against it? I say not onelie in respect of
Godlines, but also for Justice, & welnere for the common societie of men.
The Athenians wil alledge Cecrops the founder of their Citie, & the The-
bans their King Ogyges. And of them they terme all things of antiqui-
tie, Cecropian & Ogygian; And peraduenture they wil tel vs that at that
time

time folke bzied out of the earth in the countrie about Athens; as though they spake of Mustheromes and Crallhoppers. And when they saye so, what shall we looke for at their handes concerning the service of God & heavenly things, sitth they thinke them to haue bene bzied of the earth? But yet they will not deny that this Cecrops was an Aegyptian, who bzought them certeine lawes for the ordering of Mariage; which is a sure p^{ro}ofe that they were bitterly ignozant of the law of God and man. Long time after him came their Gods and Oracles; insomuch that all the Greekish Villozie is (as ye would say) tungtyde for many hundred yeres after, like a bzoke that loseth himself within thirtie paces of his first spzing. Among the Aegyptians and Syrians there was moze soyme of gouernement; but as for Religion, they worshipped the Heauens, the Planets, and the Starres, which are in very dede made for man, & for mans vse are put vnder certeine lawes by God, and therefore much lesse are those Gods able to make men subiect vnto them. And if there were any among them that knew moze than others, it was the Birdgazers & the Bowelgazers, which are a kind of Witches that turned men away from God to the Creatures, & therefore in no wise directed them to Saluation. But what shall we finde among the people of Israell at that time? A Moyse that preacheth but the onely one God, and teacheth from him how he wil be serued; and a Law that setteth the bounds both of Religion and Policie; and the duetie of man both towards God & his neighbour; which euery seuenth day is read openly to all the people; which the Kings haue befoze their eyes, the Priestes beare about them, the fathers teach to their chilozen, and the Maisters to their seruants, and which the verie walles and soze fronts of their houses do shewe both to strangers and to their household folke. At the happiest time that ye can choose in Rome or Athens, (for I am willing to omit their barbarousnesse) what haue wee. (I say not of Religion, but of Order in Justice & state of Gouernement) that commeth any thing neere to that? Contrariwise, what law was there euer set forth among the, which was not abolished againe ere it was knowne to the people? Or who made account of it but the Lawyers? Or who bzake not the lawe asoze he knewe it? To be short, where haue we read y any whole Nation were al Lawyers and all skilfull in the Lawes of God and men, but the people of Israelle? And why was that, but because the same Law contained the rule of welfare, the which it was met that all folke without exception should know and vnderstand, because that naturally all men ought to tend vnto their saluation? And as touching the antiquitie of Moyse the setter forth of that Lawe among that people; I will not haue ye to beleue me, but the Gentyles themselves. The very ground of the antiquitie of Greece (say Diodorus and Denis of Halycarnassus,) was Inachus, who
lived

Denis of Haly
carnassus.

Appion in the
fourth booke
of his Historie
against the Ie-
wes.
Eusebius li. 10.
Cap. 3.

Strabo. lib. 15

Porphyrus. li.
4
Eusebius in
his booke of
preparation to
the Gospell.

lived twentie Generations (that is to say, about foure hundred yeres) afore the warres of Troy. And Ptolomie of Mendese a priest of Aegypt, (who gathered his Historie out of the holy Registers of the Aegyptians) sayd that Amosis King of Aegypt reigned the same time that Inachus reigned in Greece, & that in the time of the same Amosis, Moyse went out of Aegypt with 6 people of Israel. The same thing is affirmed by Appion the Grammarian the great enemy of the Iewes: and also confirmed by Berofus the Babylonian, Polemon, Theodorus, Ipsicrates, and Moschus, writers of the Stoies of the Phenicians, cited by Eusebius and Affricanus. Eupolemus in his booke of the Kings of Iewrie sayth, that Moyse taught letters to the Iewes; the Iewes to the Phenicians; and the Phenicians to the Greekes by Cadmus. And so by that reckoning, Moyse should be, not onely of mosse antiquitie in their Histories, but also of moze antiquitie than all Histories.

Numenius sayeth, that Plato and Pythagoras had nothinge but from the Aegyptians and Syrians, and namely from Moyse, insomuch that hee recyteth his historie almost worde for worde as wee haue it in the Bible, saying that Moyse was a great Divine, Law-maker, and Prophet. Also Diodorus of Sicilie sayth, that he understode by the Aegyptians, (who notwithstanding were enemies to Moyse and to all his race) that he was the first Lawgiuer of all, and mozeouer a man of great courage, & of very commendable life, & that the Iewes esteemed him as a God, as wel for the knowledge that he had of God, as for his authority & preheminance. And he (sayth Diodorus) gaue a Law vnto 6 people of Israel, which he sayd he had receyued of Iah, for so do they call the God whom they worship. And who is this God Strabo sheweth vs sufficiently where he saith, That Moyse hauing rebuked the Aegyptians for their vanities and follies, and for resembling God (who is to be worshipped and serued otherwise) by the Images of Beastes and Men; withdrew himselfe from among them that he might serue God. To be short, Porphyrus in his fourth booke against Christians, beareth this recozd of Moyse, that he had written the historie of the Iewes truly, which thing he had perceyued by conferring it with Sachoniathon the Berutian, who rehearseth the very same circumstances; the which he had learned out of the Registers of one Hierobaal a Priest of the God of Leuie, that is to say, of the God of Israel, and out of the Chronicles of the cities, and out of the holye bookes which were wont to be dedicated to temples. And this Sachoniathon (saith he) was somewhat after the time of Moyse, about the time of Semiramis. Now, Porphyrus giueth vs here more than we aske. For we set Abraham in the time of Semiramis, & Moyse came certeine hundred yeres after: Now then, the bookes of Moyse do lead vs by from Sonne to Father vnto Abraham,

from

from Abraham to Noe, from Noe to the first man, & from the first man to God the creator, beyond whome it is not possible to passe any further, as I haue proued already: and intreating of the creation wee must alwayes needes come back againe. And throughout al this discourse Moy- ses telleth vs of the things that God hath discovered vnto men, and the lawes which he hath giuen after maner of a couenant, to the intent they should be his people, & he should be their God: The which couenant it had surely bin both a shame & folly for him to haue deuised for that hard- hearted & stubborne people, whome hee burdeneth not with any other thing, but that which was notoriously knowen vnto them, and thereby they were certified of their original natiuitie. Neither is it to be sus- pected that he wrote these things (as some list to saye) to get authoritie to himselfe and his; for he byndeth his Graundfather Leuy with an open marke of reproch expressed in these wordes of Iacobs Testament: Sime- on & Leuy are cruell instruments, in their vanquishings, &c. Cursed be their wrath, for it was shamefull; I will deuide them in Iacob, & scatter them in Israel, &c. As who should say, he meant to disgrace Leuy & al his race: to the saying whereof nothing compelles him. Also hee repponeth Aarons idolatrie & Mariess murmuring, notwithstanding that he was his brother & she his sister: and he repeateth oftentimes, that for his own fault, God had told him that he should see the land of Canaan, but not enter into it. To be short, he ordeineth & leaueth Iosua to be his suc- cessor, wher as by reason of the authoritie which he had among that peo- ple, he might by al likelihod haue set by his own sonnes. And yet we see & naturally we conceale the faults of our parents, & corrupt their pede- grees to make them the more vertuous, & our selues & more commenda- ble by their vertue, and we be loth to acknowledge our owne faults. (I meane euen the homeliest men of vs all) except it be among our most se- cret friends, & as late as we can. Much lesse can we finde in our hearts to publish them to & knowledge of posteritie. To be short, we be so desirous to leaue hono- & estimation to our children, & such as would not haue bin ambitious for themselves, cannot refraine fro being ambitious for their posteritie. Now then, what may we conclude thereof, but that hee yielded the hono- & of his ancestors, & his owne too, vnto Gods glo- & the trueth: And although we proceed not so farre as to conclude absolutely, & he wrote at that time as fro God, & not as from man: yet notwithstanding, soasmuch as in his writings he strippeth mans nature naked, ought we not at least wise to conclude, & he which made lesse account of himselfe & his than of & truth, would not haue preferred vntueth before it for any respect? Some miserable kaptife that is quarrelous against his own welfare, wil say here, Admit & Moy- ses, Iosua, Dauid, Esay & others were as ancient as ye list: yet how shal I be sure that those bookes also were

Gene. 49. 5-7

Objections

were as auncient, and of their writing: It were brought to answer him, How beluest thou that such booke or such were Platoes, Aristotles and Ciceroes. Harry (saist thou) because they haue bene conueyed vnto vs from the from hand to hand: Wile thou the like equitie towards others, which as great a number of men doe assure thee to haue come from them. But if that will not perswade them, yet want we not wherewith to inforce them. First and for most I appeale to conscience & iudgement of all persons, which knowe what it is to indite, whether the style of the Scriptures bee not such and so peculiar, as it cannot by any meanes bee counterfeited or disguised. And if there bee any that will needs doubt thereof, I pray him to make a triall thereof but in some one side of a leafe, be it in plainnesse of setting things downe as they were done, or in feruentnesse of praying, or in pittinesse of prophesying: and he shall forthwith perceiue, that as well in the matter it selfe as in the manner of indyting, there is a certeine newe taste in sted of the old, which is peculiar to all times, so as no man can attayne to the same naturall beyne, the same zeale, and the same efficacie, vnlesse he be led by the same hand, moued by the same spirit, and pricked with the same spurre that Moyse, Dauid, and the Prophetes were. To be short, if it be hard to father a booke vpon Plato, Herodotus, and Hipocrates, but that he which shall haue read them aduisedly, will by and by espie it euen a farre of; So is it as vnpossible to father the other booke vpon those which haue a stile so farre differing from other writings, vnlesse a man will beare himselfe on hand, that such bastard booke were made in the same ages or nere about the same times that those Authoꝝ lived in. Let vs see how it may be possible to haue bene done in the same ages. Moyse published the Lawe before al the people, & he curseth the partie with death both of body & soule, which shall adde, diminish or alter any thing. He bindeth the people househould by househould, to take fast hold thereof. His booke are deliuered to euery Tribe, they be read openly euery Saboth day, they be kept carefully in the Arke, and the Arke is kept as carefully by al the Tribes. And that this was done, it appeareth not onely by his booke, but also by the effects that insued thereof from time to time, and by the footsteps thereof which are euident euen yet among the Iewes. If it be possible for a booke to bee preserved from falsifying, & foisting what booke that shal be but the Bible: which was garded by ten hundred thousand men, and copped out, not by some Scriueners only, but also by all the people: Afterward came Iosua, who renewed the same Couenant, proclaymed the Lawe, and yelded record vnto Moyse. Lyke wise the Iudges succeeded Iosua, Samuell succeeded the Iudges, the Kinges and the Chronicles succeeded Samuell, and the Prophets succeeded them all. These booke followed one another immediatly and without

without interpretation: and every one that followed, presupposed the things to be an infallible truth which had bene written by them that went afore; neither was there any that did cast any doubt or repone any of the former histories, as is found to be done in other Histories: (as for example, Hellanicus reprehendeth Ephorus, Ephorus findes fault with Timeus, and consequently Timeus reprehendeth them that wrote afore him:) But Iosua gathereth a certaine & infallible consequence of Moyses, the Iudges of Iosua; Samuell of the Iudges, Dauid of them all, and so all the rest. And to speake of the Prophets, they be not like the bookes of our Astrologers, which reforme one anothers Calculations, and controll one anothers Prognostications: But as they shote all at one marke: so they agree in one thing, notwithstanding that they wrote in sundrie times and sundrie places. Nay (which moze is) wee see that the people were so sure of that Law, that from age to age they chose rather to abide all extremities, than to give it over: insomuch that they defended it against the Chananites, the Philistines, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greekes, and the Romanes. Who then durst be so proud and bold as to violate or imbrace the thing that was helde to be so holy, defended with so many lines, & confirmed with so many deaths? If yee say, the Heathen; Their intentes was not to marre it, but to make it quite away. For what profite could haue rebounded vnto them of that paine: to what ende should they haue done it? or how could they haue corrupted in the sight and in the knowledge of so many folke? Moreover, who knoweth not that y scriptures were carried by the banished Jewes into diuers countreys of the world afore they came into the hands of the Gentiles, as of the Greekes or Romanes? As for the Jewes their shookeanker and felicitie consisted in the keeping of them, and the reward of corrupting them was death: and what could it then haue benefited them to haue corrupted them? Saye yet further, which of them would haue dyed after ward for a Lawe, which they knewe to be corrupted or counterfett? And soothly we see throughout their Histories, that there passed not so much as any one halfe hundred yeeres without persecutions and warres for that Lawe.

And whereas it might be sayd, that some fittleheaded fellow among the Jewes had done it to abuse the rest: how could that be againe, seeing it was not in the hands of fower or fife Priestes only, as the Ceremonies of the Hetrurians & Latins were, but in y hands of the whole people so as one sillable could not be chaunged but it was to be espyed even by yong Children. Considering also y we reade not of any king how wise so euer he were, that euer durst presume to ad, diminish or alter any whit thereof, whereas not withstanding, all other Lawes of the world were made by peccemeal, & Kings and Senats haue alwaies reserved to them,

themselves a prerogative to correct them and alter them at their pleasure, specially when they limited their authoritie, and served not for the maintenance of their possession. And if any man to be reave of this argument, will step forth & say, that our Scriptures are as an Historie gathered out of the Registers of many ages, by some one author; as we see Berosus hath done for the Chaldees, Diodorus for the Phenicians, Manetho for the Egyptians, & such others; let him tell us the (I heartely pray him,) in what age of the world the Author is likely to have lived. If in the time of Moyses, or of Iosua, or of the Judges; how cometh it to passe that he writeth of the reignes of the kings? If in the time of the first kings; how writeth he of the last kings? If in the time of the last kings; howe is it possible that the Iewes being afore that time caryed away into divers places of the world and scattered abroad everywhere like the members of Pentheus, should carrie and keepe with them the books of Moyses, which (by these mens reckoning) were not yet made, according to which booke both themselves did notwithstanding then live, and also taught other Nations? I meane the ten Tribes by name which by their former remouings were scattered ouer the whole Earth, whereof the marks are too apparant to be denyed. The first in the time of Achaz King of Iuda, and of Placea King of Israel, by Thiglath Phalasser King of the Assyrians, who caryed away Ruben, Gad and halfe the tribe of Manasses: the second in time of Ose by Salmanaser, who caryed away Isachar, Zabulon and Nephthaly into Assyria: and the third anon after by the same Salmanasar, who conveyed away Ephraim and the other half of Manasses; as it is witnessed both by the aunient Records of many Countreys, and also by the Chronicles of the Hebrewes. And at that time while Writing was not yet in vse, what meane was there to disperse those books so sone and so farre off? May which more is, what will they say when they shall find the books of Moyses to haue bene kept from father to sonne, euen in the uttermost coasts of Ethiopia, whither the Empires neuer came, which books they say they haue had there euer since the time of Salomon, that they were brought thither by the Quene of the prouince of Saba? Thus haue I spoken enough of this matter, both for them that are contented to be satisfied with reason, (for if they do but reade our Scriptures, they haue whereon to rest, & also for those which are otherwise, for it is hard to shew him ought, which by his will will see naught. But there are yet further which tell us that in the time of the Machabees, Antiochus abolished the lawe of Israel, and all the books of the Bible: & they thinke themselves to haue made a greatespeake, & hard to be resolved. I leaue it to the consideration of all men of iudgment, whether it be easie for a prince though he vse neuer so great diligence, utterly to abolish any manner of booke whatsoever, seeing the nature of man is such,

that

that the more that things are sought to be plucked from him, the more he striceth himself to keepe them. But when a booke is once beloued and reuerenced of a whole nation, not for delight of things done by men, therein conteyned, but for the saluation of man therein reuealed; for the truth wherof men are not afrayd to indure both death and torments, as was witnessed by many in the time of y^e same Antiochus: what diligence of man can suffice to abolish it? But let vs put the case that it was abolished in Jewrie: yea & that it was abolished throughout his whole Empire: what can yet insue thereof, seeing that the ten trybes (ouer-whom Antiochus could haue no authoritie) had caried them & dispersed them abroade to the uttermost bounds of the world: And seeing that the remouing of the other two trybes, had made them rise among the Persians and Babilonians: And that the Ptolomyes cherished the Jewes right tenderly in Egypt, giuing the open Synagogues with franchises & libertie: And also that Ptolomie Philadelph had caused all the Bible to be translated into the Græke tong by the threescore and ten interpreters, and had layd it vp in his librarie as a Jewell: And to be short, that the Jewes were at y^e verie time so dispersed among the Greeks themselves, as there was scarcely any Citie which had not receyued them with their Synagogues:

But although none of all these reasons were to be had; then, if the Bible was lost and abolished, how was it found againe so suddenly in one instant? Who could (as ye would say) cast it vp whole out of his stock at once? Or who hath euer read that the Jewes made any more for the losse of it, or toke any paine for the seeking of it out againe: And to cut off superfluitie of speech, whereof then cometh it, that of so many Grammarians being of opinion that they should become wise men in one day, if they had Ciceroes booke of Comonweale to read: none of them all being more suttile-headed than the rest, hath undertaken to counterfeit them in his name? No no: let vs rather say the Scriptures are of more antiquitie than all other writings; & the more they be so, the more aduersitie haue they indured: the rage of Tyrants hath overflowed them; & yet they could neither drown them nor deface them: they haue bin condemned to the fire, & yet could not be consumed. Contrariwise, y^e booke of the greatest men, how great authoritie so euer they had, haue bin lost, & for al the paine that hath bin taken to preserve them, yet haue they often come to naught. The Chronicles of Emperours (say I) be perished, when the Chronicles of the smial Kings of Iewrie, & of that poore outcast people, & I wote not what a sort of banished shepheards despised of the world & despylers of the world, haue continued to posteritie in despite of the world. Therefore it must needs be saide, that the Scriptures haue bin preserved by Gods Angular p^rouidence, both so long times
and

and against so many iniuries of time. And seeing they be the onely writings which onely he hath preserved from the creation of the world vnto our dayes; surely they were for our behoofe. And seeing they haue bene reiected of the world, and yet notwithstanding do liue and raigne in despite of the worlde: surely they be from somewhere els than of man or of the worlde: that is to wit, Reuelations from God to man, continued from time to time for his glorie and our welfare. And so by this discourse we a gayne this poynt, that our Scriptures which are left vs by Moyse, Iosua, and the Prophets, are the auncientest of all writings, and viterly boyd of all lykelyhood of mingling or counterfetting, and that sith that euen from the beginning there hath bin a Religion reuealed from God, and we find none other than this to haue continued from the very Creation vnto vs, we may inferre, that the Scriptures wherein we reade it, are of God, because that from lyne to lyne they conteyne his Reuelation made vnto mankynd. But let vs passe from this antiquitie which is but the barke of the Scriptures & let vs come to the substance of them, which wil giue vs assurance of the place from whence they come.

The Bible testifieth altogether to the glorie of God,

Now then, let vs reade the booke of men as well of olde time as of our time, and what is the scope, the ground, the forme, and discourse of them, furtherforth than they eyther expounde or followe our Scriptures: Some write to celebrate the Kings and great Capteines of their time: these be but vauntings of men, runioes of people, consultations to destroye one another, and subtle deuices, to disappoynt or vndoe one another. Good men by reading them become malicious, & euil men become worse. And by this way there must be some pretie speech of Fortune, which swayeth the battels. As for God who maketh Kings and vnmaketh them againe, who holdeth both the enterances and issues of all things in his hand, there is not so much as one word in al a great volume. Who doubteth that these be booke of men, which conteyne nothing but the passions, the subtilties, and the inueners of men? Another sort write (as they themselves say) to make themselves immortal. They write godly discourses, to make themselves to be had in admiration. If they chaunce to stumble vpon some good saying for makers or for the life of man, they turkin it a thousand waies to make it seem good for their purpose. They deliuer their wordes by weight, they digne their clauses to fall alike, they eschew nyce the mating together of bowels: & what greater childishnesse can there bee in graue matters, than that? Yet notwithstanding, they make booke of despying of saynglozie, and their booke themselves are full of Ambition: of the byppling of affections: and their arguments are ranche poyson and contention. If they happen to speake of the seruing of God it is by Sacrificing to Diuels & to their owne Louers, & friends, as we reade that Socrates, Plato & Aristotle did. Who is he

he then which euen by the first line or by the opening of the booke, may not perceiue that they which speake be men, yea and but very men in deede; considering that in all their bookes they speake but of man: Men (say I) that seeke the glozie of men and not of God: Preachers of vanitie, and not of mans welfare?

On the contrarie side, we heare how the Scripture saith, In the beginning God made Heauen and Earth. What is ment by this enterance, but that the Reader should not in the rest of the discourse looke for the follies of men, but for the woonderous woorkes of the Creator? And what other authoꝝ did euer begin his woꝝke so? Herodotus beginneth his Historie after this manner: Herodotus of Halycarnassus hath spoken these things. Though he had neuer said so, it would neuer haue bene surmised that hee had spoken any thing but of man. For what is his whole booke but vanitie? Or what hath hee which is not inferiour to man? After the same maner doth Hippocrates begin his bookes concerning the nature of man; and likewise Timæus of Locres his treatise of Nature and of the Creation of the world: which Authoꝝ I alledge as annientest of all others. But if wee goe through the whole Scripture from the one end to the other, we shall finde nothing there but that which is promised at the first woꝝd; that is to wit liuely letters, and impossible to be falsified, of a booke that proceedeth from God, namely his owne glorie and the welfare of man. As for the glozie of the Euerlasting, it leadeth vs to the creation of the world, and of man; to the sinne of Adam, and the corruption of Mankinde; the flood of Noe that followed there vpon, and the confusion of Tongues: the calling of Abraham and his seede, the plagues of Pharao, and the wonders of Aegipt. What is there in all these things, that sauoyeth of man, or of the vanitie that possesseth him? What hath he there which maketh him not either to scoope vnto God or to sinke vnto Hell? Againe, on the other side, what els doth that whole discourse shewe vs, but the highnesse of the Euerlasting, his mercifulnesse towards the lowly, and his iustice and iudgements towards the proude, when we see all loftinesse of the world cast downe befoze him, and all the puissance of Empires giuen ouer to Catterpillers and to the wormes of the earth? Afterwarde Moyses commeth to the rehearsing of the lawe that God gaue to that people. Whence came that extraordinary wisdome, and why rather in Israell than elsewhere, in the time when all other Nations were so rude? And what maner of lawe was it? Doubtly a lawe comprehended in ten Sentences, and yet those ten Sentences containe whatsoever can belong to Godlinesse, Uprightnesse and Iustice, whether it be of seruice towards God, or of duetie towards our neighbour: In so much that all the great volumes of lawes wherof the world is full, without ground, without end, notwithstanding that they treate but onely of

Justice, are referred al to that marke, and haue not any thing more than is there. Again, all these ten sayings are vnfolded in two words: namely, to loue God with the whole heart, and a mans neighbour as himselfe. Let the Athenians shew me the Lawes of their Draco, and the Romans the Lawes of their twelue Tables; if there bee one word of true Godlinesse and Justice in them: Let the Greekes and Romaines shew all that euer they wrote by the space of a thousand yeares; and see if yee shall finde so much thereof, as is contayned in those two sayings onelie. And as for our Philosophers, which make so great bzaggies of the tenne Predicaments of their Aristotle, which are but the seede of Sophistrie and vaine babling; I aske them (at leastwise if they haue any eyes) what account they ought to make of this Lawe, which hath conueyed in so few words, both the matters of the world which are infinite, and the matters of God, which are vncomprehensible to man, together. The Israelites come to take their iourney into Chanaan vnder Moyses; they be brought in thither by Iosua; and they be ruled and gouerned there by the Judges and Kings: And in this discourse there fall out many humaine things, many enterprises, surprises, Sieges, Battels, Victories, and Conquests. Were it behoueth vs to enter into our selues, and by our selues into the naturall disposition of all men. When we gos to giue the onset, I meane the better sort of vs; what say we? Lord, we set our Battels in array, but thou giueth the victorie? After that maner speake the Christians at this day. Say: but if God prosper vs, what will we say at our returned? Mary, I wonne such a Hill, I brake the Mauntgard, the enemye was discomfited by my counsell: and herevpon rise quarrels who shall haue the honoz of the victorie. But as for God, we shall heare no more speaking of him, than if there were no God at all. The historie writers which describe their victories, are curious in naming euen the meaneest Captaines, for of sending any man; and mozeouer in describing of the aduantages of the places, of the sunne, of the winde, of the dust, of him that led the Soldiours to handblowes, & of the consultations of the Captaines: so as he balanceth the battels after his owne scales; and as for mens sinnes which are the procurers therof, he neuer once thinks of them. Seeing then that the Authozs of our Bible are the antientest of all others, whereof commeth this new kind of inditing, or whence haue they learned it, that in all their Histories they giue the glozie of the battels and of all feates of Armes al only vnto God, both afore & after? Or whence come these ordinary words, God giueth them into our hands, God is our victorie, God is as strong in a small number as in a great? Whence also come the godly Songs, which we shall not finde in any of the Heathen Writers: but of this, that they wrote the warres of God and the victories of the Lord, yea and euen in his behalfe which was the dower of them? If they wrote on mans behalfe, why

why wzateth they not in mans vsuall order of indyting? Why wzate not
 Moyſes and Ioſua, (ſay I) as Polybius and Cæſar wzate? Or who letted
 them to take to themſelues the glozie of their high enterprizes? Or if they
 wzate for Kings and by commaundement of Kings; why finde we no
 commendations of Ioſua, Dauid, Ioſaphat, and Ezechias: as well as of
 Themistocles, Miltiades, Alexander, and Traiane? For what other com-
 mendation finde we of them, than that they walked in the waye of
 the Lord, that they deſtroyed the high places, that they ouerthrew the
 Idols, and ſuch like, howbeit that we read of heroical and Partiall deeds
 done in their times? And what ought we then to conclude, but that, as
 all other bookes which tend to the glozie of men, and concerne but them-
 ſelues or ſome others, are the workes of men: ſo theſe bookes, which tend
 alonely to the glozie of God, yea even by the contempt of men, are the
 workes of God, that is to ſay, inſpired by God: As much is to be ſaid of the
 Prophete, who when they ſpeake of any ſuccour that was to come to the
 people of Iſrael, or of any enemye that was to come ſodeinly vppon them:
 they ſayd not, your friends ſhall ſuccour you, or your enemies ſhall runne
 in vpon you: but the Lord will ſend Cyrus to deliuer you, the Lord will
 arme the Babylonians to ſcourge you. Waine are all your dealings if
 your truſt be not in him: Waine are the threatnings of your enemies, if
 you turne vnto him: and all this is to aſſure you, that all things are ſub-
 iect vnto him; inſomuch that euen they which thinke themſelues to
 make warre againſt him, do fight for him and by him. To be ſhort, if we
 inquire of them concerning the ſtate of the earthly Kingdomes; they
 aunſwer vs of the heauenly. If a man be combered with this preſent life;
 they teach vs the life to come. And oftentimes a man would thinke that
 they ſpake nothing materiall to our demaunds, becauſe they anſwer not
 directly to our demaund, but to that which we ought to demaund. Let vs
 conſider ſomewhat nêrely of what minde the Soothſayers are, both by
 the Oracles of the Deuities, and by ſuch as make profeſſion of Sooth-
 ſaying. The Deuities require Sacrifices for their anſwering to curi-
 ous queſtions. The Astrologians are faine to ſake out Drinces. The
 foreteller of things to come by Palmiſtrie, or by Phisognomie, or by the
 inwards of Beaſts, or by the ſignes of the Skie, doe the like. And ordina-
 rily who be more vaine and more puffed vp with pride, than thoſe kinde
 of men? What iarring is there among them, what diſagreement in their
 foreſayings? Nay, which of them haue we ſene, which is not a moony
 man? Or that would rather die than not declare Gods wzath to a Prince?
 Or that hath not ſoothered a Prince in his ſinnes, to ſucke gaine out of
 him? Or that hath giuen the glozie vnto God and not to himſelfe
 cunning and ſkill? Or refuſed the honoꝝ that was offered vnto him, as a
 notable iniurie? Witneſſes heres may Apollonius, Apuleius, Maximus,

and such others be: who by their fortellings neuer sought other thing than Images of themselves to be set vp in Valles of Cities, and Pensions in the Courts of the most vicious and detestable Princes. And what is to be said then of these folke, who goe willingly to declare the ouerthrowe of States, and the deaths of Princes? Which forsake their apparant ease, to goe and shew forth Gods wrath? Who of all their wonderfull knowledge yelde none other reason but this, The Lord hath said it vnto vs, noz seeke any other rewarde than the glozie of God, yea matched oftentimes with their owne death?

Let vs come to the Poetries of our Scriptures, and let the Heathen set theirs against them, and who will doubt but that they shall blush for shame? To omit the arte, the measure, and the antiquitie of them, which are but the outsidies of them, but yet more beautifull in ours than in the Poetries of the Greekes or Romanes. For what are theirs but the hauntings of men, counterfetted praises, and discourses of Loue Songs, not manly, but vnnate for men? One singeth me the rage of Achilles; another, the wandzings of Aeneas, and a third the loue of Paris and Helen. And so farre hath this kinde of dealing passed into custome, that it seemes impossible for man to be a Poet, a Divine, and an Historiographer all together. So farre are our mirth and songs estranged naturally from God and from trueth. What shall we say then to the Poetries, specially of Dauid, considering that hee was afore all the Poetries of the Heathen; but that those Poetries are not an imitation, but a simple affection? If we seeke there for songs of victorie, we haue of them; but they concerne the God of Hostes: If for Bridesongs, they be not wanting: but they bee of God and of them that feare him: If for burning lones; there be songs of the very Loue it selfe, howbeit kindled of God himselfe: If for Shepheards songs, it is full of them, but they concerne the Cuerlasting for the Shepherd, and Israell for the flocke. The arte of them is so excellent, that it is an excellencie euen to translate them. The affections so liuely, that they quench and choake all others. If he had written in mans behalfe, had he not as good a ground as Homere had? what were his combate with Goliath, his victories ouer the Philistines, his loue of Bersabee, and such others? Or thinke we that he was not subiect to the same passions or made of the same mould that we be? Or that he which wakeneth vs so much, was drownsie himselfe? Or that he which speaketh of nothing but Loue and Honor, was without them himselfe? No; but in very deed it was another maner of Pulse that did beate in his Veines, than beate in ours, & another maner of fire that burned in his marrow. Which thing no man can deny that readeth his Psalmes, so liuely, so seruient, & so full of affections: howbeit that he directeth his loue and his vehement desires to another marke, as one that beheld a farre other beauty, coueted a farre other

other honoꝝ, and tasted a farre other pleasure than of the worlde. For, as those bookes aime at none other marke than the honoꝝ of God, contrarie to mans nature, which robbeth God of his honoꝝ as much as can be, to cloth it selfe therewith, and coueteth nothing so much as glozie.

But let vs come to the other marke which followeth this successively, namely the welfare of man. Forasmuch as I haue saide, that the marke wherat man shotteth in this life, is his owne welfare: If God haue left him any word, or giuen him any reuelation, to what end ought we to acknowledge the same to be done, but to light him in the way of welfare, and to turne him from all crosepathes and bywaies which might leade him from the ende that he aimeth at? Now let vs hardely reade all the Bookes of the Heathen, and there is none of them which buſtieth not our byatnes about Sponeſhine in the water, making vs to spend night and day therein, as though we had none other resting place to seeke? Where, as none other booke than the Bible doth put vs in minde of our way? Our welfare is our shottanker, and the welfare as well of one of vs as of another, is to line immortally vnited vnto God. How shall Aristotle put vs in minde thereof, who leaueth vs in doubt whether there be any immortallitie or no, and which setteth our shottanker in I loote not what mixings, peraduenture vpon Logicks and naturall Philosophie, as his owne? How shall Plato do it, who suffereth himselfe to be carried away with the common erroꝝ? How shall Seneca (how high soener he soare with his wilings) who will haue the wiseman to play the foole, the harebraine and the Lecher, and to giue ouer himselfe to all maner of vices, for the bringing of his affaires to passe, yea euen to his owne harme, and to the blaspheming of God himselfe? But if we hearken to the holy Scriptures, we shall perceiue from time to time, that they be no vntruſtie guides of our waies, neither such as stand doubting at the first foure waillate, whether a man should take on the right hand or on the left, but they be sure guides, such as are able to byaue vs out of the mire, and to conuey vs through the wild Forrests of the worlde, not onely by leading vs by the hand, but also by setting our turnes both for a guide, and for a Cresset, and for a path all together. Therefore at the very first enterance they tell vs that God hauing created the worlde, made man of the dust of the earth, and that he made him after his owne Image and likenesse, and gaue him power ouer all the things, that he had made here below. And what els is this, but a teaching of man at the first word, that he is indebted to God for all things, that his felicitie consisteth in seruing God, and that he is made to another end than other thing might; namely for God himselfe. From hence it leadeeth vs to our disobedience, and is the punishment that ensued therevpon; to wit, that by seeking our welfare else where than in God, we fell into all mischief. As touching the

Mans welfare,

Seneca in his exhortations,

immortalitie of our Soules, and the Providence of God, so as much as they be Schoolepoints to braile vpon, but undoubtedly grounds to as many as conceiue that there is a God, (which thing all men doe) and such as men ought not to doubt of or to be taught, but to practise and exercise all their life long, we see no disputing there as is among the Philosophers. Henoch therefore indured many hard things in that froward generation, for seruing God: and by speciall priuiledge was some taken out of this life. And to what intent, but to haue a better. Abraham, Isaac, and Iacob wayfared from place to place vpon the earth. And did they so in the hope of the land of Chanaan? Nay, who would haue indured so much hardnesse for his Posterities sake: Or for a promise that should not be performed till fower hundred yeeres after? When was it because they grounded themselves vpon a better inheritance: and that is the selfesame which God meant when he said to Abraham, I am thy great reward. Moyses came somewhat nearer this promise; for he sawe the Land, howbeit but from the top of a high mountaine. And wherefore languished he fortie yeares in the wilderness among a thousand grudgings, at the point to be stoned euery holore by his owne countrimen, and yet was faine to dye at the instant of obtaining his hope? Soethly he had scene another countrie nearer him, whereunto he aspired; and farre better (which he was to possesse in the life to come) then he forewent in this present life. The like is to be said of Iosua, of the Iudges, of Samuel, of Dauid, and of the Prophets; whose whole life was not a schole diuinitie like vnto the Philosophers, but a continuall practise of this faith: namely, that mans shootanker is not in this world, nor our welfare to be sought here: but that it behoueth vs to seeke it in God, and to turne againe to him that we may inioy it. To that end tend these precepts which are giuen to men in the Lawe, Thou shalt loue God with all thine heart, with all thy Soule, and with all thy strength. To what end? To be oppressed by Pharao, turmoiled vp and downe in the Desert, beaten by the Philistines, ouerthrowne by the Assirians, caried away by the Babylonians, and troden vnder foote by all Nations? If the loue of God bring vs no better reward than so, what gaine we by being his people? Nay, it is to shew vs, that our welfare dwelleth not here belowe; that these Hosts which welcome vs into our Inn with smiling countenance, do cut our throtles in our beds; that the reward of such as serue God, is not the world nor any worldly thing, but the very maker both of man and of the worlde. Then followeth there another precept; namely, Thou shalt loue thy neighbour as thy selfe. What would Carneades haue said, or rather what would he not haue said, if he had examined this Commandement? This Philosopher being sent Ambassadour on a time from Athens to Rome, made an Oracion of Justice before Cato the Censor, whereof hee spake

spake wonders. The next day he made another, wherein he poured that it was but folly and fondnesse; or that the Romaines should beeaine to come back againe to their cotages, and that all trafficke and whatsoever els it bee whereby Cities are made to flourish, would come to nought. What is to be said then of this law, which extendeth so farre as to say, not onely, doe not that to others which you would not haue done to your selues; but also, doe that for others which you would haue done for your selues? And surely if our welfare consist in this world, what godlier lawe can there be, than for a man to loue himselfe and his owne, and to wrest all his neighbours affaires to his owne profite? And contrariwise what greater fondnesse, than to be another mans Bailie, that is to say, to procure oftentimes a mans owne losse? But the Philosopher was ignorant that godlinesse is the roote of Justice, and that Charity is nothing els but a rebounding backe of the loue which wee owe vnto God, vpon Mankinde which is his Image. And the aiming point of this Commandement, which being restrained within one worde, spreadeth it selfe throughout the whole lawe of Israell, is none other than to shewe vs that our chiefe dwelling place is elsewhere than here, and that whereas we loue all things here for our owne sakes, we ought to loue other men as our selues, and our selues for Gods sake, who is our sole and onely welfare. Hereunto doe all the Scriptures guide vs, be it by authoritie of the lawe, or by example of holy persons, or by the exhortations of the Prophets: and there is not that line which twitcheth vs not by the eare, to waken vs out of the slape of this world; and which plucketh vs not from the skole and the table, and from the glewing vanities that tricke so fast to vs; to bring vs backe to glorie and to the enjoying of God who is our welfare. Seeing then that naturally we thinke so little vpon this glorie of God; what a booke is, that, which speaketh of nothing els: Seeing we be plunged so deepe in the world, and the world in vs: what a booke is that, which withholdeth vs from it euery howler? And what would become of man if he had not another spirit than the spirit of man and of the world, which biddeth battell both to man and to the world? Doubtly we may well say therefore, that the Scriptures are verily of Gods inspiring, which haue so expresse resemblances of him, and so contrarie to the hand, stampe, print and writing of the whole world.



The xxxij. Chapter.

That throughout the whole processe of the Bible, or old Testament, there are things which cannot proceede but from God.



We haue learned heretofore by perusing the vniuersall world, that all things tend to Gods glorie; by the examining of man, that his onely and whole welfare is to cleaue vnto G. D. Now therefore sith we see that the Scriptures preache vnto vs the same thing that we haue read both in the world and in our selues; ought it not to be a good p^{ro}ofe to vs, that hee which made both the world and man, hath also made the Scriptures to rule them by? And that he which hath spoken to all Nations by his Creatures, hath also doubtlesed to shewe himselfe moze narely to them by his Scriptures: Againe, seeing that the Scriptures command vs to loue God with all our heart, and that the Creatures haue heretofore declared vs to bee bound thereto; so as the Creatures teach the selfesame thing which the Scriptures command: what can wee say but that both those bookes haue one selfesame autho^r? Howbeit soasmuch as our eyes be so daseled by our fall, that the Creatures were vnto vs as a clasped booke, or as a thing w^{ri}tten in Cyphers; God to applie himselfe to the weakenesse of our sight, hath giuen vs his Scriptures: and that soasmuch as our wils are wholly turned from him, it behoued vs to be commanded our owne welfare, which (were we according to our first creation) we should comiet and followe earnestly at the onely sight of the first booke. But soasmuch as it may still be said, that these bookes are rather the workes of good men and of such as feared God, than of God himselfe: let vs see if they haue not in them some p^{ro}per and peculiar marks of Gods spirit. I meane such as no creature can bee partaker of but by inspiration from God. For like as in his dooings there are certeine miracles, wherein

even the wickedest acknowledge the finger of God: So in his word, as
Scriptures, there may vnderstande by be some such thing, as cannot pro-
ceede but from God himselfe. Let vs begin at the stile. In mens af-
fares we haue two sort of writing. The inferiour sort and men of e-
qualitie, indonour to perswade folke by apparant reasons; for they know
they haue no authoritie to give them credite. But Princes will of their
mere authoritie looke to be beleued what soeuer they say: for they thinke
they haue the word at their commaundement, and that they may
speake what they list: and they suppose it to be some derogation to them
to alledge any reason. Also in humane Sciences the case is all one. For
the Physitian is beleued of his Patient without alledging why: but of
an other Physitian he is not so. Likewise the Scholemaster is beleued
of the Scholer, yea even in things which were disputable for him with
one of his fellowes. So much more therefore shall this rule take place in
matters diuine, which surmount both the vnderstanding of the learner,
and the skill of the Teacher himselfe. Againe, we see how the Philoso-
phers doe mounte by from things euidently knowne to things lesse
knowne, and from Grounds and Principles, to Conclusions. And there-
fore Aristotle intending to proue that there is a God, made a whole
scope of booke of it: and Plato speaking of things diuine, will haue the
auncient Oracles to be beleued, and not his owne sayings: which ar-
gueth that even by nature men knowe well, that they deserue not to bee
beleued further forth than they make prooffe, no not even in the least
things; and therfore that they be worthe to be laughed at, if they thinke
their sayings to be authoritie in matters diuine. Now then, alth it is so
that the stile is such both of all men in their common discourses, and
of all the Philosophers in high matters: what shall the Author of our
Bible bee, whose will and meaning is to bee beleued vpon his bare
word, even in the things which exceede both the naturall beleefe of
such as heare them, and the vnderstanding of all men which take vpon
them to speake of them? God created Heauen and Earth: Man is
salne from his originall state by sinne. If thou beest a man that sayest
it, who will beleue thee vnlesse thou prouest it? And yet notwithstanding
it appeareth that hee wrote it to bee beleued: for hee commaundeth it
to be beleued. Wherefore his speaking is of authoritie, and not by per-
suasion. Yet notwithstanding no body is beleued vpon his bare word,
saying in things which lie in his owne power and his owne knowledge.
Whosoever then in things surmounting man, (I meane in matters
concerning God and mans saluation) will looke to be beleued of au-
thoritie, onely because he sayes it; yea and to be more beleued without
prooffe, than others vpon prooffe: must needs bee the Prince and Fa-
ther of man and not a man. Now, who sees not this course kept through-
out

The stile of
the Scrip-
tures.

out all the Scriptures: and yet where is there any one Syllogisme or Demonstration in them? saying such as these which sottiely bee more firme than any Syllogisme, and more needfull than any Demonstration namely, The Lord hath saide it; and it is done: the Lord hath spoken it, and he will be belieued. And what other booke find we which proceedeth after that maner howbeit that some deceiuers haue long time since presumed to imitate the same?

The laws and
commande-
ments in the
Scripture.

Also we haue many booke of maners written by the Vathen. How proceed they against Vice? how deale they with Vertue? They define, they distinguish, they dispute of the generall and of the vnderkind, of the meane and of the extremes. It is spoken (say they) from one Counter-match to another. And if they offend the Lawes of Logick, they be afraid of reproofe. The Lawes of God speake a little more plainly: He that healeth shall pay sower sold: Hee that killeth shall be punished with death, which is as much to say, as that the authoritie of the one dependeth vpon their power, and the authoritie of the other dependeth vpon their prae. To be short, euen our speech extendeth ordinarily no further than our power: and therefore the Teacher speaketh after another manner than the Learner, the Prince than the Subject, and the Senatour than the Orator. What maner a booke then I pray you is this, which speaketh to all men alike, to things as to Subjects, to great as to small, to olde as to yong, to learned as to vnlerned; saying that it surmounteth the capacitie of the one as well as of the other? neither intreating nor perswading any man, but absolutely bidding or forbidding all men. Neyther (which more is) doth it say to any man, Thou shalt liue as a recluse within the precinct of thine owne house all thy liues long, or thou shalt lye in continual prison; but thou shalt liue or die for euer without ende. In what other booke read wee such commandements? Yea in what booke read we such punishments and such rewards? And if euery bodies speaking be according to the abilitie of his power; from whom is this speech which dareth pronounce or threaten euerlasting things, but from the partie himselfe that is euerlasting? If it be a creature that speaketh it, either it is a good creature or an euill. If it be an euill creature, why forbiddeth he euill so rigorously? and commandeth good so expressely? or (to say better) how commeth it to passe, that the marke which he aimeth at is Gods glorie and our welfare? Or if it bee a good Creature, how happeneth it that he challengeth to himselfe that which belongeth to God, and which cannot be imparted to any Creature, which is the very liue that ouerthroweth both the diuell into Hell, and man into destruction? And if it be no Creature neither good nor bad, what remaineth then, but that it must needs be the Creator? Now what leafe is there in the whole Scripture, where we meete not with such matter? And here withall we see that thing

thing in the observers of that Lawe. Which is not reave of any others : namely that they haue yielded their liues, and incurred the hatred and disdaine of the whole world, rather than they would breake oꝝ despise it. Merely even in this respect and none other, that they were sure that they serued such a Lawgiuer, as not onely had power ouer the barke of man and ouer this present wretched life as other common Lawgiuers haue ; but also was of power to giue either euerslasting life oꝝ endlesse death. The same appeareth yet moze, in that the laws which are giuen to men in the Scriptures, are not inioyned alonely to the outward man ; but do pearce euen to the heart of man. In dees they require Sacrifices ; but yet they preferre obedience. They inioyne fasting : but that is from sinne. They inioyne Circumcision, but it is the Circumcision of the heart. To be short, for a Summarie of all sinnes, they forbid lusting and cohetting : which thing (as I haue said afoze) is not to be found in any lawe of the Heathen. Who I pray you knoweth the very anatomie and secret conceits of our hearts, but he that made them ? Or who can looke into Man, but the maker of Man ? And who is he either Man oꝝ Deuill, that euer durst presume to inioyne a lawe to mens thoughts ? But all these things come still to this point, that the partie which speaketh so vpon authoritie, threatening things that exceed mas ability, & making a law for the things wherunto we cannot come, must of necessity be of moze power than we.

Againe, what a number of things haue wee taught vs in the Scriptures, which cannot bꝛeede of mans bꝛaine, noꝝ come from elsewhere than from aboue ? And if they cannot bꝛeede in his minde, howe can they come from his hand oꝝ from his mouth ? Wee can well say there is one God : for if we enter into our selues we finde him there : and if we goe neuer so little out of our selues, we meete him euery where. But that in one Essence there should be thꝛee persons, the Father, the word, and the spirit : how can it bꝛeede in the imagination of man ? Or who could euer haue thought of it ? Also, from the Creatures we come to the Creator : from mouing to a rest : from nouelties to a beginning : and there mans reasoning staves. But although the first man might know when he was created : yet how could he haue knowne when the world was created : And although that by the new things therein, we deeme it to be new : who euer durst to haue limited the first day & the first houre thereof ? Or how could that Chymera haue come in any mans minde ? And yet in very deed we haue diuers Chymeras among the aunient writers, concerning the Creation of the world : according to the diuersities of opinions that were among the Philosophers, and the diuersities of imaginations among the common people. But was there euer any afoze this booke of the Bible, that began his account of times oꝝ his historie, at the first day of the world, though he were of opiniõ that the world was created : And seeing that the

The doctrine of the Scriptures exceedeth the reach of man.

intent

intent of all writers of storie is to be belieued; what els had this beginning of an historie at that point bene, but a cracking of his credit at his first enterance in, if the maiestie of the Autho^r had not serued for a warrant? Likewise, that man, to attaine to his appointed end, needed the handiwo^rke of God himsel^f; it appeareth vnto vs by the weakenesse of our nature. But that for the appealing of Gods Justice, God himsel^f should be faine to come downe and to take mans flesh vpon him; who would say it but only God? and who could bee belieued in that case but onely he? So is it also concerning the conception of the Virgin, concerning the promises that were not to come to passe vntill fower hundred yeares after, concerning the comming of the Messias, & such like things: which would neuer haue come in a mans head to haue written: so farre off are they from mans wit, I meane as of it selfe and without imitation. And I dare boldly say, that whosoever readeth the Scriptures aduisedly and with intent to marke them: shall in euery booke finde many matters, which euen by his owne iudgement had neuer come in mans minde, notwithstanding that they be spoken by wise men, who both belieued them firmly, and ment to be belieued in speaking them.

prophecies so
ned through-
out all the Bi-
ble.

Gen. 15.

What shall wee say then to the Prophecings or true soyetellings which are sowe euerywhere in the Scriptures, that is to wit, of Gods spirit which is shed soorth from the one ende to the other, I say not in scattered leanes as the Prophecies of Sybil were, but aiming all at one point, notwithstanding that they were vttered both at diuers times, by diuers persons, and in diuers places? I omit the first Prophecie concerning the womans s^ed that should crush the Serpents head, and such like pertaining to the redemption of man by the Messias, because that that doctrine shall haue his proper place hereafter: and I will alledge none other things than such as are alreadye proued and out of controuersie. Vnto Abraham was giuen this promise: Thy seede shall doe seruice in a strange Land, and be hardly intreated there fower hundred yeares: and then will I iudge the Nation whome they shall haue serued: and in the fourth generation shall they come hither againe. What Oracle did euer soyetell a thing so precisely, so manifestly, and so long afozehand? And yet was that Prophecie fulfilled at the appointed time: and it cannot be saide to be a counterfeit: for Moyses in leading the people of Israell thzough so many turnagaines, grounded himsel^f vpon none other thing. And it stood him on hand to speake of a Prophecie that was common among them, and deliuered from hand to hand, considering that he taketh it for his theam and ankerhold, both to speake vpon and to wo^rke vpon. And soothly, as it was receiued by Abraham, so was it receiued by Moyses, and put in execution by Iosua. Iacob made his Testament in Aegypt: wherein there are as many Prophecies as wo^rds: not for his owne

alone Children only, but also for the Tribes that should come of them. Nevertheless I will stand but vpon one of them, Thou Iuda (saith he) thy brothers shall commend thee, and thy fathers Children shall yeeld thee reuerence. And the Scepter shall not be taken from Iuda, nor the Lawmaker from betweene his seete, vntill Silo come. The effect hereof is, that the Scepter shall remaine with Iuda, and that hee shall haue soueraine iurisdiction, vntill the time of the Messias: and so do the Hebrewes interpret it. Yet were Ruben, Simeon, and Leuie the eldest brethren of Iacobs house: and therefore his doing was against the order of nature. And Moyse who led the people of Israell out of Aegypt, was of the Tribe of Leuie. Iosua who brought them into the Land of Canaan, was of Ephraim: The Iudges were raised by one while out of one Tribe and another while out of another: and Saule the first King chosen by the people, was of the Tribe of Beniaman, which was the yongest of all. These things therefore were a curst shaking to the Prophecie. In the meane while the Scepter passed from Saule to Dauid, from a King to a yong Shepheard of Iuda, and there was settled for euer, notwithstanding the murmurings of the ten Tribes against it, and the falling away of Israell, and the Captiuitie of Babylon. And whereas he saith, vntill Silo come, it sufficed vntill another time, that by the space of two thousand yeares, the house of Iuda reigned still in Israell, and had the eldership, together with a direct obserued pedigree: which thing we read not of any other stocke in the world. Here they will say, who shall assure vs that Iacob spake those things? If I should aske them as much concerning their Histories, what knowe they more of them? And what should Moyse haue gained by the deuising thereof, being himselfe of the Tribe of Leuie, and giuing ouer his charge to one of the Tribe of Ephraim, which had rather bene an occasion to make Iuda (which was the strongest of all the Tribes) to grudge against him, seeing that that Tribe had bene authozised both by Iacobs last will, and by answer from G D? Or if hee did it to gratifie Iuda, why was he not afraid to displease Ruben, Simeon, and Leuie: or rather why made hee not the Prophecie to fall vpon Leuie, to authozise himselfe? Nay, what gratifying of Iuda could it yet bee, considering that Iuda was excluded from it at that time, and came not to it a thousand yeares after? Surely (the foresaide circumstances being well weyed) eyther there was neuer any Prophecie vncorruptlie reported, or if ener any were, this must needs be it. And as touching these good Philosophers, which will haue prophesying to proceed of a coniunction of the vnderstanding which they call Possible, with an vnderstanding which they terme Separated, by meane of imagination: and that old men cannot Prophecie by reason of

Rabbi Moyſes
vpon the
booke Abu-
bacher.

of the weakenes of their imaginatiue power: what will they ſay here to Iacob, who was an older man than any of their time, and yet notwithstanding ſaw ſo clearly and ſo farre off? For if their doctrine be commonly true, and yet notwithstanding, olde Iacob prophesied: doeth it not followe that his prophesie is extraordinarie, and cometh from a higher power than the ſaid pretended vnderſtanding: that is to wit from God? And if his prophesying was according to their rule: dooth it not followe that their doctrine is falſe, that is to wit, that prophesying cometh not of the force of our imagination, nor of our ſelues, conſidering that it weakeneth not with vs, but that it cometh by inspiration from God? In the bleſſings that Iacob gaue to his poſteritie, the matter ought not to be paſſed ouer ſo lightly, where he ſpeaketh of the partes that ſhould be allotted to euery of his Children in the Land of Canaan, as if he had made them himſelf, aſſigning to one the Seacoaſt, to another the Coyne countrie, and to another the vinegrounds, euen after the ſame ſort that they were diuided vnto them certeine hundred yeres after by lot. For how could he come to the knowledge thereof, but by him that ouerruleth all Lots? And ſeeing that the foretellings of Aſtologie are a meane betwene neceſſitie and caſuall as Ptolomie teacheth: and nothing is more caſuall than lots, what maner of Aſtologie is this, which iudgeth of lottes both ſo long a forehand and alſo ſo certainly? But when as in the chapter going next afore, wee reade that Iacob in bleſſing the Children of Ioseph, preferred Ephraim the yonger Sonne beſore Maſſes who was the elder, and being warned thereof by their father, answered againe that he was not deceiued, but that the yonger brother ſhould be the greater, and that his ſeede ſhould growe to a multitude of people: what Art moued Iacob to ſay it, or what profit moued Moyſes to contriue it? If ye ſay Whizonomie or Iudiciarie, the good old man was blind. But what lineaments can ſo ſhew for a whole race, or what Conſtellations can ſhew what ſhall befall to whole Nations that are yet vnborne? If it be ſaid that Moyſes loued the one better than the other: The two of whom he ſpeaketh were already dead at that time, and the people that were to come of them, were but then in coming. And yet was that prophesie fulfilled; for the Tribe of Ephraim was alwaies mightier than the Tribe of Maſſes, as appeareth throughout the whole proceſſe of their Hiſtories, and in the end the kingdome of the ſeene Trybes was grounded chiefly vpon that. And in confirmation of this word, as oft as Moyſes, Iosua, the bookes of Kings, or the Chronicles ſpeake of thoſe two Children, the yongeſt is euer named afore the eldeſt: which thing vndoubtedly the Trybe of Maſſes would neuer haue indured without taking exception to it, if they had not thought themſelues to haue reſted vpon the will of God, and not vpon the

the fancie of man. What shall we say of Moyses: He speaketh to the people continually of the Conquest of Chanaan, according to that promise, and therefore it must needs be that it was a prophesie very commonly knowne among them. And in Deue Ioseph picked out a long time for it as for his burtall. Nay, moreover Moyses denideth the Land unto them in mind; appointeth them arbitrators to make their partitions; giueth them Lawes to settle themselves vpon; appointeth them what orders they should keepe there, setteth them downe the platfozms of their Cities, Suburbes, and houses; inioyneth them the tilling of their grounds, the resting of the seventh yeare, their Feastes and Solemnities, and appointeth them their Cities of refuge for casuall manslaughter. A man might say that his speaking of these things was as if a Father should dispose of his goods that he had gotten, and which hee had already in his hand. What likelihood haerof was there, at such time as they burned Bzick in Aegypt or when they lingered in the wilderness: yea or at the returne of the men that were sent to spie out the Land, when they reported nothing but hardnesse to the people? I pray you, if a man should at this day part Italy or Greece among vs in his imagination, to enery of vs share and share like; would we not say according to the pzoerbe, that he parted his Menison befoze he had caught it? And yet what a number of men haue passed the Alpes vnder the Standard? And sith it is so that Moyses entered into that Land, and those which wayted for it dyed in the way, and yet that at the time appointed, the Chananites gaue place to that people: who saeth not that of necessitie the same people were diuyn by some other than man to followe Moyses, yea Moyses himselfe to take vpon him the leading of them through so many distresses; both of them being grounded (say I) not vpon mans fancie, but vpon expresse promise which they by infallible records beleued to be of God? But hee pzocedeth yet further. For as hee foresawe them in Chanaan asoze they came there: so foresawe hee them there to offend God by seruing Baal after they came there. I say hee sawe them forget God, and God mindfull of them in his wrath: he sawe them dispersed and scattered ouer the fower quarters of the world, and troben vnder the fete of Strangers: To be short, hee sawe the Gentiles called of God into his Church in their place: yea and he sawe it so clarely, that hee foretold it to them all in his Song, which he willed them to pzeferue from hand to hand, as a witnesse against them and a discharge to himselfe. Though from the top of mount Nebo hee could behold the land of Chanaan to speake so little therof: from what mountaine could he see the things that were yet in the reines and hearts of men as then to come, yea which lay hidden yet many hundred yeares after: or in what booke could he haue seene them and read them, but in the booke of life, that is to say in God himselfe? The worde that

Deuter. 32. 1.

Iosua. 7.

1. King. 16.
verse 34.

1. King 13.

2. King. 22
verse. 17. 19.

that was spoken by Moyses was performed worde for worde by Iosua, without adding or diminishing any whit, contrarie to the ambitious minde of man which liketh not to follow another mans lure; which thing was no smal signe that Iosua did not so much obey Moyses, as God speaking by Moyses. And this curse that Iosua pronounceth in his booke; against the man that should build Iericho againe, is not to be forgotten: He shall lay the foundation thereof vpon his first borne (saith he) & set vp the gates thereof vpon his yongest sonne. That is to say, he shalbe punished with the sudden death of all his Children. For about fve hundred yeares after, in the time of Achab, Hiel of Bethell builded vp Iericho, the which hee founded vpon Abiram his first sonne, and hung by the gates of it with the death of Segus his yongest sonne, and the booke of Kings saith there, it was according as the Lord had spoken by the mouth of Iosua the Sonne of Nun, to shew that Gods word is euerlasting, and that it neuer ouerslippeth the time. And in very deed it lyeth ouerthrowne at this day, and was neuer repaired since that time, howbeit that the beautifull situation thereof might haue allured euery man, as we reade in the auncient Geographers. In the bookes of Iosua and of the Iudges we see the things performed which were foretold by Moyses, and the coming to passe both of the promises and of the threates that were made by him. For accordingly as the people of Israell did either turne away from God or returne vnto him; God raised vp Tyrants in Chanaan to punish them, or deliuerers in Israell to deliuer them. And as for the bookes of Samuell, of the Kings, and of the Prophetes; either they be prophesies of effects to come, or effects of prophesies forepast. To be short, in all the discourse of the Bible, there is not any season to bee found without both Prophet and Prophesie, as well in prosperitie as in aduersitie: Whereby we might see both the heauentrueth and the trueth of them the more clearly, if we could set the places, persons, and state of that time before our eyes. But out of this continuall prophesying, we will drawe some peculiar points, so euident as cannot be gaine said, which will vndoubtedly be of credit among all indifferent persons. At such time as Ieroboam the sonne of Nebath made the ten Tribes to fall away from Roboam the sonne of Salomon; to the intent they should haue no occasion to returne againe to their former state by resorting to Hierusalem to worshipping there: hee reared an Altar in Bethell contrarie to the Lawe of God. Then came a man of God (saith the historie) to Bethel by the commandement of the Lord, and sayd to Ieroboam; Behold; a Sonne shall be borne of the house of Dauid, whose name shalbe Iosias. He shall sacrifice vpon thee the Priestes of the Highters which offer incense vpon thee; And this shall bee the signe thereof; Thine Altar shall rine asunder, and the Ashes that are thereon shall be powred downe.

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This Propheſſe was fulfilled in all points by Iofias three hundred yeres after. And when Iofias (ſaith the hiſtoꝛie) had ſo done, he ſaw a certaine tumb, and aſked whoſe it was, intending to haue burnt the bones of him that lay there, as he had done of the other prieſts in Bethel. But it was told him that it was the tumb of the man of God, which had ſoꝛe- fold thoſe things ſo long agoe: whereupon he ſoꝛd any man to touch it. Now they that know how thoſe bookes of the kings were diſpoſed, wil not call the hiſtoꝛie in queſtion. For the hiſtoꝛies of the kings were wꝛitten by the prieſts and Propheets, according to the meaſure of ſ time that they reigned, and were holden ſo holy, that it was felony to touch them. Furthermoze, ſeing if this Propheſſe was wꝛitten afoze the coming of Iofias, it could not be fulfilled: ſoꝛ who could haue hit vpon his proper name? And if it were wꝛitten after, and deuised vpon the euent: how came the ſame tumb to be made at ſ ſame inſtant? Was there none other deuise wherewith to haue diſguiſed it, without taking any farther peiner? Might it not haue ſufficed to haue ſaid, One Iofias ſhall come &c. without ſpeaking either of the death of the man of God, oꝛ of his meeting with the Lyon, oꝛ of the talke which he had with the Propheſſe of Samaria; but that he muſt take paine to be found a Lye by the Samaritans which knew the original of the Tumb, oꝛ could at leaſt wiſe haue inquired it? But in verie deede this Propheſſe which doth ſo ſet down the name, the place, & the circumſtances in the doing, is ſuch as cannot be fathered but vpon God, as vnto whom alone things abſent oꝛ to come are preſent. And to ſhewe the vncorruptnes of the Scripture ſ moze clerly, it concealeth not that ſ ſame man of God by whole mouth God had vttered the ſaide Propheſſe, was ſlaine by a Lyon ſoꝛ going backe againe to eat with the Propheſſe of Samaria contrarie to the woꝛd of the Lorde: which doeth vs to vnderſtande, that men are nothing of themſelues, but onely ſo farre ſoꝛth as they be Gods toles and inſtruments. Now then by what coniecture can we deeme that man to haue bene the deuifer of a lye, who to tell the trueth, ſicked not to diſhonor the remembrance of ſo great a Propheſſe, whoſe ſinceritie appeared by ſo many circumſtances?

Wonderfull is Eſay in the things that he ſoꝛetelleth concerning the kingdome of the Meſſias and the calling of the Gentiles: ſoꝛ he ſaith rather an Euangelist than a Propheſſe. Alſo when he threateneth Hieruſalem with the captiuitie of Babylon, oꝛ cheereth them againe with hope of their deliuerance: his maner of indifing ſheweth, that he ſpeaketh as one that ſawe them both; and in that reſpect alſo were the Propheets called Seers. And in very trueth, he ſaith not, the Lorde will do, the Lorde will call, the Lord will deſtroy, & ſo ſoꝛth: but, he doth, he calleth, he deſtroyeth: yea and oftentimes, he hath done, he hath called, he hath deſtroyed,

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Esay. 44. & 45.

stroyed, and so forth; as though he spake not of things that were but onely nere the execution or performance; but of things already come to passe. After that maner did he foretel things, in the time that the people prospered and trusted in the allyance of the Caldees, and that all likelihoods were to the contrarie. But I aske of such as doubt of our Prophecies, by what spirit could Esay say; I am the Lord that doeth things in deede, which doe say vnto Cyrus, Thou art my Shepherd, thou shalt fulfill all my will: and which sayeth vnto Hierusalem, Thou shalt be builded againe; and vnto the Temple, Thou shalt be founded againe. And againe: Thus sayth the Lord to Cyrus his annoynted, whom I haue taken by the right hand to subdue the Nations before him, and to weaken the reynes of Kings. I will goe before thee, and leuell the croked wayes. I will breake open the Brazen gates, & wring a sunder the yron barres, and so forth, that thou mayst know how that I am the Lord the God of Israell which calleth thee by thy name. For loue of my seruant Jacob, & for Israels sake haue I named thee by thy name, and called thee though thou knewest me not, &c. How many wonders shall we find in these few words, if we list to examine them? At the same time that the people of Israel triumphed vnder their allyance with the Chaldees, Esay threatened them with destruction by the selfe same people. This is somewhat.

But some will say that mans wisdom may reach as farre as that. Yea, but he foretelleth, not only the captiuitie of that people, & sacking of the Citie, and the ouerthrowe of the Temple: but also the destruction of the Chaldees by the Persians, and the building vp of Hierusalem and the Temple by them againe. What may mans skill waite into weekes and moneths: but considering the vncertaintie of worldly matters, it can neuer waite into yeres, and much lesse into hundreds of yeres, and into the whole continuance of a mightie and long lasting Monarchie, as Esay doth there. In so much that he nameth Cyrus a hundred yeres afore he was borne. And afore his Graundfathers were named in the world, he calleth him by name to deliuer Israel. And in another place he summoneth the people of Cethim (that is to say of Macedonie) to the destroying of the Persians. And in his eight Chapter he taketh Vrias and Zacharias the sonnes of Iebarachias by name to be witnesses of his Prophecie, who were vnborne a hundred yeres after. Let the greatest enemies of the trueth enter into their owne consciences, & tell me what humane skill or cunning there could be in those things. They cannot say here, & these Prophecies were forged by some man vpon the event. For by the remouing of Jewes vnto Babylon, the Lawes Prophecies and Scriptures of Israell which were common among that people, were conueied into diuers places of the world; among the which they

they had this Propheſſe afoze Cyrus was bozne: and being in diuers mens hands, it was vnpoſſible to be falſified. And in good ſooth, ſith we ſee that the Kings of Perſia being conquerors, cauſed the Temple to be builded againe, it ought to be a marke vnto vs, that in the Idolatrie out of which they came, they had ſene wonders of the God of Iſracell, & that according to Eſaies ſaying, they perceined themſelues to be called by him. The ſame is to be conſidered of vs in Ieremay & Ezechiell, who being in places farre one from another, the one in Ieruſalem & the other in captiuitie at Babylon, ſoetell the ſelfſame things, as ſure Registers of one court. But Ieremie is the moze wonderful in this behalfe, in that he propheſſeth expreſſely that the people which were carryed away priſoners, ſhould be brought home againe at the end of threſcore and ten yeres, contrary to all likelyhoo, & yet with ſuch aſſurednes, as a man would verily haue ſaid, that he had led them home againe by the hande into Hieruſalem. And in very deede, at the threſcore & tenth yeres end, the people were conueyed home againe at the ſozenamed inſtant, as though Cyrus had bin bent of ſet purpoſe to veriſſie the Propheſſe, or as though he had bin waged by the Prophet. And it appeareth by the ninth Chapter of Daniel, (where this propheſſe is alledged) that it was comon among al the people. As ſoꝛ Daniel himſelfe, who being bozne vnder the firſt Monarchie, ſeemeth rather an Hiſtoriographer than a Prophet, as in reſpect of the Monarchies & things that inſued; (ſoꝛ he ſpeaketh of the Perſians, Greekes and Romanes, of the tyrannie of Antiochus, of the unhallowing of the Temple, & of other things that were done ſixe hundred yeres after his time, as of things alreadie come to paſſe;) like as he cloſeth by the Propheſſe from the creation of the world to the coming of Chriſt; ſo ought he to ſtoppe all mens mouthes that will ſpeake againſt him. ſoꝛ if a man will not beleue the Iewiſh Chronicles, in that they report that the Propheſſe of Daniell was read vnto Great Alexander at his coming to Hieruſalem, to ſhewe him what was ſoetold of him: yet is it euident and cannot be denyed, but that when Ptolomie cauſed the Scriptures to be tranſlated, the propheſſe of Daniel was then extant, & was tranſlated with the reſidue; which was long time afoze the Tyrannie of Antiochus, the which he deſcribeth to the eye. And therfoze if it could not be falſified in that behalf, as little could it be falſified in al the reſt, conſidering that al of it both equally & infinitely excēde the reach of all creatures, & cannot procede from any moe than one Spirit. Now then let vs looke vpo the things that are in this Prophet; & whence could hee haue them, but from him that maketh and unmaketh Kings at his pleaſure? He ſoꝛ warned Baſſaſar the ſonne of Nabugodono-
zor, that hee ſhould haue a fall, becauſe he had not taken example at the chaſticement of his father, but had aduanced himſelfe againſt God.

Ierem. 15. 16.
17. 18. 19. 20.
&c.

Daniel. 9.

Daniel. 5

Esay. 13. 21. 47.
Jeremy. 50.

Daniel. 11.

Daniel. 8.

It will perhaps be saide, that it is the saying of wise men, that when pride goes afoze, shame cometh after. But when as Balsazar was slaine that same night in the midst of his solitie; it was a marking of the thing moze precisely, which had bin foretold by the former Propheets also. But in that which followeth there is no shift at all. Behould, Darius was but newly entred into the Monarchie, when euen in the first yeere of his reigne Daniell sayd vnto him, Three Kings shall stand yp yet in Persia, and the fourth shall be enriched with great riches aboute them all, and when he is so increased, hee shall stirre vp euery man against Greece. These sower or fine words conteyne the hystorie of seuen or eight scoze yeeres. We haue greate learned men, which by reason of their long experience, haue made (as it were) an Anotomy of our state: but which of them, I pray you, durst euer take vpon him to tel how many Kings should come after, & much lesse to foretell what would be done by the fourth King that was to come, as Daniell doeth heere, who maketh expresse mention of Darius voyage against the Greekes? Let vs heare him yet further. But a mightie King shall rise vp (sayth he) and reigne with great authoritie and do whatsoeuer he will. Who seeth not heere how Alexander commeth out of Greece against Darius, & subdueth the Persians? And when he is in all his royaltie (sayth he) his kingdome shall be broken and deuided to the foure windes of the aire, howbeit not to his owne race, but vnto strangers, for his kingdome shalbe plucked vp by the roote. He could not haue paynted out Alexanders Monarchie moze liuely, which was but as a flash of lightning that passeth from the West into the East and take ends in it selfe, and was diuided into many kingdomes, as Macedonie, Thrace, Syria, & Aegypt, among Princes that were not of his race. Whosoener would haue made an Abridgment of the whole Hystorie of the Monarchie of Greece in fewe words, he could not lightly haue done it in other than these. Neuerthelesse, it is a glauncing ouer whart throughe two Monarchies & two whole hundred yeeres, wheras all the wisdome of the world put together, could not ouersée so much as two yeeres, no not euen in the commonest affayres of a househould. Now, the storie of the Macedones was not the thing that he aimed at: but the chief thing that he sought into, was the state of the Church to come among the Iewes, & therefore he letteth the rest of the bzaunches alone and goeth on but only with the Kings of Syria & Aegypt. Therfore let vs reade the residue of the Chapter. Where he painteth out the wars of Antiochus King of Syria against the Iewes, the resistance of the Machabees, the opprelliō of the righteous & the defiling of al holy things, so liuely & manifestly, & he which were not tolde of it afoze he reade it, should not be able to say whether it were a prophesy or an hystory. In his viii. chapter he describeth a battel betwē a Ram

a Ram and a Goate. The Ram (sayth he) that had two hornes, is the King of Medes and Persians, because those two states went ioynntly together. The Goate is the King of Greece, and the great horne that he had betweene his eyes, is the greatest King, that is to wit, the great Alexander: and yet none of them both liued fiftie scoze yeeres after. In the seventh Chapter he describeth all the fower Monarchies, but specially the Romaine; which had (sayth he) teeth of yron, wherewith it brake and deuoured all the rest. And hee pursueth it so farre, that he declareth himselfe to haue had a sight in his mind, both of the breeding, of the proceeding, and of the decaying thereof. If we consider what Rome was at that time, it was then scarce hatched: and a greafe while afterwarde, Alexander hauing but a smale cut ouer the Sea that is betwixt that and Greece, knewe it not. To bee short, in the ninth Chapter hee forgettelleth that at the end of threescoze and ten weekes, (accounting from the day that the word was vttered by Ieremie for the buylding vp of the Temple againe,) Hierusalem should be destroyed by a prince of the people that was to come, that is to saye, by an Empero; issuing fro the Comonweale of Rome, which at that time was not in being: which thing I could shew here to haue come to passe at the instant afozenamed, according to the prophesse. But forasmuch as this poynt pertaineth properly to the coming of the Messias, wherunto we reserve many things & may confirme vs moze & moze in the holy Scriptures, it shall be treated of in his peculiar place. Now then we haue here a continuance of wonderfull Prophecies, from the creation of the world euen vnto Christ, vttered and set forth a long while afoze hand, & come to passe iust in their times; not generall, but marked with their circumstances; not doubtfull but such as expresse the things and persons by their names. And therfore to knit vp this matter withall, I demaund vnto what we may attribute them, but to the inspiration of God? Some in stead of houlding themselves with in their bounds, wil needes ouerleape them, by denying al. But besides the reasons afoze alledged, seeing that the same tyme that the Israelites worshipped their God, & Nations about them had Oracles which answered vnto all questions; and that man is so inquisitiue of things to come, that if he cannot be certified at home, he seeketh euery where abroad: I would haue them to aunswer me whether this people were of another nature than all other Nations, whom we knowe to be yet still at this day moze giuen to prophesyings than any other Nation? And how being so giuen therunto & not hauing aught at home wherewith to satisfie their curiositie, they could in the midst of so many miseries, hould themselves to the seruing of the one God, who alone of all others did not speake, but alonly had kept silence to all their requestes? For if it seeme strange and myraculous vnto vs to haue had Prophecies:

Daniel. 7.

Daniel. 9.

much more strange & miraculous ought it to be, to haue made more account of a God that gaue no answers at al, specially in so many distresses & oppressions, than of the Gods of the Heathen which did nothing els.

Obiections

But sozasmuch as none of the men of olde time was so impudent as to deny them, but all were enforced either to wonder at them, or to alledge causes to diminish the estimation of them. Let vs examine the reasons which they giue them. One saies that they were tyed to y^e Starrs, and yet they mocked at the diuinations of the Chaldees euery where.

Now then, of so many Astrologers as were among the Gentiles, & haue made booke therof, name me any one that hath foretold the doings, not of an Empire, but of some one man: not a hundred yeres afoze hand, but a yere afoze hand, sauing that the diuel now & then by Gods sufferance, hath executed the same euil which he himselve foretold vpon the partie that asked counsell of him. But Ptolomie wil say, the foretellings of the Astrologers are a meane betwene necessitie & chaunce: soz they forese not the euents or fallings out, but onely the inclinations or dispositions of things, & as many as promise any further, do but abuse men.

Ptolomie in
his booke of
the fruite.

What thinke we then that this Ptolomie would haue said, if he had read these prophesies, so particular, that they seeme rather stories of things past, than foretellings of things to come. Surely he would haue said that they could not haue proceeded but only from God, as he setteth downe & describeth very wel in lesser things: And that they which foretell particular things must needs be inspired of God: And againe, that the iudgements of such as gaze vpon the Starrs, are doubtful, howbeit that they which foretell the good part, approach nearer the trueth, by reason of a certaine power that beareth sway in their Soule, although that otherwise they haue no skill at all in the arte. And in very deede, the best Astronomers haue reiected Iudiciall Astrologie, as in vain and without foundation, yea euen after they haue well tyed themselves in it. But in Israel we reade of a Heateheard called Amos, whose Prophesies were no lesse euident soz the matters they treated of, than were the Prophesies of Daniell and Esay, Auerrhoes and his followers haue a peculiar opinion of mans Soule, namely that we haue a certaine capacite of vnderstanding, which they terme an vnderstanding in possibility, the which informenth & teacheth by the working of an vniuersall mind, which by the particular imaginations of euery man, cometh to be ioyned to the vnderstanding in possibilitie that is comon to al. And therefore they say y^e prophesying proceedeth properly of y^e Coniunction in men that haue a strong & lively imagination. If it be so, I would haue y^e disciples of Auerrhoes (who had so goodly an imagination) to imagine this, to shewe me some Prophesie of their maisters or of their own. Also let the answer me how it happeneth y^e our Prophets soz the most part haue commonly bene-
old

The same
thing doth
Moses of Nar-
ben say vpon
the booke
of Abubacher
& Auampare.

old men, seeing that (after their doctrine,) old men cannot *Prophecie* by reason of y^e feeblenes of their imagination: But forasmuch as these men do preach vnto vs that the world is eternal; how happeneth it that *Propheying* hath not bin instilled into men by the sayd coniunction, enerlastingly concerning time, & in al times, seeing y^e to become a *Prophet*, there needeth no more but to haue a very strong imagination: forasmuch as the seperated vnderstandings are euermore readie and disposed to the saide Coniunction? How happeneth it also that a man being come to that poynt, *Prophecieth* not of all things that he can imagine? But hereby we see manifestly that this *Propheying* of theirs is not an habit, but a passion that sadeth a way like the sound of a Lute, when the player ceaseth to stricke. Or if they say that a man must first get him both the actiue & the contemplatiue habits, & then the sayd vnderstanding matcheth it self with our imagination, as the forme of a thing matcheth with the substance there of, whereof commeth it that Dauid being a *Shepherd* & Amos a *Sheeheard*, did *prophecie* so wonderfully? Some wil haue it, that *Propheying* is deriued into man by the *Starres*, conditionally that he be disposed to receiue it. Whereupon they prescribe him a certaine diet; whereby he must make his body equal and euenly counterpeised by *Alchimie*; & afterward he must gather together the beames of the *Sky* into a mirrour, which they cal *Alchemusie*, made according to y^e Rules of *Catoptrick*; and finally he muste stellise by *Astrologie* as wel the man himself, as the sod that he vseth. And they say that *Apollonius* of *Thianey* *prophecieth* after that manner. These are toies to be laughed at rather then worthy to be answered. And let euery man consider, whether our *Prophetes* being *Shepherds*, *Sheeheardes* & vnlearned, were framed with such curiousnes, to *Prophecie* according to diet. Nay who his wittes be somewhat well wakned, he shall perceiue that they were inspired with things which the *Starres* could neither do, nor betoken, nor knowe, forasmuche as they bee still in the hand of the first cause, and are not come downe so lowe as to bee subiect to the second causes.

The *Platonists* therfore come somewhat nearer the truth, specially *Iamblycus* and *Porphyrus* by name. For they say y^e the foretelling of things far off afozehand, cannot be don neither by art nor by nature, but only by inspiration from God. Howbeit forasmuch as they speake of many gods & take the diuels for Angels it may be objected against vs, y^e our *Prophecies* proceeded eyther from diuels or from Angels. But if we call to minde the Oracles of diuels, and compare them with our *Prophecies*, there will appeare as much difference betwixt them, as is betwene the discretion of a wise man, and the fittletattle of a fole. Therfore let vs heare what they say. The Gods (sayth *Porphyrus*) foretell naturall thinges by the order of natural causes which they marke,

Roger Bacon
in his booke
of the fixe sci-
ences of expe-
rience, and
in his abridge-
ment of Di-
uinitie.

and they foretell things that depend vpon our owne will, by coniectures taken of our doings. But forasmuch as they be swifter than wee, they preuent vs and outrunne vs, and that in such sort, that as naturall things are deceyuable, and mens cases are variable and vncerteyne: so they both, as wel the good as the bad bee subiect to lying. What els is this to say but that they can foretell nothing of vs further forth than they learne by our doings; no: of naturall things further forth than they reade them in nature, that is to say than they reade them as in a booke, howbeit with a sharper & swifter eyesight than we: but neither diuel no: Angell can reade that in the Starres which is not there; no: in men, that which men themselues knowe not, specially considering that the greatest learned men doe hold opinion that they enter not so farre. In the Starres they could not reade the names of Iosias, Vrias, or Cyrus: neither in the hearts of Iosias, Vrias, and Cyrus themselues, (who were not at that time in the world) could they reade the deedes which they were to do certeine hundred yeres after. For onely vnto God are those times present which are to come: but as for to Angells and vs there is no more of his roll of time knowen, then it pleaseth God of his gracious goodnes to vnfold vnto vs. It followeth then by the doctrine of these Philosophers, that our Prophecies being so clere, so particular, and so neare to things a farre off, could not be inspired from many Gods.

Yet notwithstanding, al Propheying (say they) proceeds either of art or of nature, or of some spirit, or of God himself. Of art, as by Astrologie; of nature, as when mans nature is ready to receiue the influences of the vniuersall, and of some spirit, as by some league or couenant made with him. But of none of all these three could the Prophecies of the Hebrewes proceed, as I haue shewed evidently afoze. It remaineth therfore that those Prophecies are of God, and consequently that their Scriptures are Gods word, which is nothing els but eyther those Prophecies themselues, or the effects of those Prophecies. And to shut vp this Chapter, it wil not be amisse to rehearse this record of Porphyrius, of the Religious sect of the Essens among the Iewes, by reason of their occupying of themselues in those Prophecies, made a profession of Propheying, & wisdom times mist. For in deede there is greate likelihood, if we understood al the Prophecies of the Bible (which thing is vnpossible for vs, because wee cannot lay the states of all times together, we should finde there manie things which are darke to vs at this day, and yet were there well vnderstande, & easie, euen to the very common people, euery one in his time.



The xxvj. Chapter.

That the things which seeme most wonderfull in our Scriptures, are confirmed by the Heathen themselves: and a solution of their cheefe Obiections to the same.



Now that we know that it is God that speaketh in the Scriptures; there shoulde remaine no more for vs to doe, but to hearken vnto him with silence. For seeing he hath made all thinges by his worde; his worde cannot haue said any thing which he hath not bene able to doe. And if wee crouch, and lay our hand vpon our mouth at the sight of a Kinges Seale: surely it wer more reason that we should dispose our mindes to beleue, and our willes to obey

without scanning, wrangling or gainesaying, when we see the expresse signing and seale of God in his Scriptures. Nowbeit, to the intent we may leaue no cause of doubt to the Reader: forasmuch as some haue presumed to object, I desire that I also may haue leaue to assoyle their demands. Now therefore, let vs see what is objected against vs, as well by the Infidels of old time as of our daies. First of all, As great account (say they) as you make of your Scriptures; there is no record yeldded vnto them by any of our ancient Authoys Greeke or Latin, as Plato, Aristotle, Theophrast, and the rest of so many Philosophers, Historiographers, & Poets. This is even as much as if a man should aske witness of the men of Perow, concerning the Victories of Fraunce or Spayne. For in the times wherof our Scriptures speake, what were the Greeks and Romanes in respect of the Iewes, but sillie savage people that fed vpon grass? Or sotiely it is all one, as if a man should aske a childe of the thinges that were done afore he was bozne; considering that the latest Victories in our Bible, are of more antiquitie than the Scholes of Greece, or the vse of reading was in Rome. Say mozeouer, from the

An obiection concerning the witness of the Greeks.

The Answer.

the time that the Greeks knew there was an Aegypt, they went thither to schoole, and there had communication with the Iewes, (as I haue proued already) at whose handes they reaped that little knowledge which they had concerning the true God, the creation of the world, and the fall of Man. Inſomuch that Plato alledgeth our Authoꝝ vnder theſe wordes; As the authors of olde time report, or as it is reported in the aun-
cient Oracles. And Numenius hauing eſpied that Plato coulde not get that ſkil from elſewhere than out of Moyses, termeth him Moyses ſpeaking in the language of Athens, that is to ſay, tranſlated into Greeke. The Hiſtoꝛies of Greece begin about the time of Cyrus. But (ſaith Ariſtobu-
lus) the lawe of Moyses & the departing of the Iſraelites out of Aegypt, were tranſlated into Greeke afore the reigne of Alexander, yea of the Perſians themſelues. Which is as much to ſay, as that the Greekes euen from their firſt birth, or at leaſt wiſe from the firſt time that they began to knowe themſelues, heard ſpeaking of our ſcriptures and were deſirous to haue them. And Hecataeus the Abderite who attended vpon Alexander in his Conqueſts, made a booke purpoſely of the Iewes, which thing he did not of any of all the flouriſhing Nations which he had ſene in his voyage. Alſo Herennius Philo hauing read the ſaid Philoſo-
pher, ſawe him ſo wonderfull in the thinges that he had learned of the Iewes, that he beleaued him to haue bene become a Iewe, and to haue bene conuerted to their lawe. Anon after, when the time of the calling of the Gentiles approached, that it behoued the Propheſies to be made known to the whole world; to rid away al ſuſpition of contriuing them vpon the euents; God did put into the heart of Ptolomie Philadelph King of Aegypt, to make a Library, in the which (by the counſel of Demetrius Phalareus a Diſciple of Theophrastus) it was his will to haue the Bible of the Hebrewes, and therefore at his great charges cauſed it to be tranſlated into Greeke. The Hiſtoꝛie of this tranſlating is ſet out by one Ariſtazas a Chamberlaine of king Ptolomies; who with another named Andrew, was ſent to Eleazar the Highprieſt of the Iewes to fetch the Bible and ſix men of euery Tribe that were learned in both the languages, to tranſlate it. And he ſaith that Demetrius Phalareus made report vnto the king, that theſe ſcriptures were the onely writings that were diuine in daede; and that thereupon the king asked him in his preſence, how it happened that he had not thoſe bookes ſoner, ſeing he ſpared not for any coſt, and that Iewrie was ſo nere hand? Whereunto Demetrius answered, that they were written in a peculiar language, and therefore that it behoued him to write to the Highprieſt to haue interpreters: according to which aduice, the king ſent Ambaſſadours with letters and preſents to Eleazar, (of which Ambaſſadours he himſelfe was one): And that by the conſent of all the people, the thꝛeeſcore and twelue
Interpreters

Ariſtobulus
writing to Pto-
lomy Philo-
metor. lib. I.

Hecataeus co-
cerning the
Iewes.

Herennius
Philo concer-
ning the Iewes

Ariſtazas con-
cerning the
translation of
the thꝛeeſcore
and Ten In-
terpreters.

Interpreters were sent into Aegypt. Yea and in this Historie (which is extant still at this day) ye may see the Copies of the letters that were written from Demetrius to Ptolomie, from Ptolomie to Eleazar, & from Eleazar to Ptolomie. And the said Aristas addeth, that when the Bible was once translated and perused in the presence of the chiefe Pères of his Realme, the King caused a solemn curse to be proclaimed with loud voice, against all such as should ad any thing to it, take ought from it, or alter ought in it. And afterward (saith hee) when the king vpon further reading thereof, did maruel that of so many things and so worthy of remembrance, there was no mention made by the History-writers and Poets of Greece: Demetrius Phalareus answered him, that it was a diuine lawe, giuen of God, which ought not to be touched but with cleane hands, (as Hecataeus himselfe writeth) affirming moreover that Thoopompus a Disciple of Aristotles had done him to understand, that whereas some had gone about to disguise the scriptures of the Iewes with Greeke eloquence, they were stricken with amazednesse for their labor, and vpon praier made vnto God were warned in a Dreame, that they should forbear to unhallowe or defile those heauenlie matters, with the glosse of their owne inuentions. Yea and that Theodotus a Tragical Poet had told him, that because he intended to haue intermingled some matters of the Scriptures with his Tragedies, that is to wit, by drawing grounds of his Poetries out of the Bible, as other Poets had done with the warres of Thebes and Troy: he had sodainly forgone his sight, which was afterward restored againe vnto him vpon continuall praier and long repentance. And this befell in the same time that the Greekes and Romanes did but begin to deale with Philosophy. Also Numenius the Pythagorist, whom many prefer before Plato, made so great account of the Scriptures, that his booke of Welfare, of Number and of Place, and his booke intituled The Lapwing, were full of texts alledged out of Moyse and the Prophets with great reuerence: And he is the same Philosopher whom Plotin had in such estimation, that hee vouchsafed to write a Commentarie vpon him. But I would that the Greekes should but shew me the like record of their owne writings and of their owne lawes, not in our booke, but enen in their owne booke; and I beleue that no indifferent person would refuse that offer.

Here followeth another obiection: Namely that the Scriptures haue a simple, bare, and grosse stile: but if they were of God, they would speake farre otherwise. I demaunde of them, whether mens stiles ought not to be according to the persons that speake, and whether the grace of eloquence consist not in observing samelnesse; as namely whether the eloquence of a Subiect, ought not to differ from the eloquence of a king; the eloquence of a child, from the eloquence of a father;

and

Eusebius in his eight booke of the preparation to the Gospell.

Orgenes in his fourth booke against Celsus

An Obiection concerning the stile.
The Solution.

and the eloquence of an Advocate, from the eloquence of a Judge; or whether by the Rules of Rhetoricke, that which is eloquence in the one, shall not be foolishnes in the other? Therefore if the Lawyer or Advocate will pleade eloquently, he must moue affections: to the intent he may moue other men, hee must first moue himselfe. The Judge must vtter his wordes granelly, and he must also bee vnderible and vnintreatable, without mouing and without affection. The King must simply and absolutely commaund; for he is both the voice of the Lawe, and the rule of the Judge. But if either the King come to perswade, or the Judge to debate cases; then must the one put on the state of an Advocate, and the other the state of a subject, and lay aside the state of a King and Judge. What then I pray you shall become of the lawe of God the King of kings, who is infinitely further aboue the greatest Monarches, than the greatest Monarches are aboue their meanest Subjects; and who exceedeth alike both the Judges & the parties that are to be iudged? We would haue him to vse Inductions as Plato doth, or Syllogismes as Aristotle doth, or pretie sleightes as Carneades doth, or outcries as Cicero doth, or fine conceits as Seneca doth. We would haue him to vtter his wordes by weight, that they might fall in iust measure and sound; and to interlace some farre sought wordes, some allegoricall matters, and some strange deuises wherewith common vse is vnacquainted. If we should see a Kings Proclamations set forth in such a stile, which of vs would not by and by note it as smelling too much of the Inkehozne; and which of our eares would not rather glowe at it; than like of it? Surely then, the simpler that Gods Lawe is, the better doth it beseme the euerlasting; considering that the simpler it is, the more it resembleth the voice of him that can doe all things; yea and (which more is) the simpler it is, the better doth it fit all people. For the Lawe that is ordained for al men without exception, ought to be as an ordinary fode, or rather as a common kind of bread applied to the taste and relish of al men. But what will you say if the Scriptures haue in their lowlinesse more statelines, in their simplicitie more profoundnes, in their homelinesse more allurance, and in their grossenesse more linely force and sharpnes, than are to be found any where else? We reade in the first chapter of Genesis, God created heauen and earth; God spake, and the waters were seuered from the earth; Hee commaunded, and the earth brought forth hearbes. There is not so very an idiot or so simple a man, but he can vnderstand these things, I meane so farre as is requisite to his salvation, yea and consent at the very hearing of them, that the things must needs be as it is said there. But if a man wil wade deeper into the matter as how God hath in all eternitie chosen (as ye would say) one instant whereat to begin this worke, without stiffe or matter to worke vpon;

and

and how he made it by his only bare word: they be such bottomles depts, as will make euen the stoutest afraide, and inforce the wisest to stoupe to the skill of the lowly and little ones, so excellent is the simplicitie of the Scripture, both to instruct the lowly, and to confound the pꝛoude both at once. In our Bible we haue Histories, & in histories what desire we? A truth: so that is the very substance of the. Now what greater proof of trueth can there be, than simplicitie? A stile or maner of inditing that setteth down things past before our eyes, as if they were presently in doing: What greater token would we haue thereof, than (in our reading) to feele the verie same affections which those felt of whom we read: Let the hardest hearted men, and the most vntoward in the world go read the Histories of our Bible, as how Isaac was led to be sacrificed, how Ioseph became knowne againe to his brethren, how Iephthe was rewarded with the meeting of his daughter, or how Dauid was grieved at the death of Absalon: and (if they will say the trueth) they shall feele a certaine shuddering in their bodies, a certaine yerning in their hearts, and a certaine tender affection all at one instant, farre greater than if all the Oracles of Rome or Athens, should preach the same matters whole daies together. Let them read the same stories againe in Iosephus, to whom the Emperour Titus caused an Image to be set vp for the elegancie of his historie, and they shall finde that after his enriching of them with all the ornaments of Rhetoricke, he shall leaue them more colde and lesse moued, then he found them. And that is because that in very deede, true beautie desireth no painting; but the more naked it is, the more it allureth; and (as Jewellers and Lapidaries say) the fairer that any Precious Stone is, the lesse doth it neede both of Gold and of workmanship. And soothly to set vp our Scriptures vpon high words, is nothing else but to set vp a well proportioned tall man vpon a Scaffold, which diminisheth somewhat of his naturall proportion, and yet addeth not any whit to his stature.

Also in all our Scriptures we haue Prophecies, and in those Prophecies we haue threatnings, exhortations, & vehement speeches. And it is in such matters, that the Orators are wont to thunder and to mounte vp to their loftie speeches. In this kind, the Latins make great account of Cicero. But I reposit me to al such as haue read both of them with like Iudgement, what comparison there is betwene him & Esay? betwene his flattering insinuations with childish excuses of ignorance, and the enterances of Esay, liuely, graue, and full of maiestie: Betwene his long Perodes to the which he hearkeneth so deuoutly; and the others cutting words which are the thunderrocks doubled, to daunt the slowtest stomach that is: But among al the Greeks, Cicero himself wondereth at Aeschines against Demosthenes in a certaine place, where he laieth open his

Cicero in his
Tusculane
Questions.

his iniuries, and passions against him, in déede moze like a bedlem than a man in his right wits. And what eloquence, what force, or what piercing hath that place (I beseech the Readers with all my heart to reade both the one and the other) in comparison of this beginning of Esaies: Hearken ye Heauens (saith he) and giue care thou Earth; for the Euerlasting hath said, I haue nourished Children and brought them vp, & they haue rebelled against me. The Oxe knoweth his owner, and the Ass his maisters cribbe: but Israell hath not knowen me, my people haue no vnderstanding; Ah sinful people, people laden with iniquity, to what purpose should ye be chastised any more, sith ye heape sinne vpon sinne? The whole head is sicke, and all the bodie is full of sores. From the sole of the foote to the crowne of the head, there is not any sound part. What abundance of kindnes, and eloquence, of humilitie and hautesse, of reasons and affections, is there in these fewe wordes? And how much greater should we finde them in their owne Language and in their owne accents? Truly some great learned men of our time (which thing I thinke not to be any abatement of their commendation) haue vnder-taken to make Paraphrases vpon this Prophet & others, full of goodly sentences, and humane eloquence, which haue serued fitly to giue him the greater grace. And if our Rhetoricians finde fault with those similitudes as ouer homely: I would haue them to tel me to what vse similitudes serue, but to make things clére; and what is the meane to make matters clére, but by taking similitudes from things best knowne? And what manner of ones were the Metaphors of the Romanes, but at the first rude & homely, and after ward taken from wars, and in proceesse of time taken from pleading & oratorie, according as they grew to be moze corrupted? And what else are the similitudes of Cicero himselfe in his treatise of old age, but liknings taken from husbandry and Mines, because he himselfe delighted in those things? To be short, when it cometh to the pursuing of a similitude evidently, to the setting downe of a Desolation liuely, to the reprouing of vices sharply, or to the promising of deliuerance branelly: our Prophets do set forth euery thing so naturally, so presently, so forcibly, & so liuely; as that it appeareth manifestly that they had the persons, the places, the times, and the things themselves whereof they spake, all present before their eyes: yea & that maner of inditing is common to all our Prophets vniuersally. Of all these things I require none other witnesses, than our verie despisers of God themselves, whose contempt of our Scriptures, which they neuer had leisure to read, entereth for the most part vnder this colour, that some maister of Arte which neuer read any moze than his Cicero, ne can skil to discerne what becometh either others or himselfe, hath skozned the things which he hath not the skil either to peise or to praise. From such people (say I) springeth the

Oforius the
Portingale.

the contempt of our Scriptures, specially in Italy; who being out of their Scholes are not able to say one word to the purpose, no no; scarcely so much as simply to talke. Politian (saith Viues) did altogether despise the reading of the Scriptures. Therefore let vs see what he commended. He spent his whole life in scanning whether a man should pronounce Vergilius or Virgilius; Carthagenenses, or Carthaginienses; Primus, or Preimus: and if he had any further leisure, hee spent it in making some Greeke Epigram in the commendation of Lechery and Sodomy. A grane iudgment worthy for vs to set our mindes vpon. Another called Domitius Calderinus, turned yong men from the reading of the Scriptures: but what goodly matter tooke he to occupie himself withal? Forsooth he passed his life in making a Comment vpon Virgils Priapus, a booke which all men that haue any peece of manhood in them are ashamed euen to speake of. But what greater prooue of the praise of our scriptures would we haue, than that such persons do despise them? Contrariwise, Marfilius Ficinus, and Iohn Earle of Mirandula the honour of Italy & of his age for skil in all sciences, hauing read all the good authoꝝ in the world, came at length to rest themselves in our Scriptures, and were in the end out of liking with al others; but as for these they could neuer haue their fill of them. If there were no more but the affirmation of the one, and the deniall of the other; vnto which of them I pray you ought we rather to yeelde? Nay, I dare say, and I wil maintaine it among al such as know what it is to speake to the purpose, and accordingly as may best beseme euery man; that our scriptures are written in such wise, as may most fitly beseme both God and the authoꝝ of them, and the matters that they treat of, and the parties to whom they be spoken; and that a more seemely stile than that cannot be imagined, either for God; (for he is our Prince; and it besemeth not Princes to perswade): or for the matters; for they be holy and grane, & grane matters (as saith Aristotle) should not be painted: or for the parties to whom they be spoken; for they were folke of al sorts without exception; and like as all of them were bound to beleue and obserue them, so was it behoofull that all should vnderstand them.

But now enter they into the matter, of them. The Scriptures (say they) doe tell vs things vnpossible and vncredible: more like the fond fables of Poets, than the reportes of sound Histories. I would haue them tell me to whom they be vnpossible, and to whom they be vncredible: seeing they sater them not but vpon God the maker of Heauen & Earth, to whom al things are alike easie? The Poets say that Iupiter thundreth aboue, and, that Neptune turmoyleth the Seas, & rowleth by the earth: and we know that both Iupiter and Neptune were men as we be: and therefore we say iustly that they report fables; for they sater things vpon men

Obiections concerning the vncredibleness of things in the Scriptures.

men which are about the abilitie of man to doe, and which surmounte the power of al Creatures. But when things that are impossible to Creatures, are reported of God, whose power is infinite: although men doubt whether they were done or no; yet can they not deny but that he was able to doe them. And if their suspecting of them bee because they read ſlike things in their own Fables; I haue proued already, & these things were witten long time afore they had either witters of Histories, Poets, yea or any writing at al. And therefore they ought to thinke that their Fables were deuised vpon our Histories, and their Leasings vpon our trutthes. For like as a man hath bene afore his portraiture, good Coyne afore counterfeit Coyne, a true Seale afore a forged Seale, and a true Copy afore a forgezie: so also was the true declaration of things afore Fables: according to this rule of the Philosophers, that euil hath not any being of it selfe, but in another thing, ne is properly a substance, but a corruption of a substance. Therefore we beleue not the Fables of Homere, nor the Inuentions of Euripedes and Sophocles made vpon the battel of Troy; and yet we denie not but there was a Warre of Troy. As little also do we beleue the Romanes which vaunt of the twelue Deeres of Charles the greate the King of Fraunce; and yet we doubt not but there was a greate Charles that did great things in his time, and had great store of Noble Parsonages in his seruice. To be short, had there neuer bene any Dog, Horse, Beare, or Lion in the world; neither Poets had fained, nor Painters painted vs any Cerberus, Pegasus, or Chimera. Likewise, had there not bene a trueth of things whereupon the Poets made their Fables, we shoulde not haue had at this day any Fables in the World. Let vs come to particularities. In all the whole Scripture there is not a more wonderfull thing, than the Creation of the world and of man: And if we admit those two pointes, nothing ought to seeme straunge vnto vs in the residue of the Bible. For all the miracles which we wonder at, are but sparkes of the infinite power which vttered it selfe at that time in the creating of all things. Nowe I haue proued already both by liuely reasons, and by witnesse of the auncient witters, that the world and all things therein were created, and that they were created by the onely will of God, at such time as pleased him; and that it cannot be otherwise imagined. Upon this trueth haue the Phenicians and Aegyptians fashioned their Fables; saying that in the beginning there was a darkenesse, and a spirituall Aire, and in an infinite Chaos; that this spirit couered the Chaos: and that of the coniunction of them twaine, was bred a certaine Moath, that is to say, a certaine slime, whereof all liuing things were ingendred. It cannot be denied but that this was a mistaken Copy of the holy and natue Copie witten by Moyses.

The Creation
of the world
and of Man.

Concer-

Concerning the creation of Man, the Aegyptians say he was created both Male and Female. Whereupon Plato gathereth that he was a Man-woman or Herkinalson: and the Scripture had said that God had created them Male and Female. So befallerh it properly to a Portraiture that is drawen by another. That which is taken at the liuely Image loseth a little of his nature. That which is taken at the Patterne, loseth somewhat moze; And so from one to another, they varie in the ende so farre from the very originall, that a man can scarcely finde any resemblance thereof. The fall of man hath bene proued of me by many reasons, and approued by al the Philosophers, & euen by the very feeling of our corruption, all men are inforced to confesse it. But Moyses is the onely man that setteth vs downe both the Historie and the cause thereof. Whereupon the Emperour Iulian quarreleth, thinking it strange that a Serpent should speake, which is no moze but that the diuel speake by the Serpent. And what is there herein, which befell not daily among the Gentiles? diuels, to deceiue men, speake to them from out of Images. The friend of Dodon spake out of an Oke: Phylostratus saith that an Elme spake to Apollonius of Thyane: A Riuer (saith Porphyrius) saluted Pythagoras. Euen Iulian himself and his Philosopher Maximus, heard the diuel speake in diuers voices & in diuers maners: & in al this geare there is thought to be no strangeness at al. For seeing that the diuell of himselfe is not visible to our eyes; must he not be faine to put on a borrowed shape? And if he borrowe one, why should he rather take some other shape than the shape of a Serpent? And if he speake; why should he not speake as well by the mouth of a Serpent, as of another liuing wight; and as wel of a liuing wight, as of a thing that hath no life? Say further, this creature hath a manifest figure, in that it traileth vpon the ground, & liueth of the dust: & in that we by our winding away frō God to the base and earthly things, are brought to the same point at this day.

The fall of Man.

We read of the men of the first age, that they liued seauen, eight, or nine hundred yeares: which thing some thinking to be incredible, haue imagined that those yeares were but moneths, notwithstanding that in the historie of the vniuersal floud which insued, the moneth is set down to be of eight and twentie daies, and the yeare to be twelue monethes, and that otherwise we must be faine to admit, that they begat Children at lesse than ten yeares of the Sunne. And yet is that one of the griefes which they conceiue against our Scriptures; as who would say it were not as easie vnto God to extend our lines vnto ten thousand of yeares, as to a hundred, to God I say who hath made both the life it selfe, and the yeares, and the world of yeares. Yet notwithstanding Manethon the Aegyptian, Berosus the Chaldean, Moschus, Hestizus, and Hierom, who wrote the Copies of the Phenicians, doe confirme the saying of

The age of the first men.

Moyſes concerning the firſt men. Alſo Heſiodus, Hecataus, Acufilaus, Hellanicus, and Ephorus agree therein: affirming that they were ordained to live ſo long time, as wel for to ſtudie the Sciences, as to invent the Handicrafts; and ſpecially for the finding out of Aſtronomie, becauſe (ſay they) if they had lived leſſe than ſixe hundred yeares, their obſervations had bene in vaine, becauſe the great yeare continueth ſo long. To be ſhort, the matter was ſo clere, and ſo common in all auncient Hiſtozies, that Varro paſſeth it not over as a light thing, but labourereth to yeld a cauſe thereof.

The generall
Flud.

For the puniſhment of mankind there flowed a general Flud. What Nation hath not beleued it, and what Authoz hath not ſpoken of it? Among the Aegyptians, Phenicians, Greekes, and Romanes nothing was moze common. And becauſe they had heard that it beſel in the pꝛimetime of the woꝛlde, and were ignozant in the accounts of the times; every wꝛiter of Hiſtozies did ſet it downe in the time which he thought to be of moſt antiquitie: as for example, the Thebanes referred it to the time of Ogyges; the Theſſalians to the time of Deucalion, and ſo forth of others. Moreover, in Braſilie, in the newe Spayne, and in the Florida, the beſe thereof is common, and all of them impute it to mans ſinne, and to the wꝛath of the higheſt powꝛed out vpon mankind. But let vs come yet to moze particular points. God commaunded Noah to make an Arke for the ſauing of himſelfe and his houſholde, and for the preſeruing of the ſeede of the woꝛlde there. And he reckoneth vnto vs al the whole length, breadth and depth thereof: which is a pꝛoofe that he had the truth it ſelfe, whereof the reſidue had but the ſame. Yet notwithstanding, Alexander Polyhiſtor, and Abydene do wꝛite, that Saturne ſetold vnto Xyſuthrus the flud ere it came; and that he made him an Arke, to ſaue all kinde of Cattell with him: That he preſerved his holy wꝛitings by ingrauing them in certaine pillers at Heliopolis in Aegypt, and ſailed in his Arke towards Armenie: that after certain daies he ſent forth certaine Birds, which found no dꝛie ground: that at the end of certaine other daies, he ſent out certaine other Birds: and that in the end perceiuing dꝛie land, he came downe out of the Arke in Armenie, where (by their ſaying) the remnants of the Arke are diligently kept by the Inhabitants, who helpe themſelues with it in many diſeaſes. And their talking of Saturne is according to the maner of the Greekes, who ſuſmied the Iewes to haue woꝛſhipped Saturne, becauſe they kept holy the ſeventh day. And it may be that Xyſuthrus may in the Aſſyrian tong betoken as much a Noe, who in diuers places had diuers names as we read. Pꝛertheleſſe, this difference ſerueth vs for a pꝛoofe, becauſe we ſee it is not a ſimple ſuppoſall, but a firme tradition from the father to the ſon. The ſame thing is repoꝛted by Berofus, not the counterſet Berofus, but the

Alexander Po-
lyhiſtor.
Abydenus al-
leged by Cy-
rill in his firſt
booke againſt
Iulian.

Iosephus in
his firſt booke
of his antiqui-
ties, cap. 3.

the same Berofus whom the aunient wryters alledge; and by Ierom the Aegyptian, Mnafeas the Phenician, and others. ~~Yea~~ and they adde further, that the place where Noe came downe out of the Arke was called Saleh Noah, in Greke ~~and~~ *Salomon*, that is to say Noes comming downe; and that it was a certaine Mountaine called Baris or Paropanifus, which according to their language at that time) seemeth to come al to one. Also Plutarke speaketh expressely of the Doue that Deucalion sent out of the Arke to seeke drye land: and Phauorinus and Stephanus speake of the place where the Arke rested; which cannot be vnderstood of any particular flud of Thessalie, which doubtlesse was contriued out of the other vniuersall flud. Now therefore not knowing what to replie in this behalfe, they picke a quarrel at the measure of the Arke, Imagining it hard for God to doe that which they themselves can not doe. But besides that the Arke was a figure of the Church whereinto all Nations should one day be gathered and saued; Origen sheweth to Celsus the Epicure by the Geometricall Cubit, that it was of a marueilous greatnesse and capacitie. And Buteon a Mathematicke declareth expressely in a booke, what it contained sorte by sorte. To be short, sith we reade that the flud was vniuersall, considering that that could not be but by Gods appointment, who notwithstanding intended to saue those that were his: the sight of such a myracle ough to make all the residue credible, without alledging of measures in a power which is without measure. For whereas some will needs impute that flud to a certaine great Coniunction of Planets which was at that time; I send them to the Earle of Mirandula, who not onely, proueth that there was not then any greate Coniunction at all, but also that although there had bene one, yet they coulde not assigne it to the named point; but rather that by their owne rules the Coniunction was such at that time, that it betokened rather an vniuersall burning than an vniuersall drowning of the world.

In his treatise
th at beastes
are capable of
reason.

John Picus
Earle of Mi-
randula a-
gainst Astro-
logers.

At the going away of this flud, the Scripture telleth vs of a Ham or Cham which discovered the shame of Noe his father. The Chaldees say it was Zoroastres, who woulde with his Charmes haue made him barren. The Greeks after them fained their Iupiter Hammon to haue gelded him. Thus turned they the historie into a fable. Likewise Iaphet is none other than the Iapetus of y Poets, who toke the renewing of the world after the flud, for the verie first creation thereof. Then folloiweth consequently the confusion of the tongues. It is a verie clere case that languages are to no vse, but in respect of the diuersitie of them; insomuch that there were no more but one in al the world, it were mere fondnesse to knowe any more than that. Wheretoze like as reason hath led vs to one first man; so ought it also to leade vs to one first language; which was but one alone; like as there was but one man alone with

Cham;

The confu-
sion of tongues
or languages.

his wife. If the diuersitie of them consisted as now, but in propretie of phrases and forme of wordes, it might be said that they had bene altered by processe of time. But it is wel knowne that there are many Languages, whose verie originall wordes are farre diuers and utterly unlike one another, saving in some fewe wordes that haue bene brought out of other Countries by Travellers and trade of Marchandise, which haue euerywhere retained still the same names they had in the place from whence they came. We wil say then that men inuented them when they conueyed Inhabiters abroade to people other Countries. But what a vanitie had that bene? What life of man could haue sufficed to do it? What benefit could haue ensued of it, either to the inuenter them- selues, or to their followers? Nay, who seeth not that it had bene a pub- like miserie? not a knowledge, but an ignorance; not a pleasure, but a hell to posteritie? Certesse, we say therefore that reason leaueth vs to that which the scripture saith; namely, that at the beginning there was but one language: That the diuiding of languages came not of men, but that the diuiding of men came of the diuision of Languages: & that it was not a deuice of men (who at that time were sufficiently occupied in the needful knowledge of nature, and in the finding out of profitable Arts & Sciences) but a punishment cast of God vpon mankind. Let vs see how the auncient writers do further these reasons. The common opinion is (say Abydenus and Alexander) that men being bred of the earth, and trusting in their owne strength, would needs in the despite of the Gods goe reare a Tower vp to the Sunne, in the same place where Ba- bylon now is: and that when they had raised it verie high, the Gods ouerthrew it and cast it downe vpon their heades with a great winder: and that at that time began the diuersitie of Languages: whereupon, the Hebrewes called that place Babel. Of these things speaketh Sybil also in her verses in the selfesame termes. And Hestias & Eupolemus do adde, that the Priestes which scaped fro thence, gat themselves with the mysteries of their Iupiter (the same was either Nemrod or Iupiter Bele) into the plaine of Sennar, fro the which place men departing by reason of the confusion of tongues, began to seuer themselves abroad to people the rest of the world. Were it pleaseth Julian to fall to scoffing. For (saith he) a great sort of such globes as the whole earth is, being heaped one v- po another, were not able to reach halfway to the Sphere of the Moone. But the reason of this enterprize of theirs is euident, namely & their in- tent was to haue had a refuge against & height of the waters, if any flood should come againe, that is to say, to make a bank against Gods wrath, which it had bene better for the to haue pacified by prayer. But this pride of theirs is not to be thought so strange a matter, considering how we read in the histories of & Greeks, that our Xerxes sent letters of defiance

Alexander Po-
lyhistor.
Abydenus.
Sybilla.
Euseb. lib. 9.
cap. 4. de prx-
par.

Genes. 11-

to the Sea: and in the Histories of the Romanes, that one Caligula undertooke a quarrell against Iupiter. And Iulian himselfe was not a whit wiser, when he would needs take vpon him to impeach the kingdome of God, by prohibiting the Christians to read Poets. And whereas Celsus will needs beare himselfe on hand, that the said History was taken out of the fable of the Aloides: all men know that Homer was the first Autho^r of that Fable, who came a long time after Moyse. And in good sooth, these particularities of the confounding of Tongues, of the despersing of men abroade, of the place where it befell, of the naming of Phaleg who was bozne at the verie time of the diuision, and such other circumstances; do evidently shew that Moyse speaketh not at rours: whereof there is also this further p^{ro}of, that the Originals of Nations according to the diuiding of households at that time, are not read of in any other Autho^r.

As vaine also is this saying of theirs, that the burning v^of Sodom is taken from the tale of Phaeton, which is in date as far from it as Heauen is from the Earth. For euen at this day there are yet stil to be seene the remainders of Gods w^{ra}th, noted by Strabo, Galen, Mela, & others: namely the bitter Lake wherin nothing can liue; the banks thereof liued with Bitumen; the stones stinking & filthy; the trees bearing fruits faire to the eie, but falling to Cinder & smoke in the hand; which things we read not of to haue bene seene any where else, and yet in a valley most beautiful to behold, wherestw at that time stue Cities, or according to Strabo thirtene, which were al consumed with fire for sin against nature. And Iosephus saith that the image or pillar of salt wherunto Loths wife was turned, was to be seene there euen in his daies. These are the greatest wonders of the booke of Genesis. The residue thereof consisteth in the History of Abraham and of his childzen. As for the Princes of those daies, we haue neither pedigree nor history of them among the heathen writers: & therfore it is the more to be wondered at, y they haue spoken of our shepherds. For Berofus saith that about a ten generations or descents from the vniuersal flood, there was among the Chaldees a great man that excelled in Astronomie. And that by him Berofus ment to betoken Abraham, Eupolemon declareth: for he saith that in the said tenth generation, Abraham was bozne in Camerine a towne of Babylonic, or therwise called Vr or Caldeopole; who inuented Astronomy among the Chaldees, & was in the fauour of God, by whose commandement he removed into Phenice, where he taught the course of the Moone, of y Sun, & of the Planets, wherby he greatly pleased the King: notwithstanding that he saith he had receiued it from hand to hand from Enoch, whom the Greeks (saith he) called Atlas, vnto whom the Angels had taught many things. Also he rehearseth the Battel that was made by Abraham for the

Sodom.
Galen in his
booke of
simples.
Pausanias in
his Eliaks.
Solinus in his
Polyhistor.
Tacitus in his
last booke.

Eusebius. li. 9.
de prepar.
Cap. 4.
Eupolemus in
his booke of
the Iewes.
Abraham and
his race.

Artabanus in
his Historie of
the Iewes.
Melon against
the Iewes.

recovery of Loth, the intertainment of Melchisedek, the ouerthrowtes that Abraham indured for Sara his wife in Aegypt, and the plague that God did cast upon Pharao to make him to deliuer her to Abraham againe. And Artabanus in his storie of the Iewes reporteth almost the selfe same thinges; adding, that of Abraham the Iewes were called Hebrews wherein the nearnesse of the names deceiued him. Melon in his booke against the Iewes, wrate that Abraham had two wiues: and that by the one of them which was an Aegyptian, he had twelue children, among whom Araby was parted, which euen in his time had twelue kings still: (Those were the twelue Sonnes of Ismael the Sonne of Abraham by Agar the Aegyptian, which are set downe by name in Genesis.) And that by the other (which was a woman of the Countrey of Syria,) he had but onely one sonne named Isaac, who likewise had twelue Sonnes, of whom the yongest was called Ioseph, of whom Moyse (saith he) descended. Also Alexander setteth forth Abrahams sacrifice at length & the children that he had by Chetura. And in his historie he alledgeth one Cleodemus a Prophet, otherwise called Malchas, whom he affirmeth to agree with Moyse in the historie of the Iewes. Againe, Hecataus the Abderite hauing bene in Iewrie, did purposely make a booke of Abrahams life, which thing he had not of his owne maister King Alexander. To be short, that which Orpheus saith of a certaine Chaldee vnto whom onely God manifested himselfe, seemeth to be spoken of Abraham. For he had bene conuersant in Aegypt, where the renowne of Abraham was so great, that euen in their coniurings they made expresse mention of the God whom Abraham had worshipped. The same Alexander writeth the fleeing of Iacob for feare of his brother Esau; his abode in Mesopotamia; his seauen yeares seruice; his marrying with two Sisters; the number of his children; the rauishing of Dina; the slaughter of Sichem; & likewise the selling of Ioseph; his imprisonment, his deliuerance for expounding of dreames. His authority in Aegypt; his marrying with Askeneth the daughter of Petheser the highpriest; his two sonnes by name which were borne of her; the comming of his brothers into Aegypt; the feast that he made them; the due partes which he gaue to Benjamin (whereof this Historiographer intendeth to yelde a reason) the comming of Iacob and of his whole household into Aegypt; of what age every of them was; and how many children every of them had. And so he bringeth vs downe from Noa to the flood, from the flood to Abraham, from Abraham to Leue, and from Leue to Moyse; howbeit euer among with faulces in reporting the things done, with differences in accounting the yeares, and with some additions of small importance here and there; which serue to shewe that he had not those Histories immediately out of the Bible, but out of some other booke which he had seene elsewhere.

elsewhere. The selfesame things did Theodorus conueise into his Poetrie: and likewise Philo Biblius, Nicholas of Damasco, Aristæus, and others. Of whom this latter made a peculiar description of the storie of Iob, how he was tempted as wel by the diuel as by his neighbours; affirming him to haue bene the Sonne of Esau dwelling in the marches betwene Idumea and Araby, which thing he could not haue red in the Scripture. To be short, the places which beare the name of Abraham both in Damasco, in Chaldee, and in the land of Chanaan; and of Ioseph in Aegypt, together with the Wel of wonderfull antiquitie neare to Ascalon, do giue vs assurance both of their abode in Palestine, and of their removing into Aegypt. And Manethon the Historiographer of Aegypt setteth vs downe their originall, and their comming downe into Aegypt, terming them in his language Sepeherokings, which was, because that as we reade in the Scriptures, their wealth consisted in Cattell. But of all these auncient wyters we haue but fragments, such as we could gather together out of the auncient Authoꝝ.

Now let vs come to Moyse. Alexander saith that he was the son of Amram the sonne of Elar, the sonne of Leuie, the sonne of Iacob, and so forth: that is to say, a naturall Israelite and not an Aegyptian. But let vs heare Artabanus concerning his first comming vp, and the discourse of his whole life. He saith that Meris the sonne of Kenephris King of Aegypt, being unable to haue childꝝen, adopted a childe of the Iewes called Moyse, and instructed him in the lawes; who after ward gaue letters to the Aegyptians, and was reputed of them as a God and named Mercurie: That Kenephris being enuious of his reputation, sent him into the warres against the Ethiopians, with an armie of Iewes vntrained, to the intent that both he and they might haue perished together: And that Moyse demeaned himselfe so wisely, that the Ethiopians being overcome, had him in such estimation, that they receiued Circumcision of him: That at his returne, great countenance was made vnto him, howbeit that he perceiuing it to be done vpon an euill minde, withdrew himself into Arabie, where he married the daughter of Raguel a King of that Countrie: In the which meane time, the King of Aegypt that had oppressed the Iewes with so many toyles and (to the intent he might the more safely kill them) had appointed them a certaine Tuerie; died very suddenly of a Leaprosie. These things are not reported by Moyse; so; he wrote not any thing to the aduancement of himselfe; but treated altogether of Gods victories, and not of his owne. But in the selfesame Authoꝝ there followeth the calling of Moyse. This Moyse (saith he) was occupied in continuall praier to God for the deliuerance of the people: And one day as he was earnest in praying, there issued a fire out of the earth, where was not any fit matter to burne,

Artabanus
concerning
the Iewes.

and a voice told him that he should deliuer the Iewes and bring them in-
to their Countrey. Whereupon without raising of any force, hee by the
counsell of his wiues father, declared the will of God to the King, who
by and by committed him to prison. But the prison doores were opened
vnto him by miracle, and he went to the kings bedside, and summoned
him againe to obey God. And when the King had asked him the name of
the God, Moyses told it him in his eare, whereat he fel into a swoound, but
Moyses raised him vp againe by the hand, and the Priestes that made a
scoffe at it died out of hand. He declareth afterward that the King re-
quired signes, and that Moyses turned his Staffe into a Serpent: That
he smote the riuer of Nyle and made it to ouerslowe: That he strake it
againe, and it returned within his bankes: That therupon the Priests
of Memphis, were commaunded to doe the like matter vpon paine of
their life, and that they by Arte Magike brought forth a Dragon, and
chaunged the colour of the riuer: by meanes whereof the King became
so proude, that he hardened his heart against the Iewes: That then Moy-
ses smote the earth with his rod, and the earth brought forth first ve-
nemens Flies, next Frogges, then Grasshoppers, and afterward other
strange things: Whereupon (saith this Historiographer) there hath
growen a custome of keeping and reuerencing a Rod in their Temples
euer since, because they holde opinion that Isis is the Earth, which being
stricken with that Rod, brought forth those things. In the ende there
was (saith he) such an Earthquake ouer al Aegypt, that the King deter-
mined to let that people goe. But in this point the Priestes disagree. For
the Priestes of Memphis say that Moyses marking the tide passed the Sea
at a low water. But the Priestes of Heliopole say, that the Kings intent
was to pursue the Israelites to recouer the Jewels which they caried a-
way with them out of Aegypt, and that Moyses being warned of God
strake the Sea, which gaue place to him and all his people, and that the
Aegyptians were partly destroied with thunder and lightening & partly
drowned in the same waters. When they were passed the Sea, they liued
thirtie yeares in the wilderness and were fed with a certaine Snowe,
which GOD did raine downe vpon them from Heauen. And this
Moyses was a man of a tall stature, browne, with long heire on his
heade and a longe bearde, and a countenance full of maiestie; and
when he did all this worke of his, he was fowrescore and nine yeares
olde. Wee reade the same things written by Demetrius and Eupo-
lenus Graeke Historiographers, whodoe adde many particularities
more: and Manethon nameth the King Techmosis vnder whome
these things were done. Also Numenius the Pythagorist saith, that
he had reade the life of Moyses in Histories worthe of credite: and
he rehearseth howe he was taken out of the water; howe hee was
brought

brought by in y Court. that afore he was Circumcised, he was called Iehoiachim, howbeit that by report of such as professed the knowledge of mysteries, he had a secret name in heauen. to wit Melchir; that he wrought great miracles before the King of Aegypt, & that certaine Magicians called Iannes & Iambres would haue don y like: which are things y are not set down in our Scriptures, but must needs be had of them out of the holy Registers of Aegypt. And in very deed, in y Coniurations of the Aegyptians, they vsed these words to the Demils, The God of Israell, the God of the Hebrues, the God that drowned the Aegyptians with their King in the red Sea: which sheweth evidently that the matter was commonly known and out of all doubt. And I remember not any Autho; that denieth Moyles to haue conueyed the people of Israell out of Aegypt with great myzacles. For soothly it had bin a miracle of all myzacles, to haue made them to suffer so many aduersities without myzacles. But yet some Autho; haue attributed those myzacles to Magicks and other some to naturall reasons. Where is sayth Plinie a kind of Magicke, which dependeth vpon Moyles and the Cabale; but yet had Magicke neuer so great scope (sayth he) as vnder Nero, neither was it euer found to be moze feeble and vaine. And in tructh, what likenesse is there betwene the Illusions of a Magician, which vanish away in the twinkling of an eye, and the leading of a mightie great Nation through the Sea, and (which moze is) the mayntayning of them from hunger and thirst so long a time? But yet hath the Scripture provided against this slander. For no lawe els in the world doth so expressely forbid Magick, as doth the lawe of Moyles: and the Cabale whereof Plinie had hard speake, is further off from such doings, than either Arithmetike or Grammar. And whereas others doe report, that Moyles marked the ebbing of the water that he might passe the red Sea: surely they make the counsell of the Aegyptians very grossewitted, in casting themselves away so rashly. Nay I say further, that if it had bene so, the waters that drowned the one people would not haue spared the other. But every man knowes that the Gulfe of Arabie is not subiect to such tydes as those are: and though it were, yet cannot the like caull take place in all the residue of the miracles that are attributed vnto him. As vnneste also to be admitted, is the slander of Iustine the Histoziographer & others, that Moyles was driven out of Aegypt because he was a Leaper and that he caried all the Leapers of the Realme away with him. For it is a chere case by record of all auncient wryters, that the people whom he caried away, was a straunger in Aegypt: and when he himselfe rehearseth openly the benefites which that people had receiued at Gods hand. You knowe (sayth he) that there hath not ben any sickness or discafe among you, since the time yon came out of Aegypt. And

Secundum
Mystras.

Origine a-
gainst Celsus
lib. 4.

Moyles his
myzacles

In seecke of
Cabala, Plinie
hath lo-
cabala.

And on the contrarie part he menaceth them with Plagues, Byles, and Botches of Aegypt, if they offended God. Insomuch that whereas in any other ancient Lawes, there is no mention made of any order for them, they are infected with the Leperous: in this Law (as though God had meant to prevent that slander) they be separated from the companie of men, their clothes are to be layd away, their houses to be scraped, & certeine other things are to be done, which is a sufficient proofe, that those which governed that people and had authoritie over them, were no Leapers.

Exod. 12

The number
of the chil-
dren of Israel.

This people went out of Aegypt and the scripture saith that they were Six hundred thousand men on foot, besides women and Children. Where agayne they crye out: They were but threescore and ten when they went into Aegypt, and how then is it possible that they should be so many at their going out? I will not alledge any miraculosity, though the Scriptures declare that that people increased very greatly, in so much that it termeth them by the word Frye, as though it spake of fishes. But I beseeche them to make somewhat a nearer reckoning, not with the largest, but after the ordinarie maner, what number might rise of threescore and ten persons in foure hundred yeeres or thereabouts, which was the time that they were in Egypt, & they shall finde their full number afoze they come to two hundred & fiftie yeeres. After the same maner do we see that Threescore households of Arabians, passing into Affrica in the time of the diuision vnder Calis, had peopled it throughout in lesse than three hundred yeeres: insomuch that euen at this day, the Provinces beare the names of Beni Megher, Beni Guariten, Beni Fenscar and so forth; that is to say the children of Megher, of Guariten, and of Fenscar. And there was not that Familie which peopled not some one Shire or other. Also the West Indies which haue not bin knowen vnto vs aboue one hundred yeeres, wil within one hundred mo be peopled with Spanyards. To be short, Viues saith, he saw an honest man in Spaine, which had peopled a village of a hundred houses with the issue of his own body, so as y names of kindred failed. And this present yere there dyed a noble Ladie in Germanie, which had seen a hundred & threescore children borne of her self & hers; and yet the one half of her children dyed afoze they were married: and those that are married are of age to haue many mo. Their saying therefore betwixteth a manifest ignorance, like as theirs doth who being ignorant of progresio in Arithmetick, will easely bargain for a horse or some other thing, to giue euery day double for it during a whole moneth, beginning with a penny: who by y time that they come but to the middest of the moneth, begin to perceiue that which no reason could haue beaten into their heads afoze, namely that all the goods they haue, are not able to serue the turne.

Iosua

After Moyses succeeded Iosua, who brought the people into the promi-

sed

fed Land, so as the Chananites did partly flie before him, and partly were made tributaries vnto him. He that shall read the voyage of this people from iourney to iourney, and consider the bounds and coasts of their portions; wil by & by indge the truth of the storie. But yet Procopius in his historie of the Vandales, leaueth vs a notable marke thereof in these words. Al the Country (saith he) which lieth from Sidon to Aegypt, was in old time called Phenice; and they that wrote the History of the Phenecians, report that in old time it was all vnder one onely King. In these coastes dwelt the Gergefites, Ilebustites and other nations who at such time as they sawe the great army of Iosua comming towards them, remoued into Aegypt. But with in a while after, because that Country could not beare them, they passed into Africke, where they buylded many Cities and peopled the whole Countrey euen to the Pillers of Hercules, and their language is halfe Phenecian. Also in Numidy (among other Cities) they builded Tinget, the seat whereof is very strong, where are two Pillers of white stone to be seene nere vnto a great Fountain, wherein are grauen these words in the Phenician tongue; we be those that fled from the Robber Iosua the sonne of Nun, Such (saith he) is the original of those Nations, whom we call at this day Maurusians. And Eupolemus saith that Iosua prophesied a hundred and ten yeres, and placed the Tabernacle in Silo. From thence he leapeth to Samuel, and from Samuel to Saul, whom he affirmeth to haue bin anointed at Gods commandment, and so to Dauid, whom (taking the one for the other) he calleth the sonne of Cis.

Procopius in his second book of the warres of the Vandals.

Saule. Dauid.

But betwene Iosua & Saul, we haue the time of the Iudges, in the storie of whome some haue marked, that the mightie doedes of Hercules are sayned out of the doings of Sampson, and the botwe of Agamemnon out of the bow of Iephtha. Dauid (saith the same Autho) subdued the Ammonites, Moabites, Itureans, Nabatheans and other nations that extend vnto the Riner Euphrates, and made the King of Tyre and the Phenicians tributarie to him. Afterward an Angel called Nathan shewed him the place where the Temple should be builded, for the which he prepared workemen and rigged forth Shippes at the Citie of Melan in Araby & sent them to an Ile of the red sea called Vrphen, fro whence he fetched great quantitie of Gold, Copper, Cedarwood and such other things. Notwithstanding (saith hee) the Angell would not that hee should buyld the Temple, because he had bene steined with bloud in the warres, and so that worke was reserved to Salomon his Sonne, who came to the Crowne at the age of twelue yeres. And of how great riches Dauid was, it may appeare by his tombe wherein after the custome of those times, he did lay vp great treasures. For about an eyghthundred yeres after, Hircanus being assailed by Antiochus the godly, took 3000

The scripture of the Prophet.

Iosephus lib. Antiquit. 15. Cap. 16. & lib. 16. cap. 11. &c. of the Iewish warres. lib. 5. cap. 2.

Talents

Salomon.

Iosephus in
his antiqui-
ties. li. 8. ca. 2.
Euseb. lib. 9
ca. 4.

Plutarke in his
feast of seven
sages.

Iosephus li. 8.
cap. 2.

The historie
of Ethiop.
Makeda.

Talents out of one vault to content him withall. And within a while after, Herod opened another vault and found as much there. What notable things read we of Salomon? First his building of the Temple, which is described (saith Iosephus) as well in the Chronicles of the Tyrians, the Competitors of the Iewes, as in ours. And in their Treasurie are kept the Letters of Salomon to Hiram King of Tyre, & Hiram's letters vnto him; which make mention of the great number of Carpenters that Hiram sent vnto him: of the order that Salomon took for the finding of them by imposts, and of the Contribution that euery Province made to that end; which things are reported at length by Eupolemus also, and likewise by Alexander Polyhistor, Hecataeus the Abderite, Dius a Phenician, and diuers others, yea, and that so particularly and with such care, as that there is not that measure, vessel, tole or instrument of the Temple, which they haue not noted, which thing wee read not that they haue don in the behalfe of any of their own Temples. Yea & the Tyrians do note the very yere & the day thereof in their Chronicles; to wite, that it was an hundred sortie & thre yeres & eight moneths afore their building of Carthage. Secondly, the Scripture maketh great commendations of Salomons wisdom; insomuch that the Quene of Saba came from a farre to see him. And we reade in Plutarke, that it was a custome among the Kings of old time, to put questions one to another, to trye the abilitie of their wittes, and that a certeine praise was appoynted for him that wonne the victorie. And Dius an Historiographer of the Phenicians, rehearseth the Riddles and Questions that Salomon sent to King Hiram, saying that it cost Hiram very much because he was not able to assoyle them, vntil at length he found a yong man of Tyrus named Abdemon, who deciphered vnto him the most part of them. And as touching the Quene of Saba who came from the Ile of Meroe to see Salomon, the Chronicles of Aethiope reporte that her name was Makeda, and that she had a sonne by Salomon, which was named first Meilich, and afterward David, whome she made her Heir of that greate Empire which we now adayes do call Prester Johns Land. Likewise it reporteth that she caried with her twelue thousand Iewes, of euery Trybe a thousand. And because the noblest men of that Countrie, do vaunt themselves to be of the blood of Israel; although they haue receiued the Gospell, yet do they retaine Circumcision; not that they thinke it necessarie to saluation (say they,) but to keepe still the prerogative of their blud.

What remayneth yet further? The Sailing of Salomons Shippes, which lasted thre yeres and that seemeth vnto them incredible. And so by that rule, let vs alwaies be at this poynt neuer by our good willes to beleue that which we vnderstand not. But who is he at this day whom the

the Spaniards & Portugals have not persuaded that : Specially the Portugals, which are a yere & eight monethes a making their voyage, notwithstanding that they have both the use of the Compasse, and better knowledge of the Seas, & more certaine Harbours, & a shorter cut. And surely it is not to be passed over lightly, that the gold y^e was brought home by the said Navigations, is called in Hebreu in the dual number Paruaim, as if a man would saye, brought from the Perous, or from the Indies as wel the East Indies as the West Indies, as a certaine learned man of our time hath noted. So is the wood Brazill called by the name of the countrie of Brasil from whence it is brought: and Machoachan y^e drug, by the name of Machoacan the countrie, and so forth of other things. For as touching the Navigation to the Indies by the red Sea, it was once common, both to employ so much time about it, and also to make so great a matter of it.

In the Histories of the Kings following, the chiefe things that are to be marked, are the thre remouings away of the tenne Tribes of Israel, the first vnder Phacee the Sonne of Romelia & Oseas Kings of Israel, by Tiglath Phalassar & Salinanasar Kings of y^e Assyrians. The maner whereof was that the Israelites were caried away into farre countries, (specially the best sort of them,) & other Nations were placed there in their stead. For the Israelites were conueyed thence into Media, and receiued the uninhabited Countries to dwell in, & of them came partly the Chelchians who in the time of Herodotus caused themselves to be circumcised; and partly the Tartarians, who about the yere of our Lord 1200, ouerwhelmed the earth like a watersud vnder the leading of Cingi, & after ward did set vp the Empire of the great Cham. And in verie deede they were Circumcised also: they euer heard of Mahomet: and they yielded willingly to go to his Law, so much the rather because it seemed to hold of theirs. And the word Tartars or Totars signifieth Remnants or Leauings in the Syrian tongue. Merily euen among the Hordes of the Tartars, in the furthest part Southward, there are which haue retained still the names of Dan, Zabulon and Nephtali: and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that there be so many Jewes in Rulsie, Sarmatia, and Lithuania, and so the nearer to the Tartarians still the more. The same hath no lesse likelihood of truth concerning the Turkes. For the worde Turk in Hebreu, signifieth banished men, & is take in way of reproch. And it is very likely, that Mahomet to eschue y^e offending of those so great Nations, which at that time began to awake, held still Circumcision, and the Cleanings, and the Ceremonies of Moyses Lawe.

As touching the remouing away to Babylon, which was peculiarly of the tribe of Iuda: Alexander Polyhistor saith expressly, that in the time of Ioachim King of Iuda, Ieremie was sent vnto them from God,

1. Chron. 3.

Gilbert Genebrand in his Chronologie.

The remouings of the ten Tribes.
1. King. 15.

2. King. 17.
4. Esdras. 13.

Herodotus li. 4.

The Deliv-
rance by
Cyrus.

Iosephus in
his Antiquitie
lib. 8. cap. 4.

1. Kings. 14.
Herodotus
li. 2.

1. Kings. 18.

Diodorus li. 3.

Esay. 38.
Denis in his
Hierarchie.

to forgettell them of extreme calamitie, because they worshipped an Idol called Baal; Ioachim commanded him to be burned quick; and that Ieremie said further, that the King of Assyria should make them labour to digge a Channell to saile out of Euphrates into Tygris: and that vpon that hope Nabuchodonozor putting himselfe in Armes with all his power, spoiled Samaria, toke Hierusalem, and led away Ioachim prisoner. The same thing is witnessed by Diocles, and likewise namely by Berosus the Chaldean, who saith that the saide captiuitie indured thre score yeeres and ten. Alpheus addeth that Megasthenes an auncient Author writeth, that Nabuchodonozor at his returne home, was stricken with madnesse, and dyed crying incessantly to the Babylonians, that a great mischiefe was nere them, which all the power of their Gods could not stay. For (quoth hee) a Halfeasse of Persia shall come and make vs his thralles. The man that he spake of was Cyrus; who (as Alexander Polyhistor and Hecateus the Abderite do witness) builded vp the Temple of Hierusalem againe.

As concerning Sesakes boiage against Roboam, Herodotus speaketh euidently enough, albeit that he name him not, declaring that he crept vpon his belly to Aegypt, Syria, and Palestine. And the storie of Sennacherib is there vnder that selfesame name, and how he was slaine at his comming home, and that an Image was set vp vnto him with this inscription, Learne by meto feare God, for a memoriall of Gods iudgement against him. Moreover, Menander an Ephesian made mention in his Tyrian Historie, of the great Drought that was in the time of Achab, and of the abundance of raine that was obtained by the prayers of Helias: after the imitation whereof, the Greekes fained the like of Aeacus. And Iosephus witnesseth that he had read the storie of Ionas in many Commentaries; the which is rise in remembrance yet stil among the Arabians of Affrike. And as touching the greatnes of Niniue, it is described fully alike in Diodorus.

The token that God gaue to Ezechias by making the Sunne to retire backe certeine degrees, was registred in the Chronicles of the Babylonians, and of the Wisesmen of Persia; the which token (some say, e not without some ground) was giuen so vnto him, because he delighted in Astronomie, and had reformed the Hebrew Calender. But many auncient bookes are lost, which might tell vs much more of these matters. Neuerthelesse, I would faine haue these controllers of our Scriptures, to tell mee if they haue any Historie among the Heathen, that hath more witnesses of the trewnesse thereof, than the Historie of the Iewes. And whether any, euen of the greatest Emperres of the worlde, be so confirmed by the Histories of friends, as the Historie of that little Nation is confirmed by his enemies.

And

And whereas they object, that we see no such myracles in our daies: I wil pꝛoue vnto them in another place, y the like haue bene seene, since which haue pꝛoceded from the same power. But it is enough for me at this time to put them in remembrance, that if true myracles had not bene wrought in the world, we should not haue had so manie false myracles among the Heathen. Nay I say moze, we should not haue soe much as the very name of Myracle, which could not haue bene giuen at the first, but to things that excede the abilitie of man, yea and of all other Creatures, as things rightly worthe of that name.

Now remaine the Absurdities which they wil needes find, because they vnderstand not the reason. That law of yours (say they) stands talking of Beastes, of Pastures, of Dren that dosse with their hoznes, and of such other things. These are to base things for the word that pꝛocedeth from G O D. Why say they not likewise, that they were to base things for God to create? And wherefoze are Lawes made, but for the benefit of man? And although they might seme vyle in respect of God, can they deny them to haue bene profitable in respect of men, at that time when men for the most part liued by grazing? But of these nice fellows I would know what the Lawes of Plato were, and what the Lawes of the twelue Tables were, at such time as the Romanes were Tilmen and Graziers: or what the Lawes of Venecce were, when they were but Fishers: Yet doe we reuerence those Lawes for their antiquitie: insomuch that if we find but some old fragment of them, we thinke we haue a Jewell: the Emperours of Rome being in their cheif glorie, rased no out of their Digests the Lawes that begin thus, If Cattell: nor the Venetians their Statutes of Fishing: nor the Frenchmen their ordinances of Hunting and Hawking; which might in manie Countries seme matters to be laughed at in our daies, and yet there were even then which caried them into other Countries, as necessarie to appease strifes in their due time and place. To be short, as long as Rome was champion ground, it made Lawes against the harmes of Cattell. But when it fell once to building, it made Lawes for Cutters, Channels and Sinks. When it began to seeke the ruine of other men, it made Lawes of Battell, of Warfare, and of the sacking of Cities. And when it list to destroy it selfe, it made Lawes of Rebellions, prescriptions and banishments. All the which were alike behoofull and necessarie in their times: and the first Lawmakers were no lesse honozed than the latter: howbeit that the state of the Commonweale was worse and moze corrupted in the latter time than in the other, because that whereas in the former times it had to do but with the repressing of Beasts, in y latter times it had to deale with the bridling of men worse than wild Beastes, or to speake moze truely, men that were become wood beastes theselues.

Obiections
concerning
Absurdities.

They

They adde, God (say you) created al things: and yet notwithstanding Moyses deuounceth some beastes to be cleane & some vncleane. Whereto may these be good? They ought to consider, that oftentimes the things which of themselves are cleane, become vncleane by the abuse of them, like as the thing that is good and wholesome by nature, becommeth euill and vnwholsome by excesse or surfeiting. And in that respect hath Wine bin prohibited among many people, and there are fewe which haue not abhorred some Beastes or others; after which manner wee see that at Rome, such as had murdered their fathers or their mothers, were put into a Sacke with an Ape, a Cock, and a Vipser, and cast into the water; a thing whercof it were vneasse to yeld a reason. But the saide law of Moyses, not being vnprofitable, ne tending any higher than this present life, did not without cause put a difference betwene brute things. For if we looke well to it, it denounceth all those brute things vncleane, whereby the Aegyptians made their diuinations or took their soyetokens, as the Wolfe, the Foxe, the Dragon, the Hare, the Sparrehanke, the Ryle & so forth. And that was to make the people of Israell to abhorre the vanities and abominations of Aegypt; like as if a man would keepe his children from fire, he would prohibite them euen the Chimney. And because those abuses were knowne among them, the end & aiming point of that Lawe, was the redress of them. And therefore vpon this poynt, I desire our despisers to suspend their iudgement in the things they vnderstand not. For as in that time no fault was found with this difference in the Lawe of Moyses, so should no fault be found with many others at this day: if we could set before vs the same time againe. I omit concerning the things that liued vpon pray, that ouer and besides that men took soyetokens at them, they had this doctrine in them without much stepping aside from the letter, that men should not take away one anothers godes. And as touching the Swyne, it is wel knowne that for the inuention of Tillage which he shewed to the Aegyptians by working by the ground with his groyne, they worshipped him as a God, in consideration whereof he was declared to be abhominable: besides the which thing, there appeared this euident allegorie, that men should not bemicke them selues in the dirt and dung of this world.

As for the Sacrifices, I haue touched them heretofore, and will treat of them moze at large hereafter, so much as they did put men bouerly in remembrance of death due for sinne, and of the necessitie of a sacrifice to cleanse away the same, namely of the sacrifice of Iesus Christ then to come, which should serue for the cleansing of all mankind. But admit that God to bring vs to obedience, had list to giue vs Lawes whereof we could not conceiue the reason? What is it moze than many Princes and Lawmakers haue done, as Plutarke saith? Or than we our selues do

to

Origena.
gainst Celsus
lib. 4.

to our Children and Seruants: And yet who will thinke it meete that they should aske vs a reason why we do so: Surely I desire no more, but that they which come to our Scriptures, should yeld at leastwise the like regarde that they yeld to Homer or Virgill. If they find in them any darke sentences; they say they will marke them with crosses & leave them to Grammarians to martyr themselves withall. Therefore let them not thinke it straunge, that God hath left such things in his Scriptures, to humble the minds of deuines withall. If in the Poet they meete any Solecismes, that is to say, incongruities of speeche; by and by they be elegancies or figures. Let them consider in the Scriptures also, that the thing which they think doth disagree at the first sight, will be found verie fit of him that vnderstandeth the figure. To be short if a Poet haue spoken a word that seemeth needlesse or without reason; the Scholemaster turneth it into all sences to find some sence in it: the Scholler is out of patience if his Maister find none: and the Scholler will rather find fault with his Maister, and the Maister with his owne ignorance, than confesse any imperfection or oversight in the Poet. Now then if in these booke confirmed with so manie Miracles and proceeding from so great authoritie, we meete with things which to our fleshly wit seeme vnprofitable or absurd; it were good reason that we should be the more diligent and heedfull in serching them and in turning them into all sences. And if in the end of all this, we find not wherewith to satisfie vs; let the hearer confesse his vnllesse of vnderstanding, and the teacher acknowledge his owne ignorance; and let vs pray God to vouchsafe to inlighten vs with his Spirit.

Now I thinke I haue sufficiently shewed, by the antiquitie, the stile and the matter, by the ende also and by the particularities of our Scriptures; that they be of God, and that they cannot procede from any other than him. By antiquitie; for they be the first of all writings, and God hath bin revealed in them ever since there were any men. By their stile: for they instruct the lowly, and pull downe the high minded, speaking with like authoritie to all men. By their matter: for their onely treating is of Gods doings and of his communicating of himselfe to men. By the marke wherewith they ayme: for they tend not to any other thing than Gods glorie and mans welfare. And by their singularnesse: for there are things without number, which cannot be hzed in the minde either of man or Angell. The absurdnesse which wee suppose to be there, is but a seeming so to our ignorance: and the impossibilitie which to our seeming is in them, is but in comparison of our disabilitie. The truth of them is witnessed vnto vs in Visions, at leastwise if the case so stand that Gods worde haue made of mans recorde. Hee that is the Childe of God knoweth his fathers voyce: but yet it may be that for the better

confirming of him, my writing hereof shall not be in vaine. Who so refuseth that, no man can perswade him thereto: but yet shall this serue to comfort him; and (by Gods helpe) a great sort which as yet haue had their eares so dulled with the noise of this world, that they haue hether to but ouerbearde it, shall hereafter incline both their eares and their hearts thereunto. Now I beseech the almightie who spake the worde and the world was made, to speake effectually in our dayes, and that the worlde may beleue him. And because the marke that belase shotes at, is the welfare of man: let vs see what welfare we finde in this word; which is our third marke of Religion, and shall be the matter of the Chapter next following.



The xxvij. Chapter.

That the meane ordeyned of GOD for the welfare of mankinde, hath beene reuealed alwayes to the people of Israel; which is the third marke of Religion.



Now remaineth the third marke of true Religion to bee examined: which is, that it teach the true and onely way ordeyned of GOD for the saluation and reconerie of mankinde; without the which (as I haue shewed already) all Religion is vnauailable and vaine. Howbeit soasmuch as this Doctrine importeth the welfare of the world, and I haue interlaced many things by the way, which may dim the remembrance thereof: Let vs here call againe to

minde how needfull this marke is in religion. And lastly it will bee one further marke of the heauenlines of our Scriptures, if we finde that they teach vs the necessitie of that onely meane, and also direct vs to it from the beginning forth on from time to time. We haue read in the booke of Psalme, that man is immortall: that his happynesse is not here beneath, but

The needefulnesse of this third marke.

but in the endlesse life: that the blessednesse of that endlesse life, is to ioy God aboue: and that the meane to atteine thereto, is to serue and honour him here beneath with all our heart. But the same booke hath taught vs also, that by sinne we be salne from our originall: that we bee salne from Gods fauour into his wrath: that wee be infinitely departed away both from seruing him and from sticking to him: and consequentlie that we be gone astray from the happinesse which we should seeke and cannot finde elsewhere than in him. What remaineth then for vs, but vtter despaire? And whereto serueth the said endlesse life, but to be turned into endles death? And the euerlasting happines wherunto we were created, but to our euerlasting grieffe? vnlesse some wayd be left vs at hand to saue vs frō our shipwack: I meane vnlesse God do make vs some way, both to appease his wrath, & to come againe into his fauour. In this extremitie therfore we meet with Religion, which directeth vs to the true God. But what els is that, thā a sending of an offender to his Iudge: or a laying of straw to the fire? considering that God is infinitely good, that is to say infinitely contrarie to euil, and if contrarie to euil, then also vnto vs, whose thoughts, sayings & doings are altogether euill. The same Religion hath set vs downe the Scriptures, wherin we read the will of our Creatō: but what haue we yet found there? That mankind is corrupt from his roote, and as it were rotten at his Coze: That all the imaginations of mans hart are alwaies vtterly euil: and yet notwithstanding, that God commaundeth vs to loue him with all our hart, & our neighbour as our selfe: behighting to them that do it euerlasting life, and to them that doe it not, euerlasting death. Which of vs selleth not a striuing in all his members against the will of God? And consequently who is he that ought not to seele a very Hell, when he entereth into himselfe and into the scriptures, to reade his arreignment and condemnation? And so what is Religion but vanitie, and what is the Scripture or Gods word but a hartbiting, if we find not there the charters of grace and remission, which reconcile vs to God, and knit vs againe vnto him, and by that uniting doe restore vs the happines wherunto we were created? So falleth it out, that God cannot be disapointed of his purpose, and that the religion which he hath graued so deeply in mans heart, cannot be in vaine. Needs then must it be, that in the true religion and in the Scriptures we must find out grace and the meane thereof, which is the third and chiefe marke that we seeke.

Let vs expresse this Doctrine yet plainlier, for it is the verie knot and foyndation in shape of all Religion. The happinesse of man is to bee vnited vnto God, and the way to be vnited vnto him, is to sticke vnto his will. The first man being created free and capable of good, disobeyed God, and by his disobedience became a bondslane to sinne. So was he farre remoued from God and from his owne welfare, and (had not grace step-

ped in) he had bene in extreame miserie, which we call Hell. Of this Rebell are we all bozne, and his flesh hath begotten vs both fleshly and bondslaues of sinne as he was. By Nature then we can loke for none other than the wages of sinne, which is death; neither can we haue any other inheritance than our Fathers, who hath left vs nothing els to inherit but damnation. Now let vs see what we our selues haue brought to this decayed succession. In stead of discharging our Obligation, wee runne on further in arrerages: and liking well thereof, wee dailie increase our debt. For none of vs all dischargeth himselfe to Godward, of the things which he requireth of vs iustly in his Lawe, and therefore we continue still behind hand. Nay, there is none of vs which offendeth not the Lord infinite wayes dayly in thought, worde, and dede, by meanes whereof we plundge our selues in euer deeper and deeper. Now then, though we found not our succession so decayed; yet doe wee our selues make it such by our excessive debts and continuall offences; which in effect is all that we can bring thereto. And against whom see wee these offences? Euen against God, against our father, against our maker; all which is a great aggrauating of our fault: namely, that the Child should rebell against his father, or that a thing of nothing should turne away from his creator; yea and (which worse is) take wages of the Deuill to fight against him. The crime is so out of all measure great, that it cannot nor ought not to be inhaunced. But were there no further matter than this, that forasmuch as God is infinite, the offence is multiplid according to the person against whom it is committed: our offence against God cannot but be infinit, and consequently so must our punishment be too. Now therefore we poore wretches subiect to infinite paines without number, which by our continuall misdeedes do daily multiply the infinitnesse of our punishments still euen to the bittermost; haue neede of a remedie. And what shall that remedie be? Gods mercie? Nay, mercie may not be contrarie to his Justice. What then? Gods Justice? No, we haue neede of mercie. By what meane may God execute his Justice without disanulling his mercie; or exercise mercie without prejudice of his Justice: so as both of them may be verified, as well that God is infinitely gracious, as that he infinitely hateth all euill, both together? If he shewe mercie absolutely to an infinite offence, where is his Justice? Or where is his vniuersall government, whereby he yeldeth good to the good and euill to the euill? Yea, and where is our owne Justice become, which is but a shadowe of Gods? Again, if he execute mere Justice, what shall become of Mankind after this life? Or rather, why hath he mainteined him euer since his first fall, that his Justice hath not denoured vs of all this while, vs I say in whom is not any thing which burneth not before his wrath? It remaineth then, that to appease his wrath and to make way to mercie,

mercie, which wrath of his is nothing els but a iust intent to punish, and which mercie of his is likewise but a iust intent to forgive: there must come some satisfaction betwene GOD and Man, without the which there would be (as yee might terme it) an utter emptinesse in the world, whereunto nature it selfe cannot agree. But what a depth is heare yet still, considering that the fault is infinite, and the punishment must be proportionable to the faulte, and the satisfaction likewise to the punishment, that is to say, that satisfaction infinitely infinite is required at our hands? Let man offer the whole world unto GOD: and what offereth he but that which he hath receiued of God, and that which he hath lost by his disobedience? And sith God hath created this world of nothing, how should a thing of nothing multiply so infinitely, as to satisfie for an infinite offence? Let Man offer himselfe: what offereth he but vnthankfulnesse and disobedience, blasphemie and forward deedes? What is to say, what shall hee els doe but prouoke Gods wrath more and more against him? Nay, let the very Angels step in, the Creature to pacifie the Creator: the thing that is finite in goodnesse to couer an infinite euill: the indebted in all respects, to discharge another more indebted: and what els will this be, than a couering that (as the Prophet saith) dooth but halfe couer: and a plaister infinitely too little for the soze? Surely, let vs say therefore that God himselfe must be faine to step in betwene his Justice and his mercie, and as he created vs at the first, so to create vs newe againe: and as he created vs then in his fauour, so to acquit vs now from his wrath: and as he vttered his wisdome then in creating vs, so to imploie the same now againe in repayying vs: and sothly so much the more (if more may be) because that in our creation nothing resisted the goodnesse of the Creator, whereas in our reparation our naughtinesse withstandeth him as much as is possible. Out of one bottomlesse deepe we goe still into another: but God be praised, they be the deepes of his grace. Who then (say you) shall be this mediatur, God vnto God, Infinite vnto Infinite, and able both to discharge the bond, and to allwage the infinite punishment? Heere let vs bethinke vs againe what hath bene sayde afoze in the fifth and sixth Chapters. I haue declared there, both by reason and by record of all antiquitie, that in God there are thre persons or Inbeings in vnitie of one essence, and that the same are coeternall and coequall in all respects: The Father as the ground and Wellspring: the Sonne, as the euerlasting word and wisdom of the Father: and the holy Ghost as the bonde of kindnesse and loue, whereby the Father and the Sonne are linked together: and I pray the reader that for the refreshing of his memorie, he wil vouchsafe to reade ouer those Chapters againe vpon this point. Besides then I assure you must one of those thre persons step in betwixt Gods wrath and

One mediator
for God and
man.

our infinite fault. And fith it is so, which of them should rather do it than the wisdome, considering that the case standeth vpon the new creating of vs againe, and that we were created by the same at the first? or than the Sonne, seeing we be to be adopted, that is to say, to be admitted to an inheritance? Nay mozeouer, it behoued this Mediatour to step in for euer. For inasmuch as the world was created for man, and man is salne away from God: neither the world nor man now after his fall, could haue abidden befoze God one moment of an hower. Behold in the maner of this mediation, there is againe another incomprehensible Myserie, howbeit such a one, as when it is once reuealed vnto vs, we deeme it impossible to haue bene otherwise. We haue God infinitely iust, and Man infinitely sinfull. The infinit Justice due to so infinite offence, could not bee satisfied, but either by infinite punishment, or by an infinit reparation: and this infinit reparation could not procede but from him that is infinite, that is to wit from God himselfe. It behoneth then that our Mediatour be God, and of his gracious goodnesse such a one haue we. But this infinite Godhead is not to recompence our disobedience otherwise than with obedience; nor our vnderfett, otherwise than with desert; nor our stubboynesse otherwise than with lowlinesse: neither againe is he to purchase vs grace, but by punishment; or life, but by death. And to the intent he may obey, he must abase himselfe; to deserue, he must serue; to become lowly, he must stoop downe beneath himselfe; to suffer, he must become weake; and to die he must become mortall. Certesse we say therefore, that it is conuenient and behouefull, that our Mediatour should be both God and Man. Man, to be borne vnder the Lawe; God, to perfoyme the Lawe; Man, to serue; God, to let free; Man, to humble himselfe to the vttermost; God, to exalt himselfe aboue all thing; Man, to suffer; God to overcome; Man, to die; and God to triumph ouer death. Nay mozeouer, soasmuch as he submitteth himselfe willingly to such things, for our sakes say I, and not for his owne: needes must his obedience become a discharge for the disobedience; his desert a discharge of the vnderfett, and his lowlinesse a satisfaction for the stubboynesse of them that beleue in him: yea and mozeouer, a purchase of obedience, desert, and lowlynesse vnto them: so that loke what is due to his obedience, that is to wit, loue; to his desert, that is to wit, reward; to his humilitie, that is to wit, hono: to his sorow, that is to wit, loye: to his death, that is to wit, life: and to his victorie, that is to wit, Triumph: the same is purchased and giuen by him, and imputed and made due at Gods hand to all such as hono: that great benefite, and call vpon the father in his name. From this point we may procede after ward to other conditions and circumstances requisite in the Mediatour God and Man, seeking him alwaies as may be most conuenient and agreeable, both to Gods Justice, and to the office and dignitie

dignitie of the Mediatour. It is necessarie for our welfare say I, that the Mediatour should be man, to beare the punishments of men, and to reconcile mankind. And if he were not a man; then like as we should have no part in him nor be in vs: so should he not auail vs any whitte, neither in way of satisfactiō, nor in way of desert. Speake it is therfore that he should be boine of our race, and that he should be flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, to the intent that as in Adam we be al become bondseruants to sin; so in him we may be deliuered & set free from the reward of sinne, which is death. Againe soasmuch as he was to ouercome sinne, it behoued him to be without sinne; and soasmuch as it was for him to make vs cleane, it behoued him to be without vncleannes. For we know that al of vs are conceiued in iniquitie; and boine in vncleannes and corruption; & therfore it behoueth him to be such a man, as is conceiued after an other manner than man is. And this after so many wonders might not to be counted a wonder: for he that deriued woman out of man without help of woman, can also deriue man out of woman without helpe of man. To these particularities we shall come time enough hereafter, and it sufficeth at this time, that Gods Justice & mans offence haue euen by humaine reason directed vs to a very necessitie of a mediatour: God & man, able to discharge man of euermoring death against God; and to purchase him the eternall felicitie of life. And this is it that I meant in the beginning of the Chapter; namely that this marke is so of the very substance and substance of religion, that religion without that, should be utterly vnauailable & vaine. The Heathen came to haue perceiued this necessitie by many examples. They knew that man was created to liue for euer, and that he should not inioy that benefite, but by turning againe vnto God. But in this they fell short, that they considered not that from vs to God the way is vnpassable to man, if God himselfe be not our way whereby to come thither. It may be that they haue heard, that it behoued a man to die for the finnes of the world. And thereupon the diuell did put in their heads to sacrifice men, and so to lay the sinnes of a whole citie or countie vpon the backe of some one poore wretch. And like who was the greatest offender of all others; and whom they had bound to the gallies for the multitude of his misdoings; thus did they put to the punishing of Gods wrath to our backs. Such are the accustomed wiles of the diuell. But how shall he that is in Gods displeasure, appease his displeasure? And what shall he do, if he be able to do nothing? The Emperour Julian could not hold to his hands of this necessitie in his disputations against the Christians. By reason whereof, perceiving that there must needs be a mediator betwixt God and man for the cleansing of mens sinnes, he had himselfe on hand, that Esculapius the Sonne of Iupiter was manifested to the world by the lively ingendring of the Iudians, and that hee himselfe first in Epidauris, and

Man borne without Corruption.

The opinion of the Heathen concerning the cleansing of mankind.

Saint Austin
concerning
the Citie of
God, lib. 10.
Cap. 9. & 23.
& 31.

The opinion of
Saint Hieron
concerning
the cleansing
of mankind

afterward in diuers other places, to heale mens Bodies and to amend
their Soules : Which is a pꝛofe, that the impossibility of the Incarnati-
on of the Sonne of God, which is pretended by some, seemed not to him to
be vnpossible, soasmuch as the Incarnation of Esculapius the sonne of
Iupiter, God (in the opinion of Iulian,) and the sonne of God, seemed to him
not onely possible, but also come to passe. And in verie dede, why should it
seeme strange that he which hath knit the Soule of man being a spiritus
all substance, vnto his body being an earthly; should be able to vnite him-
selfe vnto man : But I haue shewed afore that this Esculapius was a
man; and that the spirit which abused his name, was a diuell, and that
both of them were wicked creatures. And mozeouer, whoeuer beleued
or set forth this fable of Esculapius, but onely Iulian : say verily, Por-
phyrius hath outgone all antiquitie in this behalfe. For hauing laid this
foundation, That the sonerigne welfare of the Soule is to see God, That
it cannot see him, vnlesse it be first cleansed from the filth thereof; and
therefore that by Gods pꝛouidence there must be some meane procured
to cleanse mankind: when he cometh to the seeking of it out; he saith,
That the Artes and Sciences do well cleare our wits in the knowledge
of things, but they cannot so cleanse vs, that wee may come vnto God.
And whereas many men peceined themselves in seeking this cleansing
by Magike and Alchymie: he said that imagination and common sense
might well be helped thereby in the perceiuing of bodily things: but they
attained not to the purging of the vnderstanding of the Soule, neyther
could they make a man to see his God or the truth it selfe. Againe,
whereas some Philosopher sought this cleansing in the mysteries of the
Sones of Iupiter, that is to say, in communicating (as they surmi-
sed) not with Devils, but with such as were esteemed to be god Gods, he
declareth that there was as small likelihood thereof in their mysteries, as
in the mysteries of the rest: and mozeouer that those things extended
but to very few men, whereas this cleansing ought to be vniuersall to the
benefite of all mankind. In the end, hauing said all other cleansings &
his conclusion is that the beginning onely & none other, can worke and
be the meane to worke this vniuersall cleansing. What he meaneth by
the Beginning, the Platonistes can tell well enough: and I haue declar-
ed it by many sentences of his in my fifth and sixth Chapters: that is to
wit, the persons or properties that are in God, whom Porphyrius calleth
expressly the Father, the vnderstanding of the Father, And the Soule of
the World. He could not almost haue come any nearer to, vnlesse he
should haue met inuicibly, and surely he seemeth to haue had this of
the Chaldees, from whom he acknowledgeth himselfe to haue receiued
many diuine Oracles concerning this matter. But it is enough for vs
that we haue gained these points of him, That there must of necessity be
some

some meane ordained of God for the cleansing and saving of mankind: That none can worke that Cleannesse, except it be some one of the Beginnings, that is to say, except it be God himselfe; and that he neuer met yet with any Sect in all Philosophie that setteth forth the meane thereof. Therefore it standeth vs on hand to seeke it; not in Philosophie, but in our Scriptures. For seeing they be of God, and are revealed for the welfare of Man, they ought to direct vs to the only meane of the Saluation which wee long for. And like as Religion was bred and borne as soon as Man, as I haue said afoze; so must it needs be, that the meane of Saluation was revealed as soon as Religion, and set forth in the holie Scriptures from time to time. And if we finde it so; it will be an unfallible testimonie, both of our Religion, and of our Scriptures together.

Let vs then begin with the Creation of man. The Scripture sayeth, that as soon as he was created, God gave him this Lawe: If thou eate of the tree of the skill of good and euill; thou shalt die the Death. That is to say, If thou turne away neuer so little from the obeying of me, thou shalt fall into my displeasure, and from my displeasure into endlesse death. By and by after, man is seduced by the Serpent, that is to say by the diuell, and breaketh the Lawe of his Creator: by meane whereof he is in his displeasure, and by sinne is become subiect to endlesse damnation. Now seeing that this man was alone: & that the world was made for him: what should haue followed but the vtter destruction of the world out of hand, and the burning of man euerlastingly in Gods wrath? But see how Gods wisdome stepped in for the saving of man, and for the preserving of his owne worke: and sinne was no sooner bred, but the scripture immediatly sheweth vs the remedie thereof. I will set enmitie (saith the Lord to the deuill) betweene thy seede and the womans seede, Hir seede shall crush thy head, and thou shalt bite it by the heele. That is to say, I will cause one to be borne of the womans seede, which shall subdue the diuell: and the diuell shall be his in deuor to trip vp his heeles by tempting him all manner of waies; but he shall tread the diuell under his fete, and make him to yeld vp his weapons, that is to wit, sinne and death. Now, who seeth not that to overcome the diuell, it becometh him to be God: and that to be borne of a Woman, it becometh him to be man, that is to say both God and man, as I haue said afoze. Here beginneth our controuersie against the Iewes of these later times, who holde opinion that the Messias or Christ, whom we byhold to be the Mediator betweene Gods Justice and Mennes sinne: shall be some greate Emperour that shall deliuer them from bodily oppression: whereunto I haue answered at large heretofore. Whatbeit, they cannot denie, but that by the death which God threateneth to Adam for his transgression,

The Mediator promised in the Scriptures, from the one end of them to the other.

Gene. 3.

Christ is a spirituall King, contrary to the opinion of the Iewes of our time.

Let the reader beare in mind once for all, that the word messias in Hebrew, & the word Christ in Greeke,

Rabbi

signifie both
one thing,
namely the
Lords Anoin-
ted.

The Thargum
of Hierusalem

Rabbi Moyſes Ben Maimon vnderſtandeth a ſpiritual death, that is to wit, the death of the ſoule wounded with ſinne and ſoſaken of hir life which is God: and that by the venom of the Serpent, he meaneth ſinne it ſelfe, which ſhall ceaſe (ſaith he) vnder the Meſſias; and that the ſame is alſo the Interpretation of the auncient Cabaliſts: and likewiſe that the Synagogue of old time vnderſtood the ſaid text to be meant of the Meſſias, as the Interpretation of the threſcoze and ten Interpreters; and the auncient translation of Hieruſalem it ſelfe do giue vs cauſe to beleue. For (ſaith this latter expreſly) ſo long o Serpent as the womans Children keepe the Lawe, they kill thee: and when they ceaſe to doo ſo, thou ſtingeſt them in the Heele, and haſt power to hurte them much. But whereas for their harme there is a ſure remedy, to heale it, for thine there is none. For in the laſt daies, they ſhall cruſhe thee all to peeces with their Heeles, by means of Chriſt their King. Now if the death be ſpiritual, and the enemy ſpiritual, & his weapons ſpiritual: how can it be denied that the battel betwix him & the Meſſias who is to vanquiſh him, is likewiſe ſpiritual, his power ſpiritual, & his kingdom ſpiritual? Whereouer what were Adam, Henoch, Noe, and Abraham benefited by this promiſe; if it extend no further than to tempoꝛall things? Which of vs would indure here a thouſand miſeries, vnder pretence that certaine thouſands of yeres hence, we ſhould haue an Emperour borne: which ſhould be redouted e- uery where? Now like as the ſcripture beginneth with the promiſe of the Meſſias, that is to ſay of the deliuerer of our ſoules: ſo doth it ſhewe e- uidently, that it aimeth not at any other mark then that. For leauing the great ſtates of the world, and the breeding of kingdoms and Principa- lities, which are things whereon Diſcoꝛtes ſtand ſo curiouſely: it lead- eth vs directly to the birth and offspring of Abraham, whereof the Meſ- ſias was to be borne. And vnto the ſame Abraham doth God repeate this promiſe oftentimes; that in his ſeede al nations ſhould be bleſſed; that is to ſay, that one ſhould be borne of his ſeede, by whom ſaluation ſhould be profered to all nations of the Earth? And againe, that in Iſaac the ſeede ſhould be called vnto him: which thing ſurely is not ſpoken of the poſte- rity of his ſonne Iſmaell, norwithſtanding that God told him, that his fleſhly poſterity ſhould be verteſtroyſhing. But this preface which the Loꝛde maketh, ſhall I hide any thing from my ſeruaunt Abraham &c. ſheweth euidently how it is a myſterie that paſſeth all vnderſtanding of man, and whereunto Abraham had no leſſe right than his ſeede. From Abraham this promiſe paſſed by hand to Iſaac, from Iſaac to Iacob, and Iacob left it by his laſt will to his children with theſe wordes. The ſcep- ter ſhall not be taken from Iuda; nor the Law giuer from betweene his ſeete, vntill Silo come: and vnto him ſhall the Nations reſort. Which wordes were ſpoken to Iuda by name, becauſe the ſaid holie ſeede was to

to come of his stock. And that the same saying was meant of the Messias: the Thargum of Hierusalem and the Onkelos which are booke of cheefe authoritie among the Iewes, do assure vs. For they translate it thus, vntill Christ or the Anointed come; wherunto is added this; to whom the Kingdome belongeth, And the schoole of Rabbi Sila being demaunded in the Talmud, what should bee the name of the Messias; answereth, Silo is his name; for (say they) it is said, vntill Silo come. Albeit now that the said kingdome be other than a tempozall Dominion: yet is the text formall in that place. For the Iewes wait that the Messias or Christ should come of the Tribe of Iuda, and that at the time of his comming the Scepter and the Lawginer should both be taken from Iuda. Surely the thing that Israell looked for as then, was not to subdue other Nations seeing that Israell himselfe was not to reigne at that time. And wretched had the hope of other Nations bene which looked for him also according to this text, if his comming should haue bene but to spoile them and make hanocke of them. But he was to reigne, yea euen ouer all Nations, yea and to the benefite of all Nations. His reigning then shall be according to the first promise, namely ouer mens soules, the which he shall deliuer from the bondage of sinne and the tyrannie of the Deuill. In the Lawe of Moyses, the sacrifices and Ceremonies doe represent vnto vs the satisfaction which Christ was to make for the sinnes of the people by the sacrificing of himselfe. But specially the Pasceouer Lambe, the Sacrifice of the red Cowe, the sending of the Scapegoate into the Wildernesse, and the raising vp of the Brazen serpent for the healing of diseases, were all of them Memozialles for the people, to put them in minde both of the comming of the Messias, and to what ende hee should come. For whereas wee reade that the dooreposts of the houses were besmeared with the blood of a Lambe, to the intent that the destroying Angell should not touch them: that the Altar of a Cowe without spot were kept for the sinnes of the Congregation: That the Highpriest laying his hand vpon a Goates head, acknowledged the sinnes of the people ouer him, and the Goate went away with them into a place vninhabitable, to the intent (as ye should say) hee might neuer be heard of any more: and that as many as beheld the Brazen serpent, were healed instantly of the sting of serpents: seeing that the things which were employed to those purposes, could not of theyr owne nature serue thereunto: wee must needes conclude, that they were signes; signes (say I) of spirituall and inwarde matters, like the Scripture it selfe, which is spirituall, and serueth for the inward man: That is to wit, That the Deuill hath no power ouer those which are reconciled to God by the sacrifice of the Messias who is charged with their sinnes: & that those which haue an eye vnto him, are by and by healed of the Serpents deadly sting.

The Talmud
in the Treas-
ure intitled
Sanhedrim, in
the Chapter
Melec.

thing. And whereas some thinke it straunge that so great a thing, should be figured by so vile and base things: the figure is the moze profitable, and the lesse dangerous in that it is so. For had so high things beene figured or foretold by things approaching to their highnesse-men might haue bene deceived by them, and haue taken the figures for the things themselves, and so haue rested vpon the gainesse of the sheath, without looking into it. As for example, if in stead of the Goate, they should haue sacrificed the man of greatest reputation in the Congregation: men, being giuen to yeld so much vnto man, would haue mistaken him for the very mediator himselfe. But when the figure of our reconciliation vnto GOD, and of the forgiveness of our sinnes, is taken at a brute beast which hath nothing suitable thereto, sauing that he is guiltlesse and capable of death: wee be taught that it is but a figure, and that it becometh vs to waite into the thing it selfe: and that so much the moze, because those sacrifices are so solemnely and so expressely commaunded to posteritie, as things which for the welfare of mankind, ought to bee alwayes in remembrance, or rather present before mens eyes.

Midrach The-
hilim.
A tradition of
the Hebrews.

2. Samuel. 7.
1. King. 5. 6.
1. Chron. 25.
Psal. 89.

Psal. 2. & 45
& 47. & 67. &
71.

But yet the Hebrewes held opinion that Asar, Elcana, and Abiasaph the three sonnes of Chore mentioned in the first Chapter of Exodus, were authors of diuers of the Psalmes that are gathered into the second booke of Dauids Psalter, and so is Moyse also of some one or two in the third booke; whereby they comforted the fathers in the wilderness, assuring them of the coming of Christ. Vnto Dauid (who was of the Tribe of Iuda) God himselfe confirmeth the said promise, telling him that the blessed seed should come of him. I will raise vp (saith he) thy seed after thee, which shall come out of thy loines: his kingdom will I stablish for euer: I will be to him for a Father, and he shall be to mee for a sonne. And although this may seeme to be meant of Salomon Dauids sonne, who was in deede but a figure of Christ: yet notwithstanding the often repeating of these wordes eternally, euerlastingly, and for euer, giueth vs to vnderstand, that it cannot be verified but of the thing figured, that is to wit, of the eternall or euerlasting King. And in very deed Dauid sheweth well in his Psalmes, that he hath looked further with the eyes of his minde, than to his sonne Salomon. For in the second Psalme, Thou art my sonne (saith the Everlasting,) this day haue I begotten thee. I will giue thee the Gentiles for thine inheritance, and the vtmost coastes of the earth for thy possession. And in the five and fortieth Psalme, speaking of the marriage of this Sonne, with an extrao-dinarie preface, Thy throne O God (saith he) is from euerlasting: and the scepter of thy kingdome is a scepter of righteousness. And in the seauen and fortieth: The Princes of the Nations are assembled together (saith he) to bee the people of the GOD of Abra-

Abraham. And in the threescore and seauenth; Thou shalt iudge folke righteously, thy sauing health shalbe knowne to all Nations, and thou shalt direct the Nations of the earth. And this latter clause is shut vp with this woꝛde Selah, which the Hebrewes are not wont to vse, but in some profound myserie. To bee short, in the threescore and twelfth Psalm, after he hath saide. All Kings shall worship him, and all Nations shall serue him: He addeth, for he shall deliuer the poore that cry vnto him, and the distressed that hath no helpe. Yea and which more is, All Nations shall report themselues to be blessed in him, and they shall also blesse him. Dauid is full of such sentences, which shewe that hee speaketh of a King, howbeit of another than Salomon his owne sonne. For Salomons kingdome extended not much further than his fathers, neither did the Nations meete togither vnder him: and as for his kingdome, it ended with his death, and within a day or twaine after was rent in peces. And therefore the aunient Synagog did alwayes vnderstand those texts to be meant of Christ, who was to be boꝛne of the seede of Dauid, as we may perceiue by the Chaldee translation, which interpreteth them to bee spoken concerning the same partie. Howbeit sith it is not said in any of the Psalmes, Reioyce thou Israell, for thou shalt reigne ouer the Gentiles: but, Reioyce ye Gentiles, be glad ye Nations and Kings, for I will giue you a King: surely it is euident that the ioy which he reporteth to be so great, is not for that they should haue a Kew to be their king, for euery Nation had leuer to haue one of their owne countrie: or for that this King should haue a soueraine Monarchie aboue them all to controll them, for euery of them had leuer to reigne by himselfe alone: but rather because this King should be of a farre other nature and qualitie than all other Kings, namelis a King of soules, a deliuerer of men from the bondage of sinne, and a spirituall Monarke. Also the Song of Songs is an expresse poetrie concerning the vnion of Christ and his Church, and hath bene so vnderstode of the Jewes, as it appeareth by the Chaldee Paraphrase thereof which we haue. As for the Prophets, we find nothing els in them almost line by line, but foretellings of Christ to come, of the Nature of his Kingdome, of the calling of the Gentiles, of the stablishing againe of godlines, and such other matters; as well to put the people then present in remembrance of them, as to prepare the aftercommers to receiue them. Inasmuch that if the Prophets speake of the returne fro Babylon, of the establisshing againe of the kingdome, of the building againe of the Temple, and such other things: by and by within two or thre verses, ye shall see them caried away to the spirituall kingdome of Christ, and to the true temple which is the church: as though they had meant to say vnto vs, that we must not rest vpon these tempoꝛall things which are but shadows: but remember that we be men
and

Esay. 1.
Michas. 11.

Esay. 4.

Esay. 9.

Esay. 11:
He had said afore, that the high Cedars should be cast downe, that is to say the great Princes. And against those Cedars he setteth expressly this little branch of the roote of Iesse, or Isay.

and that our welfare consisteth not in liuing, in governing, and in reigning her, but in seruing God that we may be vnited vnto him, and ruled by him, howbeit not so as we should reigne in the world, but that God should reigne in vs by the Scepter of his word, and by the power of his spirit, and be obeyed of vs. It shall come to passe (saith Esay) that in the latter dayes the hill of the Lords house shall be set vp vpon the toppe of the mountaines, and that all Nations shall come flocking to it, and many folke shall say, Come, let vs goe vp to the Lords hill, and to the GOD of Iacobs house. This text is spoken manifestly of Christ and of his reigne, and of the blessing that was to be shed out vpon all Nations by him. But let vs reade further. He will teach vs his waies (saith he) and we shall walke in his pathes. The Lawe shall come from out of Sion, and the word of the Lorde from Hierusalem. He shall iudge among the Heathen, and reprove the Nations. They shall turne their Swords into Culthers, and their Speares into Sithes. There is no speaking of wars, of fighting or of force: but the Lawe of Gods worde, and of teaching. And in the fourth Chapter, At that day (saith he) shall the Lords braunch be much made of, and glorious, and whosoever abideth in Hierusalem shall be called holy. If this glozie were not expounded, some would thereby behight here a triumph. But at the same time (saith hee) the Lord will washe away the filthines of the daughters of Sion, and cleanse away the bloud of Hierusalem from the middes thereof, by the spirit of iudgement and the spirite of burning. It is then a glozie, yea and a true glozie, but yet a farre other glozie than the flesh vnderstandeth. Now the Iewes vnderstand this Text of the Messias: so; whereas the Hebrews hath Braunch: the Chaldee Interpreter hath translated it the Lords Anointed or Christ. In his ninth Chapter he saith that he shall be called the Prince of peace: (and the Chaldee Paraphrast hath translated it the Christ or Anoynted of peace:) and that his kingdome shall be increased, and that there shall bee no end of his reigne, and that he shall execute Justice vpon the throne of David for ever. If hee shall be a Prince of peace, where shall warre become? And if there bee no warre, what shall this increase of his kingdome bee? What dooth he shewe vs apparently in his eleventh Chapter. A blossome shall spring (saith hee) out of the stocke of Isay, and a braunch shall growe out of his roote. The spirite of the Lord shall rest vpon him, the spirite of wisdom and vnderstanding, the spirite of counsell and strength, the spirite of knowledge and of the feare of the Lord. He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and kill the wicked with the breath of his lippes. The Goate and the Lambe shall dwell together, and the Leopard with the Kid. The Earth shall bee full of the knowledge of the Lorde as with an ouerflowing of the Sea, and the Gentiles shall inquire after the

the roote of Ifay, which shalbe set vp as a Standard for people to resort vnto. The Conquests then of this Emperour shalbe of mens Soules; his tributes, their worshippings; his armour and weapons, the spirit of the Lord: his peace, the uniting of all folke together into one Church in the fauour of their Maker. Also in the fine and twentie he saith thus: He shal destroy death for euer, and take away the veile that hideth the face of all people. And in the fine and thirtie, The eies of the blind shall bee opened, and the eares of the deaffe shall be vnstopped. And in the two and fortie and the nine and fortie: He shalbe no outcrier nor loude of speech; his voice shall not be heard in the streates. He shall set iudgment on the earth, and the Iles shall wait for him. He shalbe a maker of leagues among people, and a light vnto the Gentiles. Some shall come from the North, and some from the South: so as the land shall be too narrowe for them. The Kings themselues shalbe fosterfathers to my people, and Queenes shall bee their Nurces. Which of all these things can be understood otherwise than of a spirituall kingdome? On the contrary part, let vs see how the same Prophet speaketh of Cyrus the great Emperour, which was to deliuer Israell by the force of armes out of the hands of the Chaldees. I haue taken thee by the right hand (saith the Lord) to make Nations subiect vnto thee, and to weaken the reines of Kings: to set open the doores vnto thee, and to vnlocke the gates against thee. I will breake open the gates of brasle, and burst a sunder the barres of yron. I will giue thee the hoorded treasures, and the things that lie hid in secret places. What likenesse is there betwene this manner of speaking and the other, and consequently betwene the deliuerances of the deliuerers themselues? But in the two and fiftie and thre and fiftie, he taketh away all doubt. Behold (saith he) my seruant shall behaue himselfe happely, and be exalted and aduanced very high. As how? He shall bee despised of men (saith the Prophet) and thrust out of their companie. A man full of sorowe and heauinesse shall he bee, and euery bodie shall hide his face from him. Hee shall bee wounded for our misdeedes, and smitten for our sinnes. The chastisement of our peace shal lie vpon him, and by his stripes shall wee be healed. And he saith after ward, Although there was not any vnrighteousnesse in him, yet was it the Lords will to breake him with sorowe. And because he shall giue his life for sinne, the will of the Lord shal prosper in his hand, and he shal see the labour of his Soule, and inioy it. For by his knowledge he shall make many righteous, and he shal take their iniquities vpon him. Now this text is interpreted expressly of the Messias by the Chaldee Paraphrast. And in the Talmud, Rabbi Isaac being asked the name of the Messias, saith hee shall bee called Leaprous: and there he bringeth in this text to proue it. By which reckoning his life should be but languishing and paine, sauing that he triumphed

This Iesse or Ifay was Dauid's father.

Esay. 35. 35. 42. 49.

Esay. 52. 53.

in the Talmud in the treatise intitled Sâhedrin in the Chapter Hele.

Mat. 23. 39.
41, 62.

phed ouer the Deuill and Death, and that we vnderstand it spiritually. As hee sheweth, in the nine and fiftie he is called the Law giuer of the Gentiles: and in the nine and fiftie, The Redeemer. And in the threescore and one, The Phisition of the helpelesse, and the Proclaimer of the acceptable yeare of the Lord: And in the threescore and two, The Sauour, and the league or attonement which he bringeth to the people; not that he loveth it, but that he is holy; nor that he giueth lawes to other Nations of the earth, but that hee hath the worde of GOD in his owne mouth and in the mouthes of his seede; sauing that in the kingdome of his Christ, GOD will giue a better place to straungers then to them.

Ier. 23. 30. 33.

As for all the other Prophets, like as they shew not at any other marke, so haue they not any other voyce. Neuerthelesse we will content our selues with a few of their sayings, which shall giue credit to all the rest; and so much the more, because their writing was commonly both at sundrie times, and in sundrie places. We haue seene how the Messias was promised to the issue of Dauid and to Dauid himselfe. Thus therefore both Jeremy speake thereof conformable to that which wee haue sayd heretofore. I will raise vp a branch vnto Dauid (sayeth the Lord) and he shall reigne as King, and prosper, and execute Iustice and Iudgement vpon Earth. And if ye aske the Prophet what manner of prosperitie this shalbe: It is (saith he) that in his dayes Iuda shall be safe, and Israell shall dwell without feare, and the name whereby he shalbe called, shalbe the Euerlasting, our Righteousnes; that is to say the Justifier of vs. For (saith he) the Lord hath said it. Dauid shall neuer want a Successor sitting vpon his Throne, neither shall there euer want a Priest of the Priests the Leuites to offer sacrifice before mee: Neither is it any more possible for you to breake this couenant; than to breake the couenant that I haue made with daye and night. Nowe, the Iewes cannot denie, but that euen by the recorde of their owne Paraphrast, this texte is meant of Christ, and yet notwithstanding that there hath not wanted a Successor both to Dauid and to Leuie; and that both the Kingdome and the Priesthood are come to an end: and therefore that hee speaketh here of another Kingdome and of another Priesthood: Likewise sayeth Ezechiel, I will set a shepherd ouer my flocke, which shall feede them, namely my seruant Dauid. I will bee their GOD, and he shalbe their Prince among them. I will enter into a Couenant of peace with them, and make noisome beasts to cease from the earth. I will raise them shortly a plant of Renowne, and they shall no more be the iesting stocke of the Gentiles. And if we aske, how? They shall no more be defiled (saith he) with their Idolles, nor with their abominations, nor with their misdeeds: but I will saue them from all their sinnes, and make them cleane, and

Ezechiel. 34.
37.

And they shalbe my people, and I will be their God. And that this text also is meant of the Messias, the Jews cannot deny. For in their very Talmud they say that the Messias is called Dauid, because he was to be bozne of Dauids race, and they alledged this present text and others for the same purpose. Daniell in his second & seventh Chapters expounding Nabugodonozors Dreame, treateth of the fowze greate Monarchies, which should rise vp in the world euery one in his time: the which are betokened there, vnder these fower Mettalls, Gould, Siluer, Brasse, and yron. But when the Dreame representeth vs the Stone betwen without hand, which striketh the Images yron feete and breaketh them apeeses it is as much as if it had told vs, that the Kingdome of the Messias shal seme to be of smal stiffe, without stay and without force of man: and yet that it shal indure for euer because it is set vp by God. And therefore whereas he addeth in another place, What all People, Nations and Kingdoms shal serue that Kingdome, it is to be vnderstande of another kind of seruice than the ordinarie. But in his fifth Chapter he sheweth wherein the same peculiarly consisteth. It is (sayth he) in bringing disobedience to an end, and in sealing vp sinne, to cleanse away iniquitie, and to bring righteousness into the world; to close vp prophesying and visions, and to annoynt the holy of Holyes; yea and it is so little meant that Hierusalem should be the seate of that kingdome, that it was to be destroyed anone after by the Romanes. The number of the Children of Israel (sayeth Ose) shalbe as the sand. And where it hath bin sayde, you be not my people; there it shall be sayde, ye be the people, of the liuing God: which is as much to say as that many people should become Israelytes. And this shall be done (sayeth the Lord) not by bowe, nor by swoord, nor by battel: but because I will shewe mercy, and saue them by their Lord God, and many them to me of my compassion. Iewry (sayeth Ioel) shallbe inhabited, euerlastingly, and Hierusalem from generation to generation. Yet had they greate ouerthrowes afterward, yea euen in the Prophets owne time. But yet he addeth, I will wpe away the bloud from those whom I haue not yet cleansed, that is to wit, the Gentiles, and the Lord shall dwell in Sion. When speaketh he of another Iewrie and of another Syon, that is to wit, of the spirituall one, which is the Church. To the same end tendeth Amos when he saith, I will set vp the Tabernacle of Dauid againe, and stop vp the breakes thereof, and amend the decayes, that he may possesse the remnant of Edom, and of all other nations. And Micheas sayeth that many Nations shall come to the Lords Hill, and talke there one with another, saying as followeth; namely that the name of the Lord shall be called vpon ouer them, and that the Law shall come out of Syon and the word of the Lord out of Hierusalem, which shall teach them

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Talmud in the treatise intyted, Sanhedrin, in the Chapter Hec.

Dan. 2. 7. 9

Osee. 1. 1. 3.

Amos. 9.

Micheas

his waies. And to the intent we should not thinke, that whereas Micheas saith that the name of the Messiah shall shortly be magnified to the uttermost parts of the earth; Israell shall triumphe after the maner of the world: The Assyrians (saith he) shall not cease to com into our Land, & to walke vp & downe in our Palaces. That is to say, the good & vertuous folke shall not cease to be persecuted for all that: but yet how-soeuer they fare, Idolatrie shall be ouerthrowne, as he saith after ward, and the Anoynted shall reigne through the power of the Lord, and hee shall be our peace. And Sophonie fozetelleth to the same effect, That God wil sturue all the Gods of the earth, so as every man shall worship in his owne place throughout all the Isles of the Gentiles: that is to say, That Hierusalem shall not be the only place to worship in, but rather that God will haue every place to be a Hierusalem. In Zacharie the Lord hauing saied I will make my seruant Branch to come, addeth immediatly, and I will wipe away the wickednes of this land in one day. And hauing saied, He shall reigne vpon his seate: He addeth forth with, that the High-priest also shall sit there with him. That is to say that Christ shall be both King and Priest. He saith in deede, Bee glad thou daughter Sion and triumphe, for thy King commeth: But see here with what furniture, A righteous Sauour and a lowly, sitting vpon an Ass, euen vpon an Asses colt, which is the Chariot of Ephraim and the Horse of Hierusalem, and the bowe of warre. He shall speake mildly to all Nations, and yet shall he be obeyed from the one side of the earth to the other. If there be no greater triumphe than this, what needeth so great ioy? But hee expoundeth him selfe in these words following. Thou shalt be saued by the bloud of thy couenant, and I haue let out thy prisoners from the waterlesse pit. Now, that this text is meant of Christ, it appeareth by Rabby Samuel and Rabby Ioseph in the Talmud. And Rabby Selomoh ben Iarchi (as great an enimie as he is to vs,) expoundeth it not otherwise. Againe, In that day (saith he) a Wellspring shall be opened to the house of Dauid, and to the Inhabiters of Hierusalem, to wash away their sinne and their filth; and I will roore out the names of the remembrance of Idols from the earth saith the Lord of Hostes. All this is nothing else but the clearing of men from their sinnes, and the abolishing of Sathans reigne. To be short, Malachie telleth vs of Christ, That hee shall bring vs an Attonement betwene God and vs. And of the Ambassadour whom God meant to send afoze him to prepare his wayes, He saith, that he shall turne the hearts of the Childezen to their Fathers, and the hearts of the Fathers to their childezen. By the preparation of the Ambassadour, wee iudge of the Office of his Paister: namely that his comming is properly to reigne in our Soules, seeing his Ambassadour prepareth them for him, exhorting vs to turne away from our sinnes.

Now

Sophonie. 1.

Zacharie. 3. 6
9. 13.

In the treatise
Sanhedrim:
cap. Hakee.

Now of this long but yet needeful discourse, wee gather two things. The one against the Gentiles, which is, that the meane of cleansing mankind hath bin promised and preached euen from the fall of Adam, and that the same promise is from time to time brought to our remembrance by our scriptures: to wit that it is done by Christ, who was to be borne of the womans seede by Abraham, Iuda, Dauid, and others. The other is against the Jewes of our time, who looke still for a Christ to come: which is, that the deliuerance promised by him, is not meant of the Tyranny of some earthly Prince ouer vs: but of the Tyranny which the diuel exerciseth in our Soules by the vnrighteousnes of sinne the reward whereof is euermlasting death. The Gentiles of old tyme yel- ded vnto these texts, when they had once imbraced the spiritual kingdom of Christ: & it may be that if we had to do with the Jewes of elder time, the matter should soon be dispatched. For al the so-calledged Texts haue bene vnderstood of the Messias and of his reigne, both by the auncient Rabbines and by the Chaldee Paraphrasts. Whereouer it is very manifest, that the Cabalists who wrote long time afoze the Talmudistes, and who (as they say) do pearce into the very Parrowe of the Scriptures, whereas the Talmudists doe but grate vpon the barke of them: haue vnderstande that the cleansing away of sinne and the healing of the contagious venome which the Serpent did shed into Adam, and by him into the whole offspring of man: was to be wrought by the Messias, Yet for al this notwithstanding al the foresaydes of mans wit, we want not some enen of the newer sort of writers, which haue vnderstand it after the manner aforesaid. The exposition of Salomons ballet vpon these words A Grape of Copher, makes this allusion *Eschcol Haccopher*, That vnto the Church, Christ is a man of full attonement, who shall be borne of the Children of Abraham, & shall make satisfaction for sinnes in such sort, as he may say to the measure of Judgment, It is enough, that is to say, he may say Gods wrath & punishment, and God (sayth he) will lay him to gage & deliuer him for those that are his. And vpon the fourth Chapter where it is written thus, A thousand sheelds hang there, that is to say, in the Tower of Dauid, the saide exposition hath these words: Often haue I (saith the Lord) taken my people in protection, for the desert of one that was to come after a thousand generations. And I haue made them to succede one after another, to bring the Sheeld at the last vnto him, which is the ogely desire of my Children, and shall defende them better than a thousand Sheelds. Also the Rabbines say, That the Creatures which are growen out of kinde by Adams fall shall bee set in their perfect state againe by the Sonne of Perets, and according to their accustomed fondnesse, for prooue thereof they bringe in a Text of Ruth and another of Genesis, where this worde *Toledoth* is

¶ 2

written

The Jewes of
old time loo-
ked for a spiri-
tuall King.
Misdracl Ha-
sim.

Ballet. Cap. 1.
vers. 14. & cap.
4. vers. 4.

Rabbi, Bar-
chias in his
Bereschuth.
Rabbi. Mis-
drach.
Exod. 21.
*We call him
Phares.

Talmud in
the treatise
Sanhedrim,
cap. Hellec.

Esay. 11.

Reasons a-
geinst the Je-
wes of our
daies.
It is the 13. ar-
ticle of the
beliefe of the
Jewes.
Rabbi Moyfes
ben Maimon,

written very plainly, that is to wit, with two *vans*. And as touching the sayd Sonne of Perets, euery man knowes among them that it is the Messias, whom they looked for to come of Iuda by his sonne *Perets. Concerning the calling of the Gentiles, the Talmud maketh this Comparison, That the horse shalbe set in the stall of the halting Oxe. Which words Rabbi Iacob & Rabbi Selomoth expound thus, namelie y^e for as much as y^e Jewes shal haue forsaken y^e Law, God wil put the Gentiles in their place, and yet not dzyne them away afterward, though the Jewes turne againe vnto him: which is a thing very farre off from the Monarchie which they imagine as oft as there is any speaking of the calling of the Gentiles. To be short, the notablest of their Rabbines are ashamed of the feasting and extraordinary pastimes, which the Jewes beight themselves at the comming of the Messias, and conclude with Rabbi Moyfes ben Maimon, of whome they report that since Moyfes himselfe vntill this Moyfes there was none so like vnto Moyfes) that the felicities and pleasures of that time, ought to be vnderstood according to this saying of Esayas, that the earth shalbe as it were overflowed with the knowledge of the Lord, and that euery man shalbe occupied in seeking and knowing of God. But Rabbi Hechadosch sayeth yet more plainly, that the Messias shall by his death saue Adams race and deliuer mens Soules from Hel, and therefore shall bee called Saviour.

Let vs yet further by reason overcome the willfull sort, if it bee possible. They hold it for an Article of their faith, both by Scripture and by tradition, that there shal be a Messias, he that denyes that (say they) denyes the Lawe and the Prophetes, and is condemned to Hel fyre. And therfore (say they) he that denieth the comming of the Messias cannot be saued. If he which is to reigne in Israell and to giue them prosperitie, be a temporall King: what skilles it me greatly whether I knowe him & beleue in him, or no: or what joy can it be to me, sith I cannot see him? Nay rather what a grieve is it to me that I shall not see him, and what a paine is it to pynne away in wayting for him? Again, what goodnes is it in God to haue foretold vs it, if by beliving it we fare neuer the better, & yet must by euerlastingly for not belauing it? In the Articles of their faith, they beleue in the only one God. There is greates reward in belauing well. They beleue a blessed life. As it is the Soule that beleueth, so doth y^e reward redound vnto her. And euen so is it with all other things which are no Articles of faith, further forth than a man hath benefite by belauing them. But as for this Article of the Messias, what woteth it Abraham, Moyfes, so many Kings, so many Prophetes, & such a number of people, if ther were no further secret in it? Why was it foretold so carefully by the Prophets: Why was it so oft repeated,

no lesse in the prosperitie than in the aduersitie of that people, & no lesse vnder the good Kings than vnder the Tyrants? Nay, which moze is, why was it moze, yea farre moze carefully repeated to those which were not at that time when he should come, than to those which were to be borne in his time, if the Messias be not certerly moze than simply a good King and the prosperitie another manner of prosperitie than any is on earth, and the ioy another maner a ioy than is conceined by the senses? And yet for all that, vnto a Jewe it is an Article of faith, and of the necessitie of saluation. We say therefore, that the Messias is not a King of temporal delights, but the King of Saluation and welfare.

Againe, they beloue that the Scriptures are of God, and that they teach them the way to Saluation. Now the ordinarie voyce of them is against the Pompe, the brauery, and the vanitie of the world: saying that God will turne them into sorrowe, mourning and dung. Herewithall, the same Scriptures turne vs away from all other delights, to talke of that, and from all honoꝝ & reputation, to the atteynement of that kingdome. Who seeth not therfore, that this ioy which the Scriptures do so much commend, is of another kind, than the ioy which they discommend, and that the kingdom which they make vs to couet, is to be possessed in heauen and not on earth? Be glad O Daughter Sion (say the Prophets) reioyce thou Hierusalem, sing ye nations and peoples. And wherfore? For ceretine thousand yeres hence, there shall rise vp a great King in Israell. What greater sonnesse can there be than this? He shall make a good peace say they: what passe I for that, if I my selfe be in warre? He shall open the Prisons: what is that to me, if I in the meane while do rotte there? He shall triumphe ouer al Nations in the world. What am I the better for that, if in the meane season other Nations trample me vnder their fete, & leade me in triumphe ouer all the world with my hands bound behind mee? The father (say they) reioyceth for his Sonnes welfare, yet is that but a light and slightfull ioy, and who is he that wil be moued for the afterspring of his children that are long hence to come? And who would not count him a foole for reioycing thereat, and much moze for belouing it? Surely, then doth this ioy extend farther, so as euen the forgettellers thereof doe feele it themselves and are cheered therewith, and the hearers thereof doe taste of it and finde themselves comforted: and both of them in their Soules inioy the fraunchises and freedoms of that kingdome afozehand, ere the sayde King whom they looked for to be bozne into this world. Let vs put the case farther, that they which shall attend vpon the Messias, shall be rewarded abundantly with all the pleasures of this life: what shall become of him in the ende? Hee shall dye (say they) & his generation with him: and thereupon they keepe a soze contention how many yeres he shall liue. How farre

off is this geere from that which the Prophetes speake of, concerning a ioy that shall neuer haue end: what if they passe a hundred yeeres in all ioy? what is it but a long feast, which as soone as a man sleepeth is quite and cleane forgotten: And if ye dye altogether, what remaineth of it any moze? And if ye liue out of the woꝝd, what remaineth thereof but greefe? And what reason haue the Fathers to reioyce so much at that flash of Lightning, which passeth away in a moment? Somewhat much lesse than for a Marriage feast, at leastwise which is accompanied with the birth of some childzen. In very deede these things are toys to laugh at, but yet among the Iewes they be earnest matters, & they rest vpon them at this day like silly soules as they be, as though there were none other life for man than this, or as though they should euer be babes still in this life. But some to shunne this absurditie, haue falne into another, namely that all they which haue hoped for the Messias, shall come to life againe as they were afoze, yea and euen the wicked sozt too, that they may burst for spite and sorowe. They that be in the glozie of God shall come backe againe to see the glozie of that man, They that are free from this Prison of sinne, shall be shutte by againe in it to see this licentiousnes. They that liue euerlastingly in all felicitie aboue, shall come downe to eate of fat beastes. What is this but a tittletattle of Childzen, which in their conferences can goe no higher than Tartes and Junktets, nor conceive any higher pleasures than those? And what els in effect is al this, than to reioyce from Wed to Woꝝd, and from Woꝝd to Wed againe to sleepe? But if all this must be done in Palestine so as all that are spoken of afoze shall come thither: How wil Palestine or Iewrie suffice to receiue them, or what Leviathan will suffice to fede them? And if the Gentiles also shall bee admitted thither, as they saye: what manner of Temple shall there be? And if all men shall bring their Sacrifices thither, what shall Hierusalem be, but a continuall slaughter house of beastes, and al Iewrie an vniuersall streame of bloud? What saith not then, that (as the prophets declare vnto vs) the Gentiles shall not in very deede be gathered in Hierusalem, but Hierusalem shall be spzed out among the Gentiles? And that they shall not come running from a far to the Temple, but that they themselues shall be the Temple, I meane their heartes, where God shall be serued & woꝝhipped: And seeing that God so greatly refuseth our sheadings of bloud, our fat Puttens, and our perfumes: who can think that those shall be the feast which he will prepare to cheare vs withall.

The Iewes of
our daies say
that this Le-
uiathan is a
Whale pow-
dred for the
feast of the
Messias.

The

*The xxviij. Chapter.*

That the Mediatour or Messias is promised in the Scriptures to be both God and Man, that is to wit, the euerlasting Sonne of God taking mans flesh vnto him.



Now then, let it stand for a poynt concluded, That the Christ our Messias promised in the holy Scriptures is a Redeemer from spiritual bondage. But sozasmuch as I haue proued, that he ought not to fetch vs out of prison without Raunsome; nor could pay the Raunsome being infinite, vnlesse he were God and Man; Man to suffer, & God to ouercome: it followeth that I must shew, that Gods word hath promised

vs that he shalbe such a one: & that shal serue as wel against the Gentils, as against the Iewes. Now, if we had none other proue therof than this, that Christes office is to vndoe sinne and death, and to appease Gods wrath against mankind, as I haue sayd, seeing that these things are such as no creature can doe, nor ought to presume to doe: as oft as we reade that his office is such, wee must needs conclude that the Messias must needs then be God. For (as the Gymnosophist of India said vnto Alexander) he is God in very deede, which doeth that which no creature can do. But the Scripture intending to succour our infirmities, the elder the world wareth, speaketh euer the moze manifestly thereof vnto vs, and surely after such a sort, that the skilfullest among the Iewes of late time become most vnkilfull when they go about to darken it. First of all at the making of the promise in Genesis, it is said that this seed, that is to saye this Christ, shall crush the Serpents head: and this Serpent (as I haue saide afore) is the Deuill, and his venome is sinne: Gen. 3. and by meanes of sinne we be all become thralles to the Diuell, against whose power wee knowe that no force of man can doe any thing.

That by the Scriptures, Christ the Mediator is both God & Man.

Deut. 21. v. 8

Psa. 45

Psal. 110.

The booke
sepher kib-
but sim.
Midrasch The
hilim vpon
the second
Psal. ver. 7
Esay. 9.

It foloweth then that this Christ must haue another nature than mans, yea or than Angels: For the angels and the Diuels differ not in power, that is to wit, diuine. Afterward where the promise is repeated to Abraham; of what man can it be verified, In thy seed shall all Nations be blessed? Who can blisse so effectually but onely G D D, who commaundeth his blessing (saith he diuers times) and then doth it shew it selfe out vpon vs and our workes. But as the Prophets do preach the Messias vnto vs, so also doe they describe vs his natures and qualities, so as we neede not any other Commentarie vpon that promise than the Prophets themselues. Vnto Dauid therefore it was renewed, and in his issue was it to be accomplished. See here how he speaketh of it in the 45. Psalm. My heart (saith he) intendeth to vtter good matter, and my worke shall be to speake of the King, (that is to wit of the Messias) and so doth the Chaldee Paraphrast himself interpret it: Thou art more perfect than the Children of men. This might be meant of a man, but let vs reade further: O God (saith he) thy Throne is from euermore to euermore, the Scepter of thy Kingdome is the Scepter of Righteousnesse. Thou louest righteousness and hatest wickednesse: And therefore God thy God hath annointed thee with the oyle of gladnesse aboue thy fellowes. These so expresse wordes cannot be spoken, (specially among the Hebrewes who were not so lauish of Gods name as other people are) but of one that is verie God and very man both together. In the hundred and tenth Psalm, The Lord said vnto my Lord (saith Dauid) sit thou at my right hand, vntil I haue made thine enemies thy foot-stool. And a little after, Thou art a priest for euer after the order of Melchisedeck. To sit at Gods right hand, and to be a Priest for euer, cannot be attributed to a man. Nay (which more is) Dauid who knewe well that there is but one Lord, calleth him his Lord. And we read that with this selfesame text Christ stopped the mouthes of the Pharisees. Now, that the fathers of old time vnderstood these things to be spoken of the Messias, it appeareth by the translation of Ionathas, cited in the booke of Collections, for he translateth it, The Lord said vnto his word: and it is alledged to proue, that the Messias should sit on the right hands of God. Insomuch that the Iewes Commentarie vpon the second Psalm saith expressely that the Mysteries of the Messias are reherased in the hundred and tenth Psalm. And Esay in his ninth Chapter saith thus: A Babe is borne vnto vs and a Sonne is giuen vnto vs, and his kingdome shall be vpon his shoulder. See here the birth of a man. But hee saith farther, His name shall be called, the wonderfull, the Counseller, the mightie God, the euermore Father, the Prince of Peace. And then must this selfesame man be also God. And whereas he is said to be the Prince of Peace; Ionathas translateth it the Christ (or the annointed)

of

of Peace. And Rabbi Ioses the Galilæan, saith vpon the Lamentations, that the Messias shalbe called the father of euerlastingnesse, the Prince of peace and so forth: and for confirmation thereof, he alledgeth this text, and so doth also the Commentarie vpon Genesis. And the holy Rabbi (as they terme him) saith expressly, that the Messias in that he should be both God and Man, should be called Emanuel; In that he was God, the wonderfull and the Counseller; In that he was mightie Gheuer that is to say Strong: In that he was Euerlasting, the Father of euerlastingnesse; In respect that peace should be increased vnder him, the Prince of peace: In that he should deliuer mens soules from Hell, The deliuerer out of bondage: and in that he should saue men, Iesus that is to say, The Sauour. For whereas Rabbi Selomoh, to conuey these titles to Ezechias, interpreteth them after this maner: And God, the wonderfull, the Counseller, and the euerlasting father, hath called Ezechias the Prince of peace &c. Besides that the Hebrue Grammer and the phrase of that tongue are repugnant to that Construction: It is well enough seene that such things cannot be verified of King Ezechias, and that it is but a deuice of this late bozne Jew against the opinion of al antiquitie to escape from this text which is so expresse. Esay in his seauenth Chapter saith thus. Beholde, a Virgin shal be withchild and bring forth a Sonne. Here ye see that Christ shall bee a man, And thou shalt call his name Emanuel, that is to say, God with vs. When shall he be both God and Man, that is to wit, God dwelling among men as a man. But vnto this and such like textes, they answer vs that the El, that is to say God, is imparted to Princes and Judges: And therefore let vs heare further, In that day (saith Esay) the Lord of Hosts *Iehonah sebbaoth*, shalbe in steede of a crowne of glory and of a Diademe of honor to the residue of his people. The Chaldee Paraphrast interpreteth this concerning the Messias. And againe; In that day shall the people that were harried away and rent in peeces, be brought for a present to the Lord of Hosts. The Commentary vpon Genesis vnderstandeth this also to be spoken of the same person. This is another: I will wait for the Lorde who hath hidden his face from the house of Iacob, and I will attend vpon him. The Disciples of Rabbi Hija apply this in the Talmud of the Messias. And yet in al these places wheresoeuer is the word Lord, the Hebrue hath the word *Iehonah*, that is to say the Beer or he that is, which is the unspeakeable or vnutterable name of the Creator, and in opinion of the Hebrewes is not to be imparted to any Creature. Whereupon it ensueth, that the Messias, to whom it is imparted, should be the very euerlasting God; and that the auncient writers who attributed those sayings to him, looked that he should be such a one. In the three and twentie and in the three and thirtie of Ieremie we read thus: Be-

hold,

Lament. 1.
ver. 16.
Bereschith
Rabbi vpon
Genes. 55.
Rabbi Hecadosch.

Esay. 7

Christ is called Iehouah, that is to say the euerlasting God.
Esay. 18. & 28.
& 1.
Bereschith Kana.

In the treatise: Sanhedrim. cap. Dine Mammonoth.

holde, the daies shal come, that vnto Dauid I will raise vp a righteous branch & he shal reigne as King. These wordes belong to Christes Manhood. But by & by after he saith, And in his daies Iuda shal be saued; and behold, the name whereby he shal be called, shal be *Iehouah*, the Euerlasting, our Righteousnesse. Here again is the foresaid vncommunicable name of God, which the Iewes do so greatly reuerence. Yet notwithstanding, the threescore and ten Interpreters, who were all Iewes, vnderstood it so. And Ionathas interpreteth it of Christ in both respects. As touching the latter Rabbines, who will needes correct the text, and in stead of *ykreo*, do set downe *ykra*, to the intent that the sence might be, He that calleth him shal be the Euerlasting: I report me to al their owne Gramarians, whether it be not both a corrupting & a racking of the text. And truely in the thre and thirtieth Chapter the Prophet saith the same thing in diuers wordes: whereunto this forgerie cannot bee applied. That is the cause why Rabbi Abba vpon the Lamentations of Ieremie demaundeth what shal bee the name of the Messias, & afterward answereth *Iehouah schemo*, the Euerlasting is his name. And to that purpose alledgeth he the selfesame textes of Ieremies. And the Commentarie vpon the Psalmes saith, Seeing that none of the Subiectes of a King offlesh and bloude, that is to say of a temporall King, is called by his name (that is to say King:) Howe happeneth it that GOD imparteth his owne name to the Messias? and what name is that? Bothly *Iehouah* is his name according to this saying, The man of warre, *Iehouah* [that is to say the Euerlasting] is his name. And Rabbi Moyse Hadarsan expounding this saying of Sophonie, to call vpon the name of the Euerlasting; sayeth thus: Here *Iehouah* is nothing else but the King, the Messias, [or the annointed King.] And the same thing is repeated in the selfesame wordes in the Thalmud. And where, as some, to disapoint vs of the consequence of these textes, doe say that in Ezechiel, Hierusalem is called by that name, where it is saide thus *Iehouah schammah*, [that is to say] the euerlasting is there; that is to say, the Euerlasting hath chosen his dwelling place in Hierusalem: They by chaunging the Hebrerwe bowels doe make him to say *Iehouah schemo*, [that is to say] the Euerlasting is his name. But besides the consent of al Copies repugning to this vnshamesfastnesse; Ionathas can assoyle the case, who translateth it expressely, God hath placed his Godhead there. Now, besides the saide textes, which shew that the Iewes of old time waited for a Messias that should be both God and Man: we haue also great tokens thereof in those fewe writings of theirs which remaine disperfed here and there, notwithstanding that the Iewes hide them from vs or else corrupt them as much as they can. The Commentarie vpon the Psalmes saith, Because the Gentiles cease not to aske

Lament. i.
ver. 16.

Midrasch Tehilim vpon the
23. Psal. ver. 11

R. Moyse Hadarsan vpon
Genesis. ca. 41

Thalmud in
the treatise
Sanhedrin,
Cap. Hellec.

of vs where is our God; the time shall come that God will sit among the Righteous, so as they shall be able to point him out with their finger. And whereas it is so often said, I wil walke among you, it is all one (say they) as if a king should go walke in his Gardine with his Gardiner, & his gardine should alwaies shrink behind him: & the king should say, shrinke not backe, for lo, I am like thee: euen so wil God walk among vs in his Gardin of pleasure in time to come. And therfore another saith y^e the Euerlasting shall one day be as a brother of Iacob, y^e is to say in the time of the Messiah, according to this saying of the Ballet, I would faine that thou wast to me as a brother. And the Commentarie vpon the Ballet saith in another place, That God himselfe who is the Husband of the Church, should come in his owne person to marrie her. Upon the xxx. of Leuiticus, where mention is made of one brother that redemeth out another, in the yeare of Iubilee; many make an Allegorie, that that brother is Christ. And the Commentarie affirming the same, saith that Israel shall be redeemed of God, who shall come in his owne being, & that Israel shall no more be brought in bondage. And vpon Genesis, Rabbi Moyse Hadarsan alledging this saying of the Psalme, I will shew him the saluation of God; saith thus: This is one of the texts of scripture of greatest weight, that the Saluation of Israel is the saluation of GOD. For God will be the price and payment of Israels Raunsome, like as if man hauing but a little Corne of the second Croppe, should redeeme the same. Hereof came the tradition, that God left some portion vnperfect on the Northside, to the intent that if any reported himselfe to be God, he should fill vp that want, and that thereby his Godhead should be knowne. And all men know that ordinarily by the North, they meant the Evil, which should be remedied by the Messiah. But the Cabalists were farre more spiritual in this behalfe than the Thalmudists. And first of al Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai in his Commentaries vpon Genesis in the language of Hierusalem, saith that the feare or mercie of the Lord should take a bodie in the wombe of a Woman, and be Crowned King the auncient of daies for euer. And that it was decreed that a holie bodie and a woman should be incozpozated together, & (for proufe whereof he alledgeth an auncient booke whereof he take it) the same should be accomplished in the third age, that is to say, in the third Period of the Church; and that then the higher world should by the saide holy bodie be vnited to the inferior world: so as God should be sanctified beneath as well as aboue, and the holy Ghost should come as out of a sheath, that is to say, should be shewed forth openly; & that all this is but one, namely the Euerlasting himselfe. And to be short, that the woman of whom the holy word should take his body, & out of whom the said faithfull was to come; should be holy & blessed aboue all other women. Now it appeareth that hereby he meant

Midrasch Tehilim, vpō the fortieth Psalm. In the booke intituled Siphrei vpon the 26. of Leuiticus.

The booke Hechilia vpō the 14. of Exo. the Ballet. 8. vers. 1

Leuit. 25. vers. 25

The booke Tan hi mah. Midrasch vpō Leuiticus. Rabbi Moyse Hadarsan vpō Gen 49 Psal. 49.

Midrasch fir Hasirim cap. 2. Rabbi Eleazer vnto Zohar.

The Cabalists. R. Simeon. B. Iohai vpon Gen. 1. vers. 17 & cap. 17. vers. 1.

In the booke of Shamefastnes.

The same vpō Genesis ca. 10

In the treatise
Sanhedrim,
cap. Helec.
Jeremie. 16.

The booke of
Faith and Re-
conciliation,

In the booke
Hecadma vau
He, Iod, He.

In his booke
intituled the
Gate of light
Cap. 1.
Rabbi Heca-
dosch.

ment the Incarnation of the Messias. For in the Talmud, the Schoole of Rabbi Hamina being demanded the name of the Messias, answered Hamina, that is to say, Mercy is his name. And in the Prophets, they betoken the Messias by the name of mercie. Another Cabalist saith, That sinne shal be brought to ende by the Messias, who shal be the power of God, even by the spirit of wisdom wherewith he shal be filled. And another saith, that the myserie of Messias the King, is that his operation consisteth wholly in *he, vau, and iod, he*, (which is the myserie of the seauenth day) that is to say in calmenesse of minde, without force: and that his name whole together shalbe composed of these letters, to wit, *Iehouah*, the Euerlasting. But the holy Rabbi vpon the 9. Chapter of Esay where Christ is called the euerlasting father, plaith the Whyloso- pher yet further vpon the letters of that name. Like as the letter *he* (saith he) is made of *daleth* and *vau*, (as appeareth by the shapes of those letters) so shall the Messias be of the nature of Man, and of the nature of God. And like as the double *he* consisteth of a double *daleth* & two *vau*: so be there two Sonships in the Messias, that is to say, two sortes of bee- ing Sonne; the one in respect that he is the Sonne of God, the other in respect that he is the Sonne of a Prophetisse, as it is said in Esay 8. And as those shapes are distinct in one selfesame letter, and yet are both one letter; so shal the natures of Christ or the Messias be distinct, and yet shal make but one Christ. I stand not vpon the foundation which he taketh of the letters, which I make none account of; but the onely thing which I meane to gather, both by this text and by the former texts, and by al others that may be gotten together, is that the expectation of the Iewes in old time, was of a Messias that shoulde be both God and Man: and that they haue not bene able to race it out of their bookes to this day, for all the diligence that they could vse in that behalfe.

And forasmuch as I haue said that in God there be thre persons in one substance, the Father the Sonne and the holie Ghost: it folloiweth that we must see which of these thre the Church of Israel waited that the Messias shoulde be. And as we haue founde it met that he by whom God created vs (to wit the Sonne or the worde) shoulde bee the meane to create vs newe againe; so also shal we finde by the Scripture, that the same seconde person is he that was promised. In Genesis the Messias is called Silo, and promised to be of the stocke of Iuda. Now the worde Silo (saith Kimhi) signifieth the Sonne of him, and is deriued of a worde which signifieth a womans Afterbirth as they terme it, which thing is not to be passed ouerlightly. And therefore David repeateth and expoundeth the same promise in these words; I will be his Father (saith the Lords) and he shall be my Sonne. And in the lxxix. Psalme he addeth, I will make him my first begotten, and soueraigne of all

That the Se-
cond person
tooke flesh.

Kimhi in his
booke of
Roorewordes

Psalm. 89.

The son of god

the Kinges of the earth: which word Rabbi Nathan expoundeth concerning the Messiah and thus doth Dauid himself expounde it in the second Psalm: The Lorde hath saide vnto me, thou art my sonne, this day haue I begotten thee. And againe, Kisse the Sonne o ye Kinges and Rulers of the Earth and happye be they which put their trust in him. Surely it appeareth that in all that text he speaketh of the Sonne of God, and not of the Sonne of a man. For otherwise he that hath said vnto vs, Cursed be hee that trusteth in man, and a foole is he that leaneth vpon the Princes of the earth, would not say vnto vs. Blessed are they that put their trust in him. But yet further Rabbi Selomoh the sonne of Iarchi, and Aben Esra (as much enemies as they be vnto vs) also do witnesse that the said Psalm was vnderstoode in old time to concerne the Messiah; neither do they themselves expounde it otherwise. Insomuch that Aben Esra saith expressly, that *Bar* signifieth a Sonne in that place as well as in the xxxi. Chapter of the Proverbs. And the exposition of the Iewes vpon that Psalm, is that there God resembleth a King that would destroy a Towne in his anger, if he were not pacified by his Sonne. In the lxxii. Psalm, where the reigning of the Messiah is manifestly described, His name (saith he) shall continue for euer, his name shall be euerlasting as long as the Sonne endureth. And the Hebrew word *Innon* which he bleth, cometh of the word *Nen*. Which signifieth a Sonne, as if a man would say Sonned or Sonified. In the Commentarie vpon the fower score and thirteenth Psalm, these wordes, Thy throne is from euerlasting to euerlasting, are expounded to concerne the Messiah. And the paraphrast (which is reported to be Rabbi Ioseph the blind,) agreeth thereunto. And in the Talmud, the Schoole of Rabbi Ianaï being asked the name of the Messiah, answereth, Innon is his name; for it is saide in the Psalm, before the Sonne was in the sky, Innon is his name. E. say, Ieremie and Zacharie in the texts afoze alledged, do call him Impe and in all those places the Chaldee paraphrast translateth it the Lords Anointed; and Iosua the sonne of Leui saith that Impe is his name. But least we should think that this Impe were but an Impe of Dauid; he is called there, the Lordes Impe the Impe of the Euerlasting, and the Euerlasting himselfe. Now there is not a nearer nor a properer metaphor than to terme a sonne an Impe, or an Impe a sonne. This sonne we call mozeouer the worde; wherein the Iewes discent not from vs. In the xlv. of Esay it is said, Israel shal be saued by Iehouah (that is to say by the Euerlasting) with endlesse saluation: which saying Ionathas translateth By the word of the Lord. In Ose, I will saue the house of Israell (saith the Lord) by the Lord their God: which saying the said Ionathas translateth by the word of the Lord their God, and so forth ordinarily

Psalm. 2.

Midrash the
hilim vpon
the second
Psalm.
Psalm. 72. ver. 17

Psalm. 9. ver. 5.

In the treatise
Sanhedrim.
Cap. Helec.

Rabbi Iosua
ben Leui in
his Echa Ra-
bethi. Cap. 1.
ver. 16.

Esay. 45. ver. 17

Osee. 1. ver. 7.

Psal. 110.

Gen. 47.

Psal. 147. vers.
18.

Gen. 10.

Iob. 19. vers. 16.

Philo the Jew
in his booke
of the banish-
ed.Malachy. 5.
vers. 8.

Osee. 6. vers. 2.

Psal. 17. vers. 17.

In Echa Raba-
thi cap. 1. vers. 6.

Dan. 2. vers. 22.

Gen. 1.

Psal. 36. vers. 9.

in all other like texts. And it is not to be doubted but that by the saide woꝛde they meant the *Messias*. For in the Hundred and tenth Psalme, (which as they themselves affirme, containeth the mysteries of the *Messias*) vpon these woꝛds, The Lord said vnto my Lord &c. Ionathas saith, the Lord said vnto his word, sit thou on my right hand. And Rabbi Isaac Arama vpon Genesis, expounding this text of the hundred & seauen and fortieth Psalme, The Lord sent forth his word, and they were sciled, or as others translate it, were healed; saith expꝛessely that this woꝛde is the *Messias*. And Rabbi Simeon the son of Iohai, the cheefe of the Cabalists, wꝛiting vpon Genesis & by the way expounding there these woꝛds of Iob, yet notwithstanding I shall see my God in my flesh: saith that the mercie which proceedeth from the highest wisdom of God, shal be crowned by the woꝛd, and take flesh of a woman. But let vs heare Philo, the Jewe vpon this point; Hardly can I say (saith he) what time is appointed for the returne of the banished Jewes. For men hold opinion that it shalbe at the death of a high priest, which as some thinke is at hande, & as other some thinke is far hence. But my opiniõ is, that this high priest shal be the word or speech of God, cleere from sinne as well willing as vnwilling, who to his father hath God the father of all, and to his mother hath the wisdom whereby all thinges in the world were created. And therefore his head shal be annointed with Oyle, His Maiestie shal shed forth beames of light round about him, and he shal be cloathed with light as with a garment. For the auncient word, of him that is, is clothed with the world, &c. Also in Malachie where it is said, I wil send mine Ambassadour before my face; Rabbi Moyse s son of Maimon expoundeth it, Before Christ the Annointed. And in Osee where it is wꝛitten, We shal liue before his face: Rabbi Moyse Hadarsan saith it is Christ the King. And in p 17. Psalme where it is said, I shal behold thy countenãe in righteousness and be satisfied at the rising vp of thy likeness: Rabbi Nehemias, saith I shal be satisfied with the sight of thy *Messias* who is thine image. And to the same purpose might a great many more be alledged. The thing which they say is al one in effect with that which we say, namely, that the Sonne or Woꝛde of God is the image of God, and the brightnesse of his countenance. To be short, we say that the Sonne is light of light, and they say the same of the *Messias*. For vpon the Lamentations of Ieremie, Rabbi Biba being asked the name of the *Messias*, answereth in the end, that it is Nehira, that is to say Light, according to this saying in the second of Daniel, Light is with him. And vpon the place of Genesis where it is wꝛitten, Let there bee light; Rabbi Moyse Hadarsan saith that it is the *Messias*, according to Rabbi Abba, and Rabbi Iohanan vpon the 36. Psalme, where it is said, We shall see light in thy light, Oftentimes (say they) hath the light of Is-

racell

rael bene quenched and kindled againe, when they were one while subdued and another while deliuered. But in the end he saith, it is not to be required that flesh and bloud (that is to say a mortall man) shall inlighten vs, but God himselfe in his owne substance will doe it. According whereunto it is said in the 18. Psalm, God hath bene our light. And likewise in Esay, Israell shall be saued by the Euerlasting. To be short, like as we say that the sonne as in respect of the father, is as a Riuer in respect of the spring, or as Reason is in respect of the Minde: so say the Cabalists that the light of the Soule of the Messias, is in respect of the living God as Reason is in respect of the minde; and that the living God, as in respect of the Messias, is as a Fountaine or Wellspring of living water, in respect of the streame or riuer of life that floweth out of it.

Now then, we haue in our scriptures a Mediatour that is both God and Man. But reason hath led vs to two circumstances moe: The one is that this Man must be of our race; and the other is that he must be borne after another maner than we bee; the one for our behoufe, the other for his owne dignitie; and therefore let vs enquire yet further of the Rabbins concerning these points. As touching the first point, it is euident enough of it self, & needeth no long proofe. For Christ is promised to come of the seede of Adam, Abraham, Isaac, Iacob, Iuda, & Dauid; and the Iewes haue belanged it so certainly, that euen during the time of their Captiuitie at Babylon, they chose their Resch Caluta, that is to say the chiefe Captaine of their Banished folke, out of the house of Dauid, as from whence they looked for a deliuerer. And as touching the second point, Behold (saith Esay) a Virgin shal conceiue and beare a Sonne, and call his name Emanuell; which is as much to say, as that the Messias shalbe the sonne of a Virgin, and that he shal be begotten without fleshly copulation. The late writers of the Iewes say it is not written a Virgin or maiden, but a wench or yoong woman. I will not bge them that the Hebrewe word Alma is taken ordinarily for a young Maide or Virgin, as in the fowze and twentieth of Genesis where Rebecca is so called; and in the second of Exodus where it is spoken of the Sister of Moyses. And euen in this place, the threescore & ten Interpreters translate it in Greke, idou he Parthenos, that is to say, Behold a Virgin &c. But I would haue them to tel me what the token is that is giuen here to the house of Dauid, & whether a token ought not to bee some special and notable thing, & whether it be not a matter of earnest, sith it is God that giueth it, who saith expressly, Aske me a token, whether it be from beneath or from aboue: I beseech them what straunge signe or token is there, in that a young woman beareth a Child: What thing is more ordinarie in the world, & consequently more sond to be giuen or take for a myracle? Say the ancient Rabbins haue wel waded end into the depth of this matter.

And

In the booke intituled the Gate of light. cap. 2

And of a virgin.

Esay. 11. 14

And therefore Rabbi Moyſes Hadarſan writing vpon the 85. Pſalme. vpon theſe wordes, Truth ſhall bud out of the earth, ſaith thus. Rabbi Ioden noteth here, how it is not ſaid here, ſhalbe borne, but ſhall bud, becauſe the begetting and birth of the Meſſias ſhal not be after the maner of other worldly creatures, but he ſhal be bred without companie or copulation. And it is certaine that no man nameth his father, but he is concealed and kept ſecret, vntil he himſelfe come and reueale him. And vpon Genſis, You haue ſaid (ſaith the Lord) we be fatherleſſe: and ſo ſhal the Redeemer be whom I wil giue vnto you, according to that which is ſaid in the 4. of Zachary, Loe, this is the man whoſe name is Braunch; and according to this which is ſaid in the 110. Pſalme, Thou art a Prieſt for euer after the order of Melchizedek. Alſo he reporteth that Rabbi Berechia gathereth the like. But Rabbi Simeon ben Iohai ſaith yet more expreſſely vpon Genſis, That the ſpirit hauing bene ſhut vp in a (womans) wombe, ſhould come forth with great force to be a higheſt Prince, which is Meſſias the king. And the holy Rabbin proceedeth ſo farre, as to ſeek out by the proportion of their Cabalie, what ſhould be the name of the Iſraelitiſh Virgin that ſhould beare the Meſſias. There remaine many other thinges to be treated of concerning the time, the place, the life and the death of the Meſſias, which are reſerued for another place, peraduenture more conuenient for them. Let it ſuffice vs for this time, That in the Religion of the Iſraelites, there was promiſed from time to time even from the beginning, the Mediatour betwene Gods Juſtice and Mans Sinfulneſſe, the Saviour of Mens Soules, and the Author of the ſelfſame cleaſing which the verie Heathen themſelves deemed to be ſo needeful; namely Jeſus Chriſt, God and Man, the everlaſting Son of God, borne of woman in his due time, without ſinne, free from [deſert of] Gods wrath as in reſpect of himſelfe, and able to appeale it to, wards others, cleane in his humane nature, and ſufficient through his diuine nature to cleaſe ours. And this is the third marke which I haue ſhewed to be ſo needful in Religion, and ſo peculiar therunto, that whereſoener the ſame is found, there is Religion, that is to ſay, a way to Salvation; and whereſoener the ſame wanteth, there is no Religion at all.

The concluſion of the three Markes of the true Religion in Iſraell.

So then, in the Religion of Iſrael we haue all the three marks of the true Religion, namely, the true God, the Law of God, and the Mediatour of Salvation. And I beſeech all men to looke well about them and to ſee whether they can find them elſewhere in any other of the Religions that haue bene of old time. Nay, as for in them, in ſtead of the true God, we ſhal finde diuels, men, & ſtocks. In ſtead of Gods word to enlighten vs to ſoulehealth, we ſhal finde doubtful Oracles & answers of Idols, vaine, fond, without ground, without end, which ſpeake not a whit of Gods glorie

mans welfare. In stead of a sufficient Mediator, we shall finde a sorte of washings that passe no further than the skin; we shall finde manslaughters, & sacrificing of wretched kaptives condemned for their misdoings. But how should there be any religion, where is no God? Or how should Religion be certaine, where God speaketh not? Or how should it be a healthfull one, where he himselfe is not the meane of attonement? Certesse therefore let vs say, that onely in Israell was the true Religion; & that Israel was as a Schoole or University founded by God, wherein he himselfe vouchsafed to teach, that men might learne there owne saluation.

But beholde here is yet one obiection against God. How happeneth it (say they,) that this schoole was among this people onely? why was it not in all Nations? Why was it not (at leastwise) in some other as well as in that? I mean, it becommeth man to hold his peace when God speaketh, and to yield to whatsoeuer he will haue done. Thou art righteous but so farre forth as thou doest righteous deedes: but as for God, it is far other wise with him: for with him, things are not righteous further forth than he doth them. Nevertheless, I pray thee what canst thou say? What in Adam, God the Creator made all mankind: and in Adam all mankind is forlorne. But the wisdom of the Creator stepping in by and by reuealeth his word, and uttereth the promise of the mediator to all men. Here now thou seest no distinction of Nations or people. Of Adams Children, some embraced the seruice of God and the promise; and some forsooke it, and regarded it not. Some (say I) take parte with the Diuell; and other some flacke to the gracious goodnes of God. What haist thou to alledge here against the righteousness of the Creator? After this followeth a generall corruption of mankind; and God exhorteth them by Noe to repentance, threatening them with his wrath if they did other wise. Still they refuse Gods mercy, and so so doing are all drowned by his Justice, saving onely Noe and his household, who were saved in the Arke. Now were not all men hitherto onely one people still? And so; were not Gods word and the reuealing of himselfe directed still to all men? Again, ye see that in the Arke all mankind was gathered againe into one household. At that time there was no difference of circumcised & uncircumcised, of Iew or Gentile. And then they turned away into Idols & forsooke the covenant that God had made with them. Who hath not cause here to honour the patientnes of God in bearing with them, & to wonder, not y^e he suffered men to take their owne waies, but rather that he vouchsafed to reserve any men alive in the world? Yet not withstanding, even at that time he chose Abraham out of the midst of Idolatry, manifested himselfe newe againe unto him, uttered his secrets unto him, deliuered him his promises in pawne, and entered into covenant with him, and his seed. All which thinges were not done alonely

for him & his seed, but to blesse al the Nations and kinreds of the earth in the partie that was to be bozne of his seed, and to renue his Covenant with them. Who then saith not here, both that the covenant was offered to all Nations, howbeit that all of them had refused it; and that when God of his infinite mercy renewed it with Abraham, he renewed it in effect with al men? Thou desirest that God should be iust; and yet wouldest thou also continue still. Were he iust after that maner which thou wouldest haue him iust, thou haddest bene undone in Adam; thou hadst bene swept away with the flud; thou hadst bene destroyed in the ouerflowing of vngoblines and Idolatrie after the flud; thou hadst (say I) bene either vtterly sozdone, or continued sozlozne for ever. Thus desirest thou things both contrarie in themselves, & contrary to thine owne meaning. And therefore appeale not to Gods iustice, but crie vnto him for mercy with both thy handes. And yet in thy desiring of his mercie, or grace there is yet another erro: in that thou wilt nedes appoint him the maner and measure thereof; and thou wilt haue him to doe it at thy pleasure; whereas notwithstanding, if he shoulde do it according to thy deuice, thou wouldest finde fault with him for it; and if thou haddest liked well of it, another man would haue misliked it. But what aduice couldest thou haue giuen him for the creating of thee, who as then wast not? Or what counsell wouldest thou giue him for the recreating of thee, who art but the woise for that which thou hast already? Thou wouldest that God should haue reuealed himselfe alike to al men. He did that at the beginning. Well, such Reuelations tend to a Mediator, and the same Mediator must be God and man: and to be man it behoueth him to be bozne of some one stocke or other. And thou seest that that priuiledge must nedes befall to some one certaine stocke: for he that is to saue all men cannot be bozne of all men. If thou be a Romane, the glorioufnes of thy Citie will seeme to deserue it: But yet will Babylon and Ninuie stand in contention with thee for it, and Athens will thinke to be no lesse regarded for her learnings sake. How much speedier way were it for vs, to cut off this strife by yelding vnto God who saith, The case here standeth not vpon merit, but vpon mercy: and to the intent al men may perceiue it to be so; I will haue the welfare of all kingdomes to come of a Hillocke that is hidde in the middelt of the world, in the digging downe whereof they haue taken so much paines and pleasure. And least this same Hillocke it selfe should growe proude, I wil make it to spring, not out of the top, but out of the fote thereof; not out of the head Citie, but out of a litle village that is vnraged. Yea and moreover, (as we shall see hereafter) where it springeth vp, there shal it be refused, and straungers shal set it on fire; insomuch that where the foundations of the kingdome thereof are laid, one stone shal not be left standing

standing upon another. Let al the wise men of the world weigh these Circumstances, yea even according to their own wisdom; and seeing that Salvation is a reward of free favour, and not a recompence of desert; a thing that concerneth Gods glory which is the final end of all things, and not mans vanitie: let them tell me where the Mediator of mans Salvation could be borne, or where the Mysteries of his coming ought rather to be bestowed, than in Israel? Yet notwithstanding if we consider still all circumstances; the world shall still be founde unexcusable. For the first kingdoms were in Syria, Assyria, Persia, Arabia and Aegypt: upon the borders of all which Kingdomes, Hierusalem stood as a Watchtower, for them to looke at, or as a Lanterne to give light to all those nations round about it. And as the Empires began to remove further off, into the Lesser Asia, Greece, and Italy; we see how Gods providence did disperse the Jewes; their Synagogues into them throughout the whole world as Preachers of the true God, Schooles of his service, and Heraults of the Mediator that was to come, to bring salvation to all mankind. Nowe so much as the end of Religion is mans Salvation; and the end of our Scriptures is Christ the Mediator the bringer thereof: we must henceforth see how he hath bene promised from time to time since the first beginning, and whether he have bene exhibited to the world in the time alsoe limited unto him. And that is the thing which we have to treat of in the chapters next following.



The xxix. Chapter.

That the time whereat the Mediator was promised to come, is overpast, and that he must needs be come, as wel according to the Scriptures, as according to the traditions of the Jewes.



We know already by our Scriptures, that there is a Mediator, we knowe his office; his nature, and the intent of his coming: and we know these things, not only by our scriptures, but also by the Commentaries of the aunient Jewes. Now followeth that we see whether he be come into the world or no, which is the point wherein lieth the chiefe difference and disagreement betwixt the Jewes and the Christians. The Jewes looke for him still, and thinke longe for his

In the Talmud
vnder the title
Sanhedrin,
the Cha. He-
lec.

The booke cal-
led Zoar.

Kimhi vpon
Genesis, and
in his booke
of Rootes.

The kingdom
is cessed Be-
reschith Rab-
ba.

The Talmud
in the Chap-
ter Chelek.

Esay. 18. ver. 5.
and 7.

Esay. 1. ver. 25
and 26.

1 Kings 12.
Sedar Olam
Zura.

Origen in his
4 booke of
Princes.

The Talmud
in the treatise
Sanhedrin,
Chap. Dine.

Mammouoth.
Rabbi Moyse
the Egyptian
in the preface
of the Maie-
monims.

his comming. The Christians beloue he is come already, and put
their trust in him: and both of them grounde themselves vpon the same
presidentes, yea and oftentimes vpon the same clauses. Let the scrip-
tures therefore be iudges of this case, and let vs see what time they be-
heighted for his comming, & what tokens they giue vs of his comming,
first of all, The Scepter (saith Iacob) shall not be taken from Iuda,
nor the Lawgiuer from betweene his seete, vntill Silo come. This text
is expounded of the Messias, by the Zoar of the Cabalists, and by the
Talmudistes in diuers places, by the Chaldee Paraphrases, and by
Rabbi Dauid Kimhi himselfe. And the sence is cleere; namely that the
soueraigntie & cheefe authoritie of government, should continue in the
Tribe of Iuda vntill the comming of Christ, as the Onkelos and Com-
mentarie vpon Genesis expound it, whereupon Rabbi Hama the sonne
of Hauina saith in the Talmud, The sonne of Dauid shall not come, so
long as any soueraigne authoritie be it neuer so small remaineth in Isra-
ell; and to the confirmation thereof he alledgeth the text out of the eigh-
teenth Chapter of Esay. Also Rabbi Mili alledging Rabbi Eliezer the son
of Rabbi Simeon, saith that Christ shall not come, vntill there be a cleane
riddance of all Iudges and al Magistrates in Israel. Which thing he will
needs gather likewise vpon the first chapter of Esay. Therefore when they
once sawe that the soueraigntie and all manner of iurisdiction ceased in
Hierusalem; they should haue taken it for a sure token, that the Messias
was at their doores. Now therefore let vs see if this alteration be come to
passe, and the very peculiar time when it came to passe. Saule (say some
of their new Rabbines) was chosen king in Silo of the tribe of Benjamin
and it may be that these things were spoken of him. Say: for it is said,
The Scepter shall not depart from Iuda. And seeing that the Scepter had
not as then bene in Iuda, nor was to come into that Tribe, vntill Dauid
was afterward anointed King: the Scripture should rather haue said,
The Scepter shall not be in Iuda, vntill it haue bene taken from Silo.
Whereby it appeareth that the said text cannot be meant of Saule. O-
thers say that Ieroboam the sonne of Nabath remoued the state of E-
phraim from the subiection of Iuda, by the rebellion of the ten Tribes, &
was crowned in Silo. Yea say we; but the Scepter remained still in Iuda,
and the cheefe Senate in Hierusalem; and the state of Ephraim was
brought to ruine long time afore Iuda was caried away vnto Babylon:
yea and Ieroboam was crowned in Sichem, & not in Silo. Again, what
manner of interpretation is this, vntill Silo come, that is to say, vntill Ie-
roboam come: who is crowned in Silo? Some therefore by the word Si-
lo, will needs understand Nabucodonosor. For (say they) he tooke Ieru-
salem, caried Iuda away to Babylon, & destroyed the Temple; and by that
meanes they think to shift of the said Prophecie. But euen in the time of
the

the captinitie, the Iewes had a Reschgaluta, that is to say a chiefe or head
gouernour of their captinitie, whom they chose of the Tribe of Iuda, and
peculiarly of the house of Dauid, as their owne Histories do testifie,
wherein they set downe the succession of their Princes very carefully
from Zorobabel forth. And therefore the Talmud saith, that by the Scep-
ter, we must vnderstand the heades of the Captinitie; and by the Law-
giuer, the Sonnes of Hillel that is to say the disciples of Hillel; of whom
the two chiefe were Ionathas the sonne of Vziel the authoꝝ of the
Chaldee paraphrasis vpon the Prophets, and Simeon the righteous of
whom mention is made in S. Luke. To bee short, the Machabies them-
selues who held both the Soueraigntie & the Priesthood in Israel, were
(as they themselves report) of Iuda by the Mothers side, & of Leuy by the
fathers side (for those two Tribes were wont to go together by alliance)
or rather (as other some report) of Iuda by the fathers side, and of Le-
ui by the Mothers side. And as for the Sanhedrins, that is to say, the three-
score and ten Judges, (who in the opinion of Rabbi Moyse Hadarsan,
were not to cease afoze the comming of the Messias) they continued stil
euen vnder the captinitie of Babylon, and vnder the Dominion of the
Machabes. Vitherto therefore the Messias could not be come; and besides
that, it were an vtter wrestling of the Text, to conuey it any other way
than to the comming of the Messias, against the whole consent of al Isra-
ell. But (saith Iosephus the Iewe) after the Warres betwene Aristob-
ulus and Hircanus the last of the Machabies, the Romanes being Lords
of Iewrie, did set vp one Herod the sonne of Antipater an Edomite, that
is to wit a mere stranger) to be king there. Which Herod for the ea-
sier stablishing of his state, married the daughter of Hircanus then pri-
soner in Parthia. Afterward when he saw that Hircanus (who onely re-
mained of the stocke of the Machabies, was returned home; fearing least
the Iewes, who bare an affection to him, should set him vp againe in the
kingdome: he killed both him and his daughter whom he had taken to
wife, and also the children whom he had begotten of her. And not conten-
ted with that outrage; he rooted out as many of the house of Iuda, as lined
in any countenance or credit, defaced their Houses and titles, and burned
their Pedegrees. Also he made High Priests whom it pleased him, but
not according to the Lawe, nor according to their Tribes. Finally (as
saith Phyllo the Iewe) he slewe al the Sanhedrin, that is to wit the three-
score and twelue Senators of the house of Iuda, which were assistants
to the king, and did put Proselytes and straungers in their place; inso-
much that hauing by his crueltie abolished both the Priesthood and the
Senate, & utterly confounded the whole state; he brought to passe, that
at length about the thirtieth yeare of his raigne, he was accepted of
all men for King, and ruled all things as hee listed himselfe, This

This Hillel was
a great Doctor
among the, out
of whose schole
issued many
great lear-
ned men in
the Lawe.
Rabbi Dauid
Kemhi vpon
Haggzeus.

Rabbi Moyse
Hadarfan v-
pon Genesis
chap. 49.

Iosephus in
his first booke
of the warres
of the Iewes
cap. 5. & 25. lib.
15. cap. 9. & 10.

Sedar Olam,

Philo in his
booke of
Times.

is the time (say I) wherein the Soueraigntie and Iurisdiction of Iuda did cease; and that not like an Eclipse so; a fewe howers, daies or yeares, but so; a continuall time, insomuch that from that time so; th (which is now above fiftene hundred yeares agoe) there hath not risen by any one man in all the world, being a Iewe borne, that hath any where had any authoritie great or smal among the Iewes. Say further, Vespasian, Titus, Domitian, Adrian, and diuers other Emperours of Rome, haue indured to rote out the whole house of Iuda; and they of the Tribe of Iuda haue sought to conceale themselves, and manifestly to corrupt their owne Pedegrees, to rid themselves from the rigorous inquisition that was made so; them. Insomuch that at this day, there is not a Iewe (I reposit me to themselves whether I say not true) which can vaunt that he hath his pedegree certaine, yea or which can shew any likely coniecture that he is of the tribe of Iuda, that is to say, of the blad Royall of the which Christ was promised. What which I haue said appeareth sufficiently by the present state of the Iewes, which haue so long time continued, & yet still be without King, without Conserneur, without Priest, without Iudge, without Genealogie, and without certaine succession. But so;asmuch as they refuse the witnes of the whole world; let vs heare their own. In the 17. Chapter of Deuteronomie where mention is made of the King, it is said thus: Thou shalt set him ouer thee to be thy King, whom the Lord thy God shall giue thee from among thy brethren, and thou shalt not set a strainger ouer thee. And the custome was to deliuer the Lawe to the King to read therein, as is expressly commanded there. Now (saith the Commentarie vpon that place) when Herod Agrippa who was a Iew in Religion, came to the reading of that verse, he fell a weeping. Whereupon, all the people had him be of good courage, and told him that he was their brother, notwithstanding that he came of the stocke of a bond woman. And in another place it is reported, that at the time of this change, there was heard a voice from heauen saying, Now shal the seruant prosper without doubt, which steppeth vp in Israell against his maister: Whereby Herod the great, took courage to pretend title to the Kingdome: And that as touching the Sanhedrim, (that is to wit the Senate of Israell,) Herod the great sette them euerychone saue onely one whose name was Bora, who could not create any more Senators, because it could not bee done without the laying on of the handes of more than one: And that a while afoze, the Romans had drinen them out of the Palace of Hierusalem, and that there vpon they took themselves to sackcloth and Ashes, and cried out with passing great sorrowe, Woe vnto vs, for the Scepter is taken away from Iuda, and the Lawgiuer from betweene his feete; and yet for all that, the Sonne of David is not yet come. Thus ye see that the time of Christes

Deut. 17.

Midrash vpo
DeuteronomyIn Bauabara,
cap. H.
sitaphim.In the Talmud
of Hierusalem
in the chap.
Sanhedrim.
Rabbi Asser &
Rabbi Raha-
mon.
In the foresaid
place of the
Talmud.
Seder Olam,

Christs comming fel out in the reigne of Herode in whome the king-
dome was conveyed to straungers, and the Jewish Senate was vt-
terlie rooted out, which thing had neuer happened at any time afoze.

Here followeth another marke of his comming. We know there had
bene in Hierusalé two Temples; the first builded by Salomon & destroy-
ed by Nabugodonozor; the second builded by Zorobabel under the pro-
tection of Cirus and Darius Kings of Persia, & destroyed after ward by the
Empero; Titus. Now, of the second Temple thus speaketh the Prophet
Haggæus who was one of the builders therof; Who is left among you
that saw this house in hir first beauty? But what thinke you by it now? Is it
not in your eies as a thing of nothing? This doth vs to vnderstand that
the second Temple was nothing comparable to the first in Daies & in
Statelines. And in deed we read in Esdras, that the good old fathers which
had seene the first, could not forbear the weeping when they behelde the
second. Also the Rabbines do report, y there wanted chiefly fise things in
the second which were in the first: namely, Fire frō heauē that consumed
the burnt offerings, the glory of God among the Cherubins, the manifest
breathing of the holy Ghost vpon the Prophets, the presence of the Arke,
and the Vrim & Thumim. And they affirme, that to the same end it is said
in Salomons Ballet, We haue a litle Sister, &c. which they say is meant of
the Church vnder the second Temple, which in outward shew should not
match the Church that was vnder y first Temple. To be short, the Chro-
nicle of the Hebrews beginning the history of the Church of Israel vnder
the second Temple, saith these words: Hitherto the Prophets haue
spoken by the holy Ghost; but henceforth bowe downe thine eare, and
hearken to the voice of wise men: which is as much to say, as that in all
the time of this second Temple, we se not one Prophet rise vp. We not-
withstanding, the same Prophet saith thus also; The glory of the latter
house shalbe greater than the glory of the first. And therfoze he exhorteth
Zorobabel & Iosua the son of Iosedec and al the people to be of good chere.
It was mæte then that vnder this second Temple, there should be some
peculiar & extraordinary gift giuen of God, which should excel both the
Arke, and the Vrim & Thumim, and the Propheying, and whatsoeuer o-
ther glorious thing the former Temple had. Some say that of the new
things the stuffe was much richer than of the former. Admitt that the first
was of siluer and this latter of Golde. What is there herein that can
match the gift of Propheying? Another saies, that the fashion & worke-
manship therof was moze curious. What is that to the presence of God
who dwelved himself so openly in the first? Some (because the text is flat
against them) haue accounted y the second Temple continued longer than
the first by ten yeares, the second hauing stōd CCCC. yeares. whereas
the first stōd but CCCX. yeares. What can be moze vaine or moze
said, or lesse becoming, either for God to teach, or for a man that hath any

The over-
throwe of the
second Tem-
ple.

Haggæus, cap.
2. vers. 4.

Rabbi Samuel
in the Treatise
Sanhedrim.
In the Talmud
of Hierusalem.
R. Aha in his
booke of
Daies.
Midrasch on
the Canticle.
Cap. 8. vers. 8.
Sedar Olam.

Rab. Selomo
vpon the first
of Haggæus,
in the word
veicabbedab
where he wan-
teth.

wit, to heare: I say, for God before whom a thousand yeares are but
 as one day; or for Man, whom one day of aduersitie in his lifetime doth
 more greene, than a thousand yeares continuance of his buildinges can
 pleasure him after his death: Moreover, who knoweth not that this
 second Temple was oftentimes defiled, and spoiled by Antiochus, by
 Pompey, by Crassus & by others? But the Prophet speaketh shure enough
 to them that list to heare. As yet (saith he) there remaineth a litle time
 saith the Lord, and then will I remoue both Heauen and Earth; I wil re-
 moue al Nations; and they shal come; the desire of al nations shal come
 and then wil I fill this house with glorie. What is this desire of all Na-
 tions? We knowe it is Christ, of whom it is said in another place, that
 he is the hope of the Gentiles, and that they shal be blessed and happie in
 him. And the Chaldee Paraphrast hath translated here, the Anointed.
 Also in the Talmud, Rabbi Akeiba vnderstandeth that text of Christs
 comming, howbeit that he mistake his person. And the Prophet Malachy
 who prophesied at the same time, expoundeth it in these wordes. The
 Lord whom ye seeke, and the Ambassadour of the league which you
 desire, shall come incontinently into his Temple. The verie mea-
 ning hereof is, that vnder this seconde Temple, the Church of Isra-
 ell shall haue the good fortune to see Christ the Lord whom they so
 ked for so long time. Now at the same time that the kingdome of Is-
 rael failed, that is to wit in the reigne of Herod, about a fortie yeares
 afore the destruction of the Temple, the little beautie that was in it did
 utterly cease. For the spirit of the great Synagogue (say the Lewes)
 which after a sort supplied the want of the Prophets, came to an end in
 Simeon surnamed the Righteous (of whom mention is made in the first
 Chapter of Saint Luke.) And then also ceased all the speciall blessings
 of the second Temple reckoned vp in the Talmud. Yea and God shewed
 visibly that he abhorred them, in that (say they) the ordinarie appearing
 of an Angell at the entering in of the Sanctuarie, was turned into an
 ugly and blacke Bugge. And whereas afozetimes thirtie men coulde
 scarce open the doore of the Temple; now it opened of it selfe, whereat
 Rabbi Iohanan Ben Zaccai one of Hillels Disciples was verie soze ama-
 zed. And in the end, the Temple was so destroyed, that one stone was
 not left standing vpon another. And notwithstanding that the Lewes
 had leaue to builde it againe, specially vnder the Emperour Iulian the
 deadly enemy of Christians, who of his owne purse gaue greatly to the
 building thereof: yet could they neuer bring it to passe; but (as the ve-
 ry Heathen writers of that time doe witnesse) fires issued out of the
 earth, and thicke Lightenings from the sky, and burnt vp the workmen
 and beate downe the works which they had begun with so extreme pride
 and so excessive cost. Sothly we may wel say therfore, and hardly can the
 Jewes

Gen. 59.

Malachie 3.
 In the Talmud, in the
 Treatise
 Sanhedrin,
 Chap. Helec.

The Talmud
 in the Treatise
 Perki auoth:
 and in the
 Treatise Io-
 mach.
 Tereph Becal
 pi.

Arrianus
 Marcellinus,
 lib. 23.

Jewes geynesay it, that the second Temple is destroyed long agoe, without hope of recouerie, and that Christ was promised to come afore the destruction thereof. Wherefore it must needs be that Christ is already come into the world. And that hope of Israel was so, it appeareth yet further. For vpon the last chapter of Esaye where it is sayd, Afore her pangs came vpon her, she brought forth a manchild: Rabbi Moyse Hadarlan saith, The Redeemer of Israell shall be borne afore the birth of him that shall bring Israel in bondage. And Ionathas the great Disciple of Hillel saith vpon the same text, Israel shall be saued afore her extremitie come, and the Anoynted shall be shewed openly afore the throwes of her Childbirth come. Also Rabby Moyse of Tyroll, and Bioces, both according to this Text and by their owne reckoning vpon Daniell, doe looke for this thing towards the end of the second Temple. Likewise the booke which they call Bereschith Rabba maketh this Parable, As a certcine Iewe was at plough, an Arrabian passing by heard one of his Oxen lowe: and here vpon willed him to vnyoke his Oxen, because the destructio of the Temple was at hand: & that by & by the other Oxe lowed likewise: whereupon he bad him vnyoke out of hand, for the Messias was already come. And Rabbi Abon hauing repeated the same in another place saith thus: What neede wee to learne it of the Arabians, seeing the text it selfe declareth it? Surely I passe not for their Parables, which haue no very good grace with them, and oftentimes betwix that they want wit in very deepe: but my intent is to gather of them, that it was a common opinion among them, that Christ or the Messias should come into the world a little afore the destruction of the Temple.

Rabbi Moyse Hadarlan

Bereschith Rabba.

In the treatise Barachoth.

In the Talmud of Hierusalem.

In Echa Rhabathi vpon the lamentations of Ieremie.

Let vs heare what the Angel Gabriel saith to Daniel: for he goes nere of all to the matter. Threescore and ten weekes (sayth he) are determined vpon thy people, and vpon thy holy Citie, to make an end of the disobedience, and to anoynt the Holy of Holies. Know thou therefore and vnderstand, that from the going forth of the commaundement for the building againe of Hierusalem, vnto Christ the Prince, there are seven weekes, and threescore and two weekes, and then shall the streates and the broken walles bee repayred againe in short tyme. And after threescore and two weekes, Christ shall be slaine and nothing shall remaine vnto him. And the people of a Prince that is to come, shall destroy the Citie and the Sanctuarie; and the end thereof shall be as with an overflowing, and it shall be digged vp with desolations to the end of the warre. And he shall stablish his couenant with many in one weeke, and in the middes of the weeke shall he cause the Sacrifice and Oblation to cease, and for the spreading out of abomination he shall lay it waste, &c. This onely one Prophecie is enough

Daniels weekes.

Daniel 9.

to

to conuince the Iewes, and therefore it becometh vs to examine it from point to point. First, that this text is meant of the Messias, it is so evident and absolute, that it is a sharke shame to deny it. And so is it applied by Rabbi Saadias vpon Daniell, by Rabbi Nahman of Geround, & by Rabbi Hadarfan, who be the notablest among them. For as for Rabbi Selomoh, who vnderstandeth it of Cyrus: or Aben Ezra, who applied it to Nehemias: or Rabbi Leui the sonne of Gerson, who vnderstandeth it of Iosua the Highpriest: there is not that worde in this text, which doth not disproue them: besides that the anointing which is spoken of here, must needs be a spiritual anointing, considering that there was not any more anointing at all vnder the second Temple. There are (saith he) threescore and ten weekes. Let vs see what manner of weekes they be. The Scripture telleth vs of weekes of daies, and of weekes of yeeres: and examples of them both are in Leuiticus and in diuers other places. The weekes of daies serue for ordinary matters: and the weekes of yeeres for matters of greate weight and a long continuance. But Daniell may be his owne expounder. For in the next Chapter he speaketh expressely of mourning thre weekes of dayes, wheras here in a matter of estate, which passeth with slower steppes and requireth larger measure, he speaketh of weekes simply without addition. And in very dedde Hierusalem could not be builded againe in seuen weekes of daies, but it was to be builded againe in many weekes of yeeres. After that manner are they taken by Rabbi Saadias, Rabbi Moyse, and Rabbi Selomoh also, vnto whome all the best of them consent: and there is not any one of them (to my knowlege) which taketh these weekes to be weekes of daies. But as for the younger Rabbines, whensoever they be pressed, they saie these weekes containe either ten yeeres a peece, or fiftie yeeres, yea, or a whole hundred yeeres a peece, a thing without reason in this text, and without example in all the whole Scripture.

It followeth from the going forth of the Comaundement for the building againe of Hierusalem to the anoynted Prince, are seuen weekes and threescore and two weekes. That is to say, (as the Prophet himselfe expoundeth it) for the building vp of the Citie of Hierusalem & the Temple, seuen weekes, which make nine and fourtie yeeres. And from the building againe of Hierusalem vnto Chzist, threescore and two weekes, which make foure hundred thirtie and foure yeeres, al which together amount vnto foure hundred foure score and thre yeeres. And in good sooth, if we begin (as the Prophet teacheth vs) to account the weekes from the day wherein word was spoken that Hierusalem should be builded againe, that is to wit from the threescore & tenth yeere of the Captiuitie, or from the first yeere of King Cyrus when Ieremie wrote to the prisoners at Babylon, assuring them of their deliuerance, at which time

In the treatise
Sanhedrim in
the Talmud
of Hierusalem.

Leuit. 23.
& 25.

Dan. 10.

Jeremie. 29
1. Eddr. 1.

time Cyrus gave commaundement for the building againe of the Temple, vnto the time of Herode King of the Iewes, or of Tiberius the Emperour of Rome: we shal finde that in that very tyme were fulfilled the foure hundred fourescore and thre yeres, yea and the very threescore & tenth weeke wherein Christ was to stablish the Couenant of God with men. And it seemeth that Daniel or rather the Angel meant in these threescore & ten weekes, to allude to the threescore and ten yeres spoken of by the Prophet Ieremie, as if he should haue said, At such time as ye were led away captiue to Babylon, Ieremie assured you that you should be deliuered from the temporall Captiuitie within threescore and ten yeres, and ye see it is so come to passe. And now I tell you that within threescore and ten weekes of yeres, ye shall be deliuered from the spirituall captiuitie, by Gods couenant made vnto you, whereof the Anointed shal be the Mediatour. I am not ignorant how some writers begin the account of these weekes at y first yere of King Cyrus: & some at the second yere of Artaxerxes, & other som at y twentieth yere of y same Artaxerxes, because at that time there went out another Proclamation in fauour of Nehemias, by reason that the building of the Temple had bene stayed. But which way soeuer they goe to worke, the ende of these weekes falleth still vpon the time of Herod and Tiberius, & meeteth iumpe with the propheties that went afore. And it can not be denyed but that they were accomplished according to the circumstances set downe here by the Prophet. For the Prince of the people that was to come, destroyed the citie, that is to wit, the Emperour of Rome did ouerthrow Hierusalem & beat down the Temple, & abolish their sacrificings through the whole Land of Iewrie, and bring vpon them the extreme desolation that is spoken of here by the Prophet. And therefore some of the Rabbines being vnable to shift of this text, hauing presumed to say that Daniell had said well in all the rest but that he ouershot himselfe in this account.

2. 2. dr. 1.

The very traditions of the Iewes theselues do bring vs to this tyme: At leastwise there is not any whose date is not out long agoe. In the Talmud is this saying of the schoole of Elias so greatly renowned among them. The word shal indure Six thousand yeres, Two thousand yeres emptie, that is to say without Law, Two thousand yeres vnder the Law, And two thousand yeres vnder Christ. And Rabbi Iacob saith herevpon that the first two thousand yeres ended in the time of Abraham, the second about the destruction of the Temple (which thing he proueth by an account of the times) at the ende of which latter two thousand he saith that Christ should come and deliuer Israell from captiuitie. Thus far he agreeth with vs. But he addeth, for our sines sake his coming is deferred. This glosse marreth y text. For in other places it is said flatly, y the time of the coming of y Messias is past now seven hundred.

The traditions.
Moyles of
Geround.
The Talmud
in the treatise
Sanhedrim.
Chap. Helec.
& euery
where els.

The Talmud
in the treatise
Auodazara,

Talmud in the
treatise San-
hedrim.
Chap. Helec.

hundred and forty yeeres ago, which thing they lament in both their Talmuds. And vpon this verse of Esay, I wil make haste to doe it in his time, which is spoken expressly of Christ and of his kingdome: Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leui appoeth these words, I will make haste, against these other words, In his time. I will make haste saith the Lorde at leastwise if they be worthy [addeth Rabbi Iosua] In his time [saith the text] that is to say, euen when they would not, [addeth Rabbi Iosua] which meaning of his he might haue expressed much more fitly in saying that Gods grace gainstandeth our sinnes in such sort, as that all our iniquities cannot stop or stay the course thereof.

Talmud in the
booke Sab-
bath, and in
the treatise
Sanhedrim.

For so M is
called of the
Hebrewes.

We haue another Tradition vpon the ninth Chapter of Esay, where he setteth downe this excellent Prophecie concerning Christ, A Childe is borne vnto vs, &c. In that place are writtten these words, *lemarbeh hammisrah* concerning the increasing of his kingdome, with the Hebrew Letter *Mem* closed in the mids of the word, notwithstanding that the sayd Letter which is as our *M*, is not wont to be writtten so, but in the end of a word. Here therefore according to their custome, they fall, to descanting vpon the letters and because the *Mem* is here closed vpon whereas it ought commonly to be writtten open thus, *m*: they say there must needs be some greates myserie hidden and shut vp there: and that as Rabbi Tanhuma was seeking the reason thereof, a voice from heauen answered him, *razili razili* that is to say I haue a secret: which by the consent of them all, concerned the Messias. But some of them passe further, and say that this cyphred Letter importeth sixe hundred that is to wit sixe hundred yeeres, which are to be reckened from this Prophecie vnto the Messias. And in very deede, from the fourth yeere of the reigne of Achas at which time the Prophecie was uttered, we shall find by account that they fall not out long after the time of Herod. Another is read in the Talmud in these words: Rabbi Elias saith to Rabbi Ichudas brother of Rabbi Sala the Essene, The world cannot haue any more than foure score and fife Iubilees, that is to say, Four thousand two hundred and fiftie yeeres, and in the last Iubilee shall the sonne of Dauid come without doubt, but whether in the beginning thereof or in the end thereof I cannot tell. Rabbi Asse is of his opinion in the same case. To be short, R. Moyles Ben Maimon sayeth in his Epistle to the Iewes of Affricke, that there is an aunient Tradition, that Christ should bee borne in the yeere of the worlde 4474. The which according to their owne account should be past, now more then nine hundred yeeres ago. And Rabbi Moyles of Geround and Leui the sonne of Gerson speake of another which beighted it in the yeere of the worlde five thousand one hundred and eightene: which by their owne account is expired more than two hundred yeeres since. Finally after much alteration and bayne expectation

In the treatise
Sanhedrim.
Cap. Helec.
Rambam in
his Epistle to
the Iewes in
Affricke.

R. Moyles of
Geround vpon
the fife books
of Moyles.
In the Chap.
Halec of the
treatise San-
hedrim.

petition to no purpose, the conclusion of the greatest Rabbies cometh to this point, That it is needles to calculate any more for the coming of Christ, That at the tymes limited by the Prophets are already past, & that there remaineth not any thing els then repentance & good works.

Over and besides the time, they doe also deliver vs certaine tokens of Christs comming, in their traditions. When the Messias cometh (saith they) there shalbe fewe wise men in Israell, and many Seducers, Inchaunters & Wizards. The wisdom of the Scribes shall stinke, & the Schooles of Diuinitie shal become Brothelhouses. Good men in Israell shall bee abhorred and the countenances of the men of that age shalbe full of vnshamefastnesse. Is not this a lively description of the maners of the Jewes, yea even of the Pharisees themselves, in the time of Herod and of the destruction of the Temple? Let vs hearken what Iosephus their owne Historie wyter speaketh of them. Iewrie was at that time (sayeth he) a Denne and Harbour of Theeves, of Murderers, of Inchaunters, and of Seducers of the people. And doubtlesse G O D was offended at their extreame vngodlinesse, insomuch that he abhorred both Hierusalem and the Temple, and brought in the Romanes thither to purge them as it were with fire. Yea and I beleue (saith he) that if the Romans had staid neuer so little to come to destroy them, eyther the earth would haue swallowed them vp, or some great waterflood must haue drowned them or els they had beene burned vp as Sodome was. For that generation was much worse than euer Sodom was. Thus then aswell the writings as also the notablest Traditions of the ancient Iewes, do point vs to the time of Herod. And truly, Tacitus, Suetonius and Iosephus himselfe (whitnesse booy of suspition) report, that in that age it was byruted euery where, that out of Iewrie should come a king that should reigne ouer all the whole world, and that this saying was grauen in a very open and renowned place of the Castle at Hierusalem, which thing causeth the Iewes to be so ready to rebell and so loth to serue the Romanes. And it appeareth by the whole Historie of that age, that all the people, yea and Herod himselfe had their eyes and eares euery open waiting and watching for the Messias, the one to imbrace him and the other to destroy him. For as in all the former times, wee reade not that any man tolke vpon him to be the Messias and much lesse that any was receiued as he: so in this age there scarcely passed any one yere, but some one or other stepped vp to be hee, verely because that (to their seeming) they had the disposition of the people, and the very time it selfe answerable to their intent. Herod therefore who perceived himselfe to haue done but newly proclaimed king by the Romanes fearing to be dispossessed of his crown, did what he could to destroy the blood royal of Iuda, defacing their Genealogies.

R. Iohan. R. Iuda, & R. Nchoray in the chapter Halec.

Iosephus in his Antiquities. l. 20. c. 6 & 8. & in his warres. lib. 6 cap. 15. & lib. 7. cap. 9

Tacitus and Suetonius in the life of Vaspasian. Iosephus. lib. 7. cap. 12. Hegesippus li. 3.

Falſe Christs in that age.

Thumel. Iosephus lib. 7. cap. 10

Iosephus in
his Antiqui-
ties lib. 18. cap
1. & 2. lib. 17
cap. 8. lib.
20. chap. 2. & 6.

Talmud in
the Treatise
Sanhedrin
Chapt. Halec.

R. Moyles ben
Maimon in
his Sentences:

Bereschith
Raba.
R. Iohanan.

Talmud in
the treatise
Col Israel.

nealogies, and not sparing euen his owne sonnes: yea, and there stepped
vp certeine Courtier Rabbines, which would needes make the world be-
lieue that Herod was the promised Messias, whereof some will haue the
Herodians to procede which are spoken of in the Gospell. And this sect
was greatly furthered by the opinion of the fleshly sort, which by the
Messias looked for a restitution of their state; that is to wit, of vine-
yards, of gorgeous buildings, of precious Stones, and of all things sa-
uiuing of themselves. Also about the same time stepped vp one Iudas a
Gawlonite, who called the people to libertie, and maintained with some
assistance of the Pharisees. that they ought not to pay tribute to the
Emperour. So also did another Iudas the sonne of one Ezechias a Cap-
taine of Cutthroats, and a certein Shepheard named Achrouges, whose
pretence was no lesse than to be Kings & to deliuer their followers from
the yoke of bondage. Likewise vnder the gouernement of Felix, and in
the reigne of Agrippa, a certeine Aegyptian taking vpon him to be a
Prophet, led certeine people vp to Mount Olinet, & made them beleue
that from thence they should see the walles of Hierusalem fall downe, &
then they should go in thither Againe, vnder y President Cuspius Fadus
one Thewdas undertooke the like enterprise. All which are signes that
they tooke aduantage of the time, & abused the hope of the people to the
maintenance of their owne ambition. But (which more is) we read in
the Talmud, that in the time of Agrippa one Barcozba (which name si-
gnifieth the Sonne of Lying) stept vp among the people, and pretending
to be Christ, was taken so to be by the Rabbines themselves, & reigned
thirtie yeeres and a halfe yea and that as Ramban reporteth in his sen-
tences of Kings, they required not any signe of him: insomuch that the
great Rabbine Akiba the wisest of al the Talmudists, became his Har-
nes bearer, and applyed vnto him the second Chapter of the Prophet
Haggæus expounded heretofore. untill at length after long & pernicious
abusing of them, when he could not deliuer them from the yoke of the
Romans, in the end they knockt him on the head. Yet notwithstanding
afterward againe, about a fiftie yeeres after the destruction of the Tem-
ple, another of the same name gathered into the Citie of Bitter all the
Iewes that were thereabouts: and of him they report wonders, as that
he should haue a hundred thousand men about him which vpon trust of
their invincible strength, did cut off one of their fingers: that going to
battell he was wont to say, Helpe vs now thou Lord of the world seeing
thou hast forsaken vs, &c. And that the Rabbines which had bene detei-
ned by the former, (so greatly were they perswaded of the time) receiued
this man neuertheless, & made him also to be receiued of others, apply-
ing vnto him this text of the booke of Numbers. A Starre shall come
out of Iacob, because the Hebrew word *Corab* signifieth a Starre: and
saying

saying that in stead of *Cocab* it ought to be writtē *Cozab* or *Cozba* which was his name. And this is writtē by their own Histories, & confirmed afterward by ours, & also by the very heathen writers which wrote the life of the Emperour Adrian. Yet for all this they were still the more wasted & carryen away into Spaine, & Hierusalem was peopled with other Nations, & the whole land of Iewrie made bitterly heathen. And as many as went about afterward to abuse the Iewes vnder that pretence, (as one did, not long since in Italie) were by and by destroyed & welnere wyped cleane out of remembrance. Let vs adde yet further, that since that time (which is now aboute fiftē hundred yeres agoe) they neuer had any Prophets, any comfort from God, any extraordinary gifts, nor any knowledge of their Tribes: which is a most euident token, that the Prophecies which aimed chiefly at Christ, are fulfilled, & that in him the Church is comforted & indued with the gifts which it hoped for: & to be short, that he for whose sake the pedegrees were to be kept certeing, is not now to be borne. And therefore wee see how some of them do saye with Rabbi Hillel, That the daies of Ezechias haue swallowed vp the Messias: that is to say, that he is not to be looked for any more: and that folke haue made themselves vnworthy of him: and that some others through extremitie of dispaire, do pronounce them accursed which determine any certaine time of the coming of the Messias.

Thus then we see now that the holy Scripture and the auncient interpretation thereof, do meete together in the time of Herod, to shewe vs the Messias there: and thereupon it is, that we see the people in the Gospello ready to runne after John Baptist and Christ: and to motie these ordinarie questions, Art thou he that should come? When wilt thou restore the Kingdome of Israel? Shall we wait for another yet still? and such other. But let vs see what startingholes Subornes hath inuented against the things aforesaid. The Messias (say the new Rabbines) was borne at the very same time, and in the very same day that the second Temple was destroyed, that this Prophecie of Esay might be fulfilled, Before her throwes or pangos came, she was deliuered of a Manchilde: but he is kept secret for a time. For so we see readen vpon the xxx. Chapter of Genesis. And in the Talmud, Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leuy sayth, that it is a Reuelation that was made vnto Elias. I would faine then haue them to shewe me what one Text in all the Scripture giueth any incling thereof. They adde that he shalbe hidden foure hundred yeres in the great Sea, eight hundred yeres among the sonnes of Core, and foure score yeres at the gate of Rome. And Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leuy saith in the Talmud, that he shal dwell saue him there lapping vp his sozes among the Lazermen. What are these things (euen by none other witness than themselves) but tales contriued vps pleasure,

The vaine answers of the Iewes.

Esay. 66. yer 8.
Berechiah
Rabba vppon
Gen. cap. 30.
The Talmud,
treatise Sanhedrin. Ch. Hele
The Children of Core were three brethren, which were Prophetes at the same time that the Iraelites were in the wilderness.

In the trea-
tise Sanhe-
drin.ca. He-
lec.
Ieremie. 4.
Esay. 24.

Malachie. 4

Esay. 29

Daniel. 12

of purpose to mocke folke: Some say he shalbe set vp in great honour next vnto the Pope, and that in the end he shal say to the Pope as Moyses did to Pharao, Let my people goe that they may serue mee, and so soozth. If he be borne so long agoe, and keepe him selfe secret (as they say in their Talmud) but till he be called to deliuer them; what cause is there why he should keepe himself away still, seeing they haue called him so much and so loued and so many hundred yeeres, seeing also that the time is expyred, yea and almost double expyred, and finally, seeing that euen according to their owne exposition, it is said, I will hasten them in their time: They answere yet still, there remaineth but a good repentance. How miserable surely were we, if God should not preuent our repentance with his grace. For the verie repentance of the best men, is but a lazinesse that they cannot be loze enough. But let vs heare a pretie Dialogue of two Rabbins disputing in their Talmud of this matter. It is written saith Rabbi Eliezer, Turne againe yee stubborn Children, and I will heale you of your stubbornesse: yea, but it is also written saith R. Iosua: ye haue beene solde for nothing, and ye shal be redeemed with money: that is to say, ye haue beene solde for your Idolatries, which are nothing, and ye shalbe redeemed without your repentance and good works. Yea but it is said saith R. Eliezer, Turne ye to mee, & I will turne to you. But lets also read saith R. Iosua, I haue taken ye in mariage as a wife, & I wil take you one of a Citie & two of a Househould, and giue you enterance into Sion. R. Eliezer replyeth thus: It is sayde, ye shalbe saued in calmnesse and in rest. Nay sayth R. Iosua, it is written in Esay, thus sayeth the Lord the redeemer of Israel to the dispised Soule, and to the people that is abhorred; that is to say, that your wickednes shall not stop the course of Gods decree. In the end, Eliezer saith, what meaneth Jeremy then to say, If thou turne thee againe O Israell: seeing it is conditionall maner of speaking? Nay saith Rabbi Iosua, what ment Daniell then by this Text, I heard the man that was clothed in linnen and stood vpon the Water of the Riuer, & he lifted vp his right hand & his left hand vp to heauē, & sware by him that liueth for euer, and it shall be for a time and times and halfe a time: And the Talmud saith that at this text R. Eliezer was blaunted and held his peace, which was as much to say as that he condescended to that which R. Iosua had sayd, namely that the offences of Israell should not stay the coming of Christ, but that God would preuent Israell with his holy grace. Again, if the want of a general Conuersion do withhold the coming of the Messias; then considering the punishment which lieth vpon that Nation is vniuersall, and their banishment of so long continuance and so farre from home. In so much that their Temple, Citie and Countreis be destroyed, and they may not so much as once

see

set them a farre off; what is the crime that is so exceeding great, so vniuersall, and so continuall among them? I meane what is the fault peculiar to that Nation, and not common to them with all other Nations of the world: The first Temple (say they) was destroyed for Idolatrie, for supersticity, and for shedding of guiltles blood & specially the blood of Zacharie and Esay. Yet notwithstanding they wanted not Prophets in the time of their Captiuitie: nay they neuer had mo than then: so mercifully did God measure his comforts to them according to their afflictions. What is to be said then, seeing that now in so many hundred yeeres they haue not bene comforted at all, no not euen at this day when they be both lesse giuen to Idolatrie, and (to all seeming) more constant in their Law: and in effect lesse giuen to Hypot and lesse bluddy than euer they were? Say further, seeing that vnder the second Temple they shewed so great zeale against the Romans, that they admitted not any Idolatrie among them, but chose rather to die a thousand deaths, than only to recieue either the Emperors Image, or the Romane Standard painted with an Eagle: insomuch that they left the breach of the wal of the Citie vnguarded, rather than they would breake their Sabbath date: what might be the cause that God should withhold the open manifestation of the Messias, whom they affirme to haue bene borne at that time, or multiply their miseries so extremly? Some say it was for their worshipping of the Golden Calse in the Wilderness, that is to say for a fault that was committed a two or three thousand yeres ago. when as (notwithstanding) the people were then presently punished for it out of hand, and many recoveries and ouerthrowes had ensued since in the meane while. Others say it is for the selling of Ioseph by his brethren: and thereupon some of them bring vp againe the flatering of Soules sathered vpon Pythagoras. Why doe they not rather acknowledge herein their owne colde absurdities? nay (saies one of their booke) it is for a fault which they knowe not, and therefore it is not fogetold them when they shalbe deliuered, as it was to the Captiues of Babylon. If they knowe not the fault, then can they not acknowledge it: and if they cannot acknowledge it, in vaine are all their Penances and Repentance. And yet in very deede they haue from time to time (and that not long agoe) done publick and open penances, much more exactly to outward apparance, than euer they did: of purpose to hasten their Messias, who notwithstanding (by the report of their Talmud) is so neere and ready at hand, that (by their saying) hee will not staye one day, if they turne vnto God according to this saying of the Psalmist. To daye if yee heare my voyce. But we say, that forasmuch as their punishment is so vniuersall, so long, and so extreame: their fault must needs also be so too: And that seeing the former Idolatries and vnrightheousnesse were pacified in the destruction of the first Temple,

The booke
Mechilta.

Talmud in
the treatise
Sanhedrin.
Ch. Helec.

Psalm. 90.

as they themselves say; It must needs be some greater matter, that continueth their punishment still after so many desolations. And there upon I conclude, both that Christ is come at his foreappointed time, and also that they have refused him; so as God hath sent them saluation in the selfesame maner that he promised it them by his Prophets, and they haue trampled it vnder their fete.



The xxx. Chapter.

That Iesus the Sonne of Mary came at the time promised by the Scriptures, and that the same is Christ.



Philo in his
booke of
times.

Esay. 9.
Ieremy. 34.

Nowe then, in the time of the first Herod, wherein both the Propheties of the holy Scriptures and the auncient traditions of the Iewes doe meete, let vs examine who could haue bene the Messias. For at that time (as I haue declared afoze) many pretended themselves to bee he, of whom both the lines, the doctrines and (almost) the names also are now woyn out of minde, notwithstanding that they were upheld by great multitudes of people, and authorized by the chiefe Doctors among them. Neuerthelesse, in the same time, and euen in the selfe same yere that Herod was accepted of the Iewes for their King, Iesus the Sonne of Mary was borne, whose whole life was nothing els but a teaching of Saluation to that people; and whose end was to bee crucified by the Synagogue; and yet for all that, his doctrine and name continue still through the whole world. He it is whom we call Christ, and whome we affirme to be the Anointed. And therefore let vs see first how all the propheties are come to effect in him, and how he hath fully performed the office of the Messias.

Here let vs cal to mind the circumstances which we haue noted hertofoze. The Prophets haue told vs that he should be borne of a virgin. The Gospell

Gospell affirmeth Mary his mother to haue bin such a one; and yet the Iewes which haue come after ward, haue written that she was taken in adulterie. Well, seeing that in all their doings they shewe so great rage against hir Sonne: soasmuch as they had to deale but against a silly woman that had no stay to stand vnto, and their Law is so expresse and peremptorie against aduoutries: why did they not indite her of it, which would haue qualshed the reputation of hir sonne and of hirselfe both together? Or why say they not rather that he was the sonne of Ioseph: but that Ioseph knew and said the contrarie? And seeing that Ioseph disclaimed him for his sonne, had they not the moze aduantage to haue made him partie and plaintife against hir adulterie? But shee liued safely by them, both after hir sonnes death, and without sitting in his life time. And what greater prooue of hir chastitie desire wee than to see so many Pharisses, and so many Iudges enraged against one silly woman, and yet not daring to charge her with any crime? But the talke of one Theodosius a Iewe with a Christian Merchantman named Philip in the time of the Emperour Iustinian, is worthy to bee noted in this behalfe. In the Temple of Hierusalem (quoth the Iewe) there were two and twenty ordinary Preestes: and as soone as any of them dyed, the residue chose another in his place. Nowe it happened that Iesus for his singular Godlinesse and doctrine was chosen by them. And to the intent they might knowe the name of his father and mother, and inregister it according to their custome; they sent for them, and Mary came thither alone, because Ioseph was then dead. She being asked the name of the father of Iesus, answered vpon hir othe that she had conceived him by the Holy Ghoste, and reported to them the wordes of the Angell. Moreouer she told them the names of the women that came to hir labour vnlooked for; vpon dew inquisition whereof, when all things were found to fall out true, they registred his name in the Register of the Pricstes in these wordes. **I E S V S T H E S O N N E O F T H E L I V I N G G O D A N D O F T H E V I R G I N M A R I E.** And this Register (quoth Theodosius) was saued at the sacking of Hierusalem, and afterward kept in the Citie Tiberias, where it is preserued in secret, and I haue scene it as one of the cheefe among the Iewes, and as one from whom in respect of my degree, nothing was restrained. And I beleue thereby that it is not ignorance that holdeth me in the Iewish Religion, but the honor which I haue among my Countymen, the like whereof I could not haue elsewhere. Now there is great likelihood that this should be true, considering that Iesus (as we say) did preach in the Temple, and went sometimes by into the Pulpit, which thing the pride of the Pharisses would hardly els haue indured. And the holy Rabbine also saith expresse that the mother of the Messias should be a virgin, and

The Prophe-
sies fulfilled in
Iesus.

Borne of a
Virgin.

Suidas vpon
the wordes
Iesus.

R. Hacadoch,
in the third
Question.
Esay. 9.

The Talmud,
the treatise
Sanhedrin:
Chapt. Nig-
mar Hadin.

Clemens in
his Recogni-
tions.

Micheas,
ver. 2.

In Bethleem.
John. 7. ver. 42.

Jonathan ben
ziel,

that her name should be Mary; & he gathereth it after the art of the Cabalists, out of these wordes in the ninth of Esay, *Lemarch hammisrah*. And Rabbi Hacanas the son of Nehumia saith that this Mary was of Bethleem the daughter of Ichoiakim Eli, of the line of Zorobabel, of the tribe of Iuda, which was the tribe whereof the Messias should come. And of a truth, we read not in the Gospell, that Iesus was upbaided by his comming of the tribe of Iuda, or of the house of Dauid; but rather that he was the sonne of a Carpenter; for the long continued aduersities of the house of Dauid, had brought some of his posteritie to lowe degree. And Rabbi Vla saith, that Iesus of Nazareth by name, being of the blood royall (that is to say the sonne of Dauid) was crucified the day afore the Passouer. And seeing the Messias was so precisely promised to be of that race; let vs not doubt but that the Scribes would willingly haue verified the contrarie, if they had could, for then had the Goale bene wonne on their side. To be short, to come backe againe to the virginitie of Mary, she was not a woman of such kindred, allance, and wealth, as might bee bold to hope that her single word would be belæued without trial: neither were the people to whome she spake, besotted with the opinion of the Heathen, who forged tales of their gods to make themselves to be the easelier belæued: but the thing was so true, that the very trueth thereof imboldened her. And in very deed, that is the very cause why Simon Magus (to the intent hee might not seeme any whit inferiour to Iesus) denied not the same point, but rather graunting it to be true, was desirous to make his Disciples belæue, that he himselfe also was the sonne of a Virgin. The Prophet Micheas saith, And thou Bethleem Ephrata which art but little to bee counted among the families of Iuda, out of thee shall come to mee the partie that shall reigne ouer Israell, and his soorth commings are from the beginning, and from the dayes of eternitie. Here againe wee haue two births of Christ; the one in time, the other everlastingly afore all time. And therevpon rise these farre differing speeches of the people in the Gospell, saying one while; When Christ commeth, wee shall not knowe whence he commeth; and another while; Is it not written that Christ shall come of the seede of Dauid, and of the towne of Bethleem where he dwelt? Now, that it was so vnderstood by the Fathers of olde time, the Chaldee Paraphrase giueth credit, to where it is translated thus: Out of thee shall Christ come which shall hold the Souereignie ouer Israell. And Ionathas the authoz of the said Paraphrase, a principall Disciple of Hillels, was yet aliuie at the same time that Iesus was bozne: and the holy Rabbine and Rabbi Selomoh consent therevnto. And that Iesus was bozne in Bethleem, euen after such a fashion as was not looked for, It is not that any of them denieth it. Moreover, there was to bee seene the Stable wherein Christ was bozne, beaten out of a Rocke; which place

of a Rocke; which place Origen reporteth to have bene singularly reuerenced of the Infidels in his time. Origē against
Celsus.

The Gospell telleth vs that Iesus certaine daies after his birth, was caried to Hierusalem to bee offered to the Lord according to the Lawe, and that there a man named Simeon, a man that was righteous and feared God, being certified by the holy Ghost that he should not die untill he had first seene Christ the Lords Anointed; took him in his armes & praised God, saying; This day haue I seene thy saluation, &c. Where I charge the Iewes before God, to bethinke themselves well of the things which they both write and reade of this Simeon: namely, how that the Disciples of Hillel should neuer faile till Christ were come: That this Simeon surnamed the Righteous, and Jonathan the sonne of Vziel were two of the chiefe of those Disciples: That in this Simeon the spirit of the great Synagogue did utterly faile and cease: That God himselfe did then shew by all signes, that he abhorred that Synagogue and the Sanctuary, and that all should goe awrye, and that all things were full of darknes there. Whereof comes this chaunge which they themselves doe marke so aduisedly, but of their contempt of Christ: And whereas they say further, that the Temple opened of it selfe, and that Rabbi Jonathan Ben Zaccai fellow disciple with Simeon being astonished thereat, bethought him of this saying of the Prophet Zacharie, Open thy doores thou Libanus, and let the fire consume thy Cedars: what is it but the same that Simeon foretold vnto Mary, saying; Behold, this child is sent to be the ouerthrow and the raising vp of many, and to be a signe that shalbe spoken against? This Child is named Iesus, that is to say Sauour: and the Gospell adding the cause thereof, saith; For hee shall saue his people from their sinnes. Who ruled and directed his birth, to be of a Virgin, in Bethleem, and bethought of, to make it meete iust with the Prophecies going afoze, and to make his name now to agree both with the Circumstances going afoze, and with all the whole course of his life: For of so many men that had borne the name of Iesus afoze, as well in the time of the first Temple as of the second; in which of them shall we finde all these things to concur as they doe here? Neither is this naming of him so, in vaine. For like as neither Abraham nor Moyses did bring the Israelites into the land of Canaan, but Iesus the sonne of Nun: so neither the lawe of Nature nor the lawe of Moyses, could bring vs into our true Canaan, that is to wit, our spirituall inheritance, but onely grace by the true Iesus. And therefore the Saint Rabbi saith: That because Christ shall saue folke, therefore he shall be called Iesus; and because he shall be both God and Man, therefore he shall be called Emanuell, [that is to say, God with vs.] And in another place, The Gentiles (saith he) shall call him Iesus. And he dwaweth this name out of the nine and fortieth Chapter of Genesis by a

Simeon.

Luke. i.

Talmud. treatise Pirkei a-uoth. & in the treatise lo-mach, Chapt. Tereph Be-calpi. Zachary. ii.

Iesus.

Matthew. i. 23. Luke. i. 31. John. i. 1. Acts. i. 8.

Matthew. i. 23. Luke. i. 31. John. i. 1. Acts. i. 8.

Matthew. i. 23. Luke. i. 31. John. i. 1. Acts. i. 8.

R. Hacadoch.

Esay. 9.

Gen. 49

cer-

Pſalm. 71.

Pſalm. 96.

certain rule of the Cabale which they terme Notariak, by taking the first letters of the wordes *Iabho schilo velo*, which make the word *Ieshu*: and likewise of these wordes in the 72. Pſalme *linnun schemo veithbarecu*: and also of these in the 96. Pſalme, *iagnaloz sadai vecol*: all which are texts that are ment expresse of the Pessias. Although I force not of these their doings, yet haue I alledged them against them selues, because it is their custome to shewe the cunning of the arte of their Cabale. And after the same maner haue the Machabees also their name, that is to wit, of the first Letters of the wordes of this their device, *Ali camocha baelim Iehouah*: that is to say, Which of the Gods is like thee o Iehouah: That the name Iesus should bee reuealed vnto them, it is no strange matter, considering that in the third and fourth booke of Esdras, Iesus Christ the sonne of God is named expressely and diuers times, and the time of his coming precisely set downe according to Daniels weekes. For although the Iewes account those booke for Apocryphaes, and the Primatiue Church hath not graunted the like authoritie to them, as to the other Canonically booke: yet is it a clere case, that they were written afore the coming of Iesus Christ, of whome neuerthelesse they speake by name.

A Forerunner.

Malachy. 3.
verſ. 1.R. Moyſes Ben
Maimon in
his sentences.
Mark. 9. ver. 11The Chronicle
of the
Princes of Is-
raell vnder
the second
Temple.Iosephus li. 18
Cap. 7

So the Scripture promised also a Forerunner, that should come afore the manifesting of the Pessias to the world. For Malachie saith, Behold, I send my Ambassadour to make way before him, & by and by after shall the Lord whom you seeke, enter into his Temple. And in the next Chapter following, he is called Elias, by reason of the likenesse of their offices; and this text (as I haue shewed afore) is understood by them concerning the Pessias. And soothly we haue certaine footestepes thereof in these wordes of the Gospell, The Scribes say that Elias must first come. And in another place, Art thou Christ, or Elias, or one of the Prophets? A little afore that Christ disclosed himselfe, Iohn the Baptist stood by in Israell, and was followed by such a multitude of people, that all the great ones grudged at him: and he is the same man whom by way of prerogative, the Chronicle of the Iewes calleth Rabbi Iohanan the great Priest. Concerning this Iohn the Baptist, so much as they suspect our Gospell, let them beleue their owne Story writer. There was (saith he) a very good Man that exhorted the Iewes to vertue, and specially to Godlines and vpright dealing, inuiting them to a cleannesse both of body and mind by baptisme. But when Herod perceiued that great multitudes of people followed him, which (to his seeming) were at his commandement; to auoid insurrections he put him in prison, where anon after, he cut off his head. And therefore it was the common opinion, that when Herods armye was afterwarde overcome and vterly put to the swoorde, it was through Gods iust iudgement for putting of Iohn Baptist vniustly to death.

death. By this witnesse of Iosephus, we see what his office was, namely to preache repentance and to Baptize, or (as Malachie saith) to turne the heartes of the Fathers to their Children, and the hearts of the Children to their Fathers. But the thing which we haue chiefly to note here, is that hauing the people at commaundement, yet when Iesus came, he gaue Iesus place, and humbled himselfe to him, and yelded him the glozy: the which thing man being led by affection of man would neuer haue done. Insomuch that after that Iesus had once shewed himselfe, the Disciples of this greates maister shewed not themselves as his disciples any moze; and that was because his training and teaching of them was not for himselfe, but for Iesus. And as touching the peculiar act of Baptizing, it seemeth that the Leuites waited for some speciall thing vpon it, in that they asked of Iohn, How happeneth it that thou Baptizest, if thou be neither Christ, nor Elias the Prophet?

But let vs come now to treate of the life of Iesus, not according to our Gospels, but according to such Histories as the Iewes themselves cannot denie: and what els is it than the verie body of the shadowes of the olde Testament, and the very pith and substance of the wordes that were spoken afore concerning the Messias: Let vs call to remembrance to what end hee came, namely to saue Mankinde: and the nature of his Kingdome, how it is holy and spirituall. Whereof are all his Preachings, but of the forgiuenesse of sinnes, and of the Kingdome of Heauen? his Disciples were alwayes importunate vpon him in asking him, Lorde when wilt thou set vpe the Kingdome of Israell againe? In stead of contenting their fancies, hee answereth them concerning the Kingdome of Heauen. They imagined some Emperre of Cyrus, or Alexander: that their Nation might haue bene honozed of all other Nations of the earth. One of them would needes haue sit on his right hand and another on his left. What answereth he to this? Say (saith hee) whosoener will be greatest, let him be the least; and if I being your Maister be as a Seruant among you, what ought you to be? Pee shall be brought before Magistrates: that is farre from reigning. Pee shall be persecuted, imprisoned, tormented and crucified: that is farre off from triumphing. I will giue you to vnderstand how great things yee be to suffer for my names sake: that is verie farre from parting of Countries. Yet notwithstanding, happy shall you be when you suffer these things, and hee that holdeth out to the end shall be saued. Who can imagine any temporall thing in this Kingdome, whereof the first and last Lesson is, that a man to saue his life must lose it: and to become happy must wed himselfe to wretchednes? The people followe him for the miracles which hee worketh: and the Jewes denie not but he did very great ones. But let vs see whereto they tended.

The kingdom
of Iesus is spi-
rituall.

He fed a great multitude of people in the wilderness, with a few Loaves. This miracle was matter enough for him to have held them with long talke; but he preacheth vnto them of the heavenly bread which feedeth vnto euertlasting life. Also hee healeth all sicke and diseased folke that come vnto him: howbeit, to shewe that that was but an appendant or rather an income to that for the which he came; Thy sinnes (saith he) be forgiven thee. To be short, from Abrahams Well, hee directeth the Woman of Samaria to the Fountaine of life. Being shewed the goodly buildings of Hierusalem and of the Temple, he forgetteth the onerthow of them both. Being required a sittingplace at his right hand or at his left; he answereth of a Cuppe that such a petitioner is to drinke. When men go about to make him King, he steales away from them. And whereas his Apostles looke for some greate triumph; his accomplishing of it is after the maner that the Prophet Zacharie speaks of, namely by riding vpon a she Ass, euen vpon the Colt of an Ass. And yet neuerthelesse Herod the King trembleth at him in his throne, the whole Counsell of the Realme are in a perplexitie, and all the people are astonished. And in his doings he maketh it to appeare sufficiently, that he hath the hearts of all men in his hand, and that if he himselfe listed hee should be obeyed both of the greatest persons and in the greatest matters. Surely then wee may well say, that the marke which this Iesus and the marke which the Messias leueleth at, are bothe one; namely to draw men from the earth, and to make them to plant their whole hope by his meanes in heaven.

God and Man.

John. 12. vers.
34.

It followeth that to this office which he did evidently take vpon him, he brought the qualities requisite to the executing thereof, that is to wit, that he was both God and Man: I say, God as the Sonne of God, and Man as borne of a woman, without sinne, and such in all pointes as he was forepromised to be. Of this hope wee haue some footsteps in the Gospell. For some say, We haue heard say that Christ endureth for euer. And Nathaniel himselfe saith, Sir, Art thou the Sonne of God and the King of Israel? What is to say, art thou the Sonne of God whome wee looke for to be the King of Israel? To the same purpose may wee set his two natures heere one against another. He himselfe was hungrie; and yet he fed many thousands with a few Loaves. He suffered thirst; and yet he gaue other men liuing Waters that overflowed. He was wearie, and yet he saide come vnto mee all ye that are wearie. Hee paid tribute, but he commaunded the Fish to pay the Tribute money for him. He was dumbe as a Lambe, but yet was the very speech it selfe. He yelded vp his spirit and died, but hee told them he had power to take it to him againe. To be short, he was condemned, but he iustifieth: Hee was slaine, but he saue: He prayed; but his praying was for vs, and he heareth our prayers.

prayers. For these countermatchings and the like doe we read of in our Euangelists, in whom we haue the doings of both natures distinguished, and yet notwithstanding ioyned together in one person. But if they will utterly deny our Gospels: then shall we in that point be moze by right than they: for we will not denie all their writing. Now they agree with vs that he was man: and for all their casting vp of their foame against him in their bookes, yet are they not able to charge him with any vice euen in his private life: and therefore the chiefe thing that we haue to stand vpon, is the proue of his Godhead.

Jesus (saith our Gospell) wrought miracles. Hee healed the sicke, restored Limmes to the lame, gaue sight to the blind, and raised the dead vnto life: and that not in one or two places, but in many: nor in a corner, but in the open sight of the world: and there are many thousands of men which will rather die vpon the Racke than deny him, yea or not preach him. I aske them vpon their consciences, if they will deny that he wrought any miracles. If they deny it: then what a miracle is this, that so many people doe followe a poore abiect without miracles, and are contented to die for his sake, euen when he himselfe is dead? And if these miracles of his (as namely the restoring both of sight and life, and such others) were not very great and farre surmounting all nature of man; yet who would lose his life, but for a better? and how could he giue the better, which could not giue the other? And if it bee a miracle to worke vpon a man by touching him, and much moze without touching him, and most of all without seeing him: what a miracle is it to worke in the heartes of whole Nations farre off, with out seeing them; and to touche them without comming at them; and to turne them to him without touching them? And if the bones of Elias be commended for prophesying in his Tumb: what shall this Jesus bee for overcoming so many people, and for conquering so many Nations after his death, yea and (which is a greater matter) euen by the death of his seruants, who preached nothing but his death? But the Rabbines saie well ynough that the miracles of Jesus could not be denied. And truely R. Iohanan saith in the Talmud, that a Penitent of R. Iosua the sonne of Leuy had taken poison, and that being adured by the name of Jesus, hee was healed out of hand: and this is a verifying of that which Jesus himselfe saith, namely that if they drinke any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them: And Rabbi Ioses saith, that when a Serpent had bitten Eleazar the sonne of Duma, Iames the Disciple of Jesus would haue healed him, and Rabbi Samuell would not suffer him: And Iosephus their owne Historiographer speaking of the miracles of Jesus, findeth them so wonderfull, that hee cannot tell whether he ought to call him Man or God. And they ought not to thinke it strange that he should worke miracles, considering that they beleene

The miracles of Iesus.

The Talmud of Hierusalem in the treatise Auodazara.

Marke. 16. Midrash Co. heleth. Ioseph. in his Antiquities. lib. 18. Cap. 4.

the

the miracles of Moyses, of Elias, of Eliseus, and diuers others. But some of them did attribute his miracles to Magicke, and some to the power of the name of God which they charged him to haue vsurped: in the examining of both which points, I beseech them to ioine with mee without affection.

In the Tal-
mud, treatise
Sanhedrim.
chap. Dinei
Mammonoth
col. lib. 20.
cap. 6.

As touching Magicke, they say that their thescoze and tenne Benatozs whom they call Sanhedrim, were very skilfull in it; and so saith R. Sclomoh also, the better to conuince the Inchaunters. And we reade in Iosephus, that Magicke was neuer more frequented in Iewrie then it was among the Doctors at this time. Now if their meaning was to conuict Iesus as an euill doer; why did they not put him to shame? why did they not vse the rigour of the Lawe against him? How happeneth it that in their accusing of him, they charge him not with any Magicke at all? Or if they meant to overcome him by the art; why did not some one of them worke the like things or greater? Why did not their miracles swallowe vp his? Nay contrariwise, whereof commeth it that Iosephus calleth Iesus a worker of miracles; and the other soyle Magicians and deceitfull Coseners? And that his miracles worke still euen after his death, whereas theirs vanished away afoze they were dead? But like as in the time of Moyses, God suffered great Magicians to be in Aegypt, that he might make his owne power the more euident in Moyses: so at this time there was great store of them in Iewrie; to the intent it might appeare what difference is betwixt that which man can doe by the Diuels abusing of him, and that which the finger of God himselve can doe in man. And in good sooth I dare well say, there is not any arte in the worlde, that dooth more clearly verifie the miracles of Iesus, than Magicke doth. For by Plinies report, there were neuer more Magicians, than in the time of Nero, (which was the time that Christes Disciples did spread his doctrine abroade) neither was the vanitie of that arte euer more apparantly knowne (as he witnesseth) than at that time. And euen among the Iews of our time, that science is more common at this day, than among all other people. For they make booke thereof, specially in the East parts of the world. But what are they els than casts of Legierdemaine or Juggling tricke, and toys for Babes to play withall? And as for the Magicians which the Princes of Christendome maintaine in their Courtes, to the shame of vs all and to their owne confusion; what are the things which they do, but (to speake fitly) mere illusions that vanish away out of hand, as which consist in some nimble tricks in playing at Cardes and Dice; or in slyper deuises of slight and vaine things: Of which kinde of folkes and dealings, I say not who would willingly die for them, but who would not be ashamed to liue with them? As for Iesus, we see it is farre otherwise with him. He wrought very great miracles in the world: although

he was crucified, yet (saith Iosephus) his Disciples forsooke him not: and therefore enen after he was gone from them, they wrought miracles still: and what manner of Miracles? Surely euen such as within the space of twentie yeares or thereabouts, filled all the world full of Christians: and that miracle continueth still vnto this day. The Emperors which had not heard any speaking of Christ, were converted to the Kingdome of Christ, and beleued him for his doings afoye they heard of his name. The Emperours vnder whom he had bene crucified, and his Disciples diuersly persecuted, are glad to doe him honour, and to builde Temples vnto him. Let the Iewes tell mee what Magitian they euer heard of, that wrought such miracles after his death: If they say that Christs Apostles and Disciples also were Magitians: then seeing that no man which is well aduised, doeth any thing but to some end: let them tell mee what gaine the Apostles could get by exercising this Magike, which procured them nothing but hatred, sorrow, imprisonment, torments, and cruell death? And seeing that Magitians doe hide themselves and conceale their arte when they be pursued for it: what kinde of Magicke is this, which will needs bee knowne and exercised, euen in despite of Princes, and of the world, yea and of death: that is to say, euen in despite of the man himselfe (if I may so say) that doth practise it? If it be further replied that some extreame vaine glorie led them: how happeneth it that euery of them did not cause himselfe to bee worshipped alone? And that they did not their workes in their owne names, but referred all to Iesus, yielding vnto him the power, the honour, and the glory of all? If they say (as of force they needs must) that the power of the crucified Man wrought still in them and by them: Let them say also that the same man liued still euen after his crucifying, yea and a farre other life than all other men (considering that after this life hee maketh men to bee more than men) that is to wit, a life not onely free from death, but also euerlasting and diuine in deede: and so is farre off from the punishment appointed by them to Magitians, that is to wit, from being in Tayle and vnder torture, or (as they themselves terme it) in endlesse death. But as sone as they perceiue themselves stopped on that side, by and by they take to scapeout another way.

Iesus (say they) wrought his miracles by vertue of the vnutterable name of **G D**, which hee minded. And thereupon they fall to an account, which sheweth (as many other in their Talmud do) that in Gods matters they wanted not only the spirit of God, but also euen the humane wit and reason: and God knoweth I would be ashamed to rehearse it, but for their owne welfare. Their saying then is, that in Salomons Temple there was a certeine stone of very rare vertue, wherein Salomon by his singular wisdom had ingrauen the verie true name of God, which

which it was lawfull for every man to reade, but not to run by hart, nor to write out: And that at the Temple were two Lions tied at two Cheines, which roared terribly, that the feare of it made him to forget the name that had committed it to memorie, and him to burst a sunder in the midst that had put it in writing. But Jesus the sonne of Mary (say they) regarding neither the curse annexed vnto the prohibition, nor the roaring of the Lions; wrote it out in a bill, and went his way with it with great gladnesse: And lest he might be taken with the thing about him, he had a little opened the skinne of his Leg and put it in there, and afterward wrought his miracles by the vertue of that name. Now ye must thinke that if I was ashamed to repeat this geste, I am much more ashamed to stand confuting of it. Neuer the later, seeing that the sumptuousnes of Salomons Temple is described so diligently vnto vs, and yet no mention is made either of that rare Stone, or of those Lions that were so zealous of Gods name: whence I pray them haue they this so faire tale? And how cometh it to passe that Iosephus was ignorant thereof, who had so diligently perused their matters of remembrance; or how come they to the first knowledge thereof, so many hundred yeares after? Again, where became those Lions at such times as the Aegyptians and Babylonians spoiled Hierusalem and defiled the Temple? How found they them again in the second Temple? Or if they were immortall, where became they after ward? Say further, how happeneth it that Salomon that great king who consecrated and ingraued the said Stone, wrought not the like miracles himselfe, specially sith we reade not that he wrought any miracle at all? And what godlines had it bene for him, to haue concealed & kept secret that name, which would haue cured so many diseases of body and infirmities of minde? whereby folke might haue bene turned away from idolatry, and the whole world might haue bene wonne vnto the law of God? But if I must needs answer foales farther according to their folle; then if Jesus be the seruant of the living God, and vse his name to his glory, why do they not beloeue him? Or if he serued not God, how was it possible that the name of God should be loaged by a mortall man, against the glory of God? And what a blasphemie is it to uphold, that the power of God is so tied to his name, that his enemies may (whether he will or no) serue their owne turnes, both with his name and with his power, to the overthrow of his kingdom, & to the stablishing of theirs? Say rather, let vs say according to their owne teaching, that Jesus did great miracles, both in the name of God and in the power of God, & that God gaue power vnto his name, and not the name vnto God. Jesus therefore was certainly the seruant of God, and endued with such power from God.

Now, whereas some deny that Christ should worke myzacles, when as not withstanding, the Scripture saith the contrarie, and the Jewes in

In the treatise
Sanhedrin, ch.
H. lcc.

in the Gospell do continually exact signes and myracles at his hand, and their Talmud reporteth that Christ should discern good from euill by the onely sent or sauour, by the want of which propertie they say that Barcozba was bewraied not to be the Messias; and whereas they affirme that the wild beasts should lay away their wildnesse, and that Hierusalem should be holled vp three leagues into the ayre, and such other like: I confesse in deede that the chiefe end of Christs comming, was not to worke myracles, accordingly also as we see that his doing of them was but as bywoorkes and vpon occasion; and I esteeme moze of those which do heare his worde and keepe it, than of those which remoue Mountaines. Neuerthelesse, Rabbi Hadarfan saith hee had learned of Rabbi Natronai, that Christ should come with very great signes and myracles, and that the Pharisees should attribute them to Arte Magicke, and to the names of vncleane Spirits, according whereunto wee read in the Gospell, that they said thus, He casteth out Deuilles by the name of Beelzebub. And the Commentarie vpon the booke of the Preacher saith, that all the myracles which went afoze, are nothing to the myracles of the Messias. Also the Talmud in a certaine place saith, That the myracles which shall be wrought in the time of the Messias in the kingdomes of the Gentiles, compared with the myracles that were wrought in Aegypt, shall be as the substance to the accident.

Vnto Myracles is ioyned Prophecyng, as a thing to be numbered among the chiefe myracles. That Christ should be a Prophet, they will not denie: for they take the text of Deuteronomie, where a Prophet is promised them, to be ment of Christ: and therevpon riseth this common demaund in the Gospell, Art thou the Prophet? And whereas they say in their Talmud, that the Messias shall iudge of things by their onely smell; it cannot be soundly vnderstood of any thing els, than of an excellent gift of Prophecyng. To let passe a thousand particular Prophecies, and a thousand textes whereby wee perceiue that Iesus read things in the hypocritish hearts of the Pharisees, and saue things in the hearts of his Disciples, which they themselves neither saue nor perceined: who will not wonder at these which wee see so peremptorilie come to passe, namely, Yee shall be brought before the Princes and Magistrates of the earth: men shall thinke they doe seruice vnto God, when they murder you for my names sake: that the glad tidings of his kingdome should be preached through the whole world, notwithstanding all impediments: That Hierusalem should be destroyed: that all things should bee wasted and vnhalowed there: that of the same temple which they reuerenced so much, one stone should not bee left standing vpon another: And that the time wherein these things should bee doone was then so neere hand, that euen those which led him to death, had cause to bewaile them.

R. Hadarfan
vpon the
Psalme. 74

Midrash Co-
heleth. Capt.
Talmud. trea-
tise Baracoth.
Chapt. Memar-
thai korin.

The Prophe-
cyngs of Iesus:

Deuter. 8. and
18.

themselves and their Children? For what I pray you could those pious Fishermen thinke, when he spake to them of being led before Kings; and (which moze is) when he told them that they should dzine Nations like flockes of sheepe afoze them at the hearing of the Gospell? What likeli- hood was there hereof in his owne person or in theirs, considering the lowlinesse of his life, and the reprochfulnesse of his death? And as touching the destruction of Hierusalem which befell about fortie yeeres after; sith we reade expresse in their owne Histories, that the Emperour Titus offered them peace, sought the preservation of their Temple, graunted them the free vse of their Religion, and during his seege did seke as it were by intreatance to them being beseged, that hee might save and preserve them; and yet notwithstanding (as Iosephus reporteth) they would needs perish whether he would or no, and wilfully cast themselves into the same extremities whereof Iesus had forewarned them: who can say that he was ignorant of the vncchangeable determination of God, notwithstanding that to the sight of Man, the matter was as likely to haue salne out otherwile as ever any was, specially considering that the enemies themselves, on whom the whole case seemed to depend, laboured by all meanes to turne the destruction away from the beseged?

The Doctrine
of Iesus,
Deuter. 33.

Now, albeit that as well Propheccyng as Pyacles, haue eyther of them their peculiar and vncommunicable marks of Gods spirit and finger, whereby to discern the one from the other: Yet certesse, doctrine is the touchstone of them both. For, if there rise vp a Prophet (saith the Law) and giue thee a signe or myracle, and thervpon he come and counsell thee to turne aside to straunge gods: thou shalt not hearken vnto him. Therefore let vs see what doctrine Iesus matched with his signes and miracles. Let vs reade the Gospell from the one end to the other, and wee shall see nothing there but to loue God with all our heart, and our neighbour as our selfe. Also he came not to abolish the Lawe, but to fulfill it; not to destroye the Temple, but to purge it. The Pharisees had extended the Lawe but to the outwarde man; he condemneth their hypocrisse, and bringeth it backe againe to the inward man. They saide, hate your enemies: but he saith, if yee loue none but your friends, what are ye better than the Publicanes? They said, Thou shalt not commit adulterie; thou shalt not kill: But he sayd, If thou looke vpon a woman to lust after her, thou hast broken the Lawe: and if thou say to thy brother, Racha; thou hast already killed him. To be short, a neighbour by their interpretation, was but in Iericho or nere thereabouts: but he told them that a neighbour was in Samaria, in Idumea, and in all the corners of the world. Also if a case concerne God, he taught men to forsake Gods, Deserments, Father, Mother, Wife, Children, and all that euer is, for loue of his seruice. As for Saluation and Welfare, he taught men to hoord up

treas

treasure in Heauen, and to shake off the world in this life, that they may be clothed with glozie in another. What is there in all this. I say not which turneth a man away, but which setteth him not in the right way, and which tendeth not in effect to the glozie of the true God, to the doing of our duetie to wards our neighbours, and to euery mans owne saluation and welfare: By the way, this doctrine is not a declaiming, nor an exercise of Philosophers, who (as Seneca affirmeth) pretended slaues by their titles, and contained poison and venome in their bores: but it is expressed in his life, and read in his Disciples, whome neither Jewe nor Gentile haue euer blamed, but for their simplicitie and innocencie: Insomuch that Philo the Jewe made a booke expresse thereof for a wonder. For whereas Celsus the Epicure obiebeth, that Iesus chose Publicans and men of wicked conuersation to be his Disciples: euen therein peculiarly hath he shewed the effectualnes of his doctrine in the curing of mens soules, as a Physician doth in healing those that are sorest sicke and furthest past hope of recouerie in a Citie. To be short, at his worde the Nations that worshipped Devils, Men, Planets, Stockes and Stones, turned to the onely true God. The Devils that had abused them, hid themselves away, and their Oracles lost their voices, as shalbe said hereafter. But as for the lawe of God and the holy Scriptures. (I meane euen those (ye Jewes) which you your selues belæue and reuerence:) they come to be read, embraced, and expounded through all the world, and in all Languages. If this doctrine then be of the Deuill: by what marke shall we know the doctrine of God? And if to giue authoritie to the Bible ouer all the world, be the destruction thereof: what shall we call the stablishing thereof? And if Iesus haue by his doctrine stablished the seruice of the true God, authorized the Lawe of Moyses, and rooted by the seruice of the Deuill by the bottome: how can it be said that the Deuill hath either inspired him, or assisted him in his myracles and Prophecysings, both for the kingdome of God, and against the Devils owne Tyrannie?

Philo concerning the Contemplative life.

Yea (say you) but hee professed himselfe to bee the Sonne of God. So much the rather (say I) ought you to embrace him, seeing that by the record of your auncestors, the Messias ought so to be. And in reporting himselfe to be so, if you reade your owne Doctours well, yee shall finde that he turneth you not away to diuers Gods, nor yet to straunge Gods. For according to your owne Scriptures and Traditions, these three, namely the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, are but one God. I would knowe but this one thing of you: whether you take him for a true Prophet, or for a false Prophet: for the seruant of God, or for the seruant of the Deuill. You haue said heretofore that he vsed the power of the name of God in his myracles, whereby ye haue graunted me very much: and I also haue proued vnto you, that such particular and speciall Prophecies

An obiection.

Looke the 6. Chapter heretofore.

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as these, cannot proceede but from God himselfe. But what a servant is he to the Devil, which overthroweth his Maister? How is he not an overthrower of him, which saueth vs? How is hee a false accuser of vs, which iustifieth vs? How is he a deadly enemy, which setteth vs againe in life? For what els hath the doctrine of Iesus done throughout the whole world, but destroyed the Altars of the Devils, beaten downe their Temples, broken their Images in peeces, abolished their gamings, their feasts, their sacrifices: and moreover withdrowen the rest of men from Murder, Whoredome, Theft, and all other abominations wherein they were plunged, and from the vaine seruices whereabouts they occupied themselves, and wherewith they deceined their owne Consciences? If ye say he was the servant of God: the very Turkes confesse as much. Therefore proceede yet further, and graunt that sith hee is the Prophet and servant of God, he is to be belæued. For God the Creator being altogether good and wise, would not lend him his spirit to deceine vs. And if we ought to belæue him, wee ought also to heare him: and if we heare him, he telleth vs that he is Christ the Anointed, that he is the truth, that he is the way, that he came from God his father, and that the father and he are but one. And in deed, one while to shew that he was sent of his father, he prayeth vnto him: and another while to shew that he is equall with him, he commaundeth absolutely and of himselfe. Surely therefore we may well say, that this Prophet Iesus being assisted by Gods spirit, both in his Prophesying, and in his Miracles, and in his doctrine: and being borne of a Virgin, in Bethleem, and at the time appointed afore hand by the Prophets: is Christ the Lordes anointed, God and Man, euen such as he was declared and behighted vs in the holy Scriptures, as I haue shewed already.

The stumbling
blocke of
the Iewes.

But lo here the stumbling blocke of the Pharisees and the Iewes. What likelihood is there (say they) that our Christ by whome we looke that Israell should bee so renowned, should bee so base and abiect a person? Nay moreover, if he be both God and Man (as you Christians say he is) what can be imagined more against all reason, than that hee should bee buffeted, whipped, crucified, accounted among thieves, and in the end reprochfully killed, as your Iesus was? Sothly, to folke that haue imagined and reckoned vpon a Monarchie of the whole world, and behighted themselves places among the chiefe in the same: it must needs be a great rage and greefe to bee defeated of that hope. But had they well considered and digested this Verse of Zacharie: Beholde, thy King cometh vnto thee, righteous, Sauourlike, and lowlie, riding vpon an Ass, euen the Colic of an Ass: which Text their Rabbines expound of the Messias, and we read it to haue been fulfilled in Iesus at his coming into Hierusalem: they would not thinke it so strange that in the same person

Zacharie. 9. &
12.

person also should be performer this saying of the same Prophet in another place, I wil powte out the spirit of grace & mercie vpo the house of David & vpo the inhabitants of Hierusalem: & they shall looke vpo me whom they haue pearced: which text likewise the Rabbines expound of *Isaías*, as wel as the other. Now I haue shewed heretofore, that the *Isaías* should reconcile vs vnto God, by the satisfacti^e & amends which he should make vnto him for vs: and also how agreeable the said amends was both to Gods Justice and merrie, which cannot be contrarie one to another, and also to the order of dealing that is among men. For in as much as man would needs though his pride become equall with God, and by his disobedience be as God: it was mete that his Sueretie should be abased euen beneath man, and yeld perfect obedience, euen to the most reprochfull death that could bee. Again, to turne man againe and to restrayne him from sinne, nothing could be more effectual, than to make him know the horrible nesse of his sinne, by the greatness of the penaltie and satisfaction thereof: neither could any thing be more forcible to allure him of the lone of God and of his neighbour, than to see God redeme him from wretched thraldome by the death of his owne Sonne God and Man, and the same his owne Sonne crucified and dying for the ransome, not of his brethren, but of his enemies whom he vouchsafeth to admit to be his brethren. But forasmuch as the Jewes beleue the Scriptures, they will not refuse them in this point, and therefore let vs examine them here together.

As touching Christs Lowlyness in abasing himself, I haue treated thereof heretofore, and all the whole scripture teacheth it vs sufficiently. At one word, in the place where it is sayd. The Scepter shall not be taken from Iuda, it is added by and by, Tying his Asscole to the vyne, and the foale of his sheeasle to the hedge. Upon which text Rabbi Haddarlan sayeth thus, when Chryst cometh to Hierusalem, he shall gird his Ass with a girt, and enter into the Citie very poorely and lowelily, euen after the same maner that is spoken of him in the ninth of zachary. But to avoyd often repetitions, let vs beare in mind what hath bin said afore, that it may leade vs the more gently to the passion of Christ, which is our only welfare and their utter stumbling blocke. We haue in the Lawe a great number of Sacraments and Sacrifices, as well solemne at set feasts as continuall and ordinarie, and among them the Easter lamb, the Sacrifice of the red heekfar, the sending of the scapegoate into the Wildernesse, and such other like: of all the which it is said, that their blood washeth & cleanseth away the sinne of the congregation, & that the sprinkling thereof turneth away the Angell of destruction from their houses. Now forasmuch as this was don with so great solemnitie, expressely commaunded to be obserued, & conuered ouer from age

Gen. 49.
R. Moyse Haddarlan vpon the xlix. of Genesis.

The passion of Iesus foretold in the Scriptures.

to age & fro father to sonne: y^e aske them upon their consciences, whether they be signes and figures of a sacrifice to come which should cleanse away sinne; or whether those sacrifices themselves had that vertue. If they say the sacrifices had that force in themselves; what vertue is there in the blood of a Lamb or of a Heekfar, against sinne? And wherefore saith God so often unto vs, I will none of your sacrifices, I will none of the blood of your Bulles and Goats, all such things are but smoke and louthlynes in my sight? And at such time as they were prisoners at Babilon or scattered abroad in the world, where they might not by their laws offer any sacrifice; was there then no forgiveness of their sinnes? Yes surely; and therefore they were signes and figures of Christ as then to come, who was to dye for our sinnes: which signes do now cease and haue ceased now these many hundred yeres throughe the whole world, ever since the coming of him that was betokened by them, namely of the Lamb of whome it is said in Esay: He was led to the slaughter as a Lamb & he hid his peace without opening his mouth, as a sheepe before the Shearer which text the Rabbines also do interpret to be men: of the Messias. And as concerning the red Heekfar, the Cabalists do make a Case of it, and aske why in the booke of Iosue, the death of Marie is byrned immediately to the lawe of the red Cow, & therefore they will needs drawe the death of Christ to come. And in very deed Jesus the true Easterlamb was crucified on the very daye of the Passe-ouer, was witnesseth Rabbi Via in the Talmud. Also as Esay had said of the Lamb Christ, Hee is slayne for the sinne of the people: so John Baptist saith of Jesus: Behould the Lambe of God which taketh away the Sinnes of the world. Again, as they were forbidden to breake any bones of the Easterlamb, so were Christs legs left unbroken, when the legges of the thames that were crucified with him were broken. To be short, as the red Cow accompanied with all the people, was conueyed out of the Host and burned without the campe, so also was Jesus led out of the Citie accompanied by the people and crucified without the Citie. But let vs reade the Historie of the life and death of Jesus whole together out of Esay. There was neither fauour (sayth he) nor beauty in him, neither sawe we any fayrenesse in him that was to bee desired. He was despyed and thrust out from among men, a man full of infirmities and inured to sorrow by reason whereof we accounted him so vile, that wee hid our faces from him. Yet in very deepe he bare our infirmities and was laden with our sorrowes; but we thought him to be wounded and stricken of God, whereas he was wounded for our misdeedes, and smitten for our sinnes. The punishment of our peace was layd vpon him, and by his stripes are we healed. All of vs went astray like sheepe, and turned aside euery man after his owne way: and the Lord hath cast

vppon

Esay. 53

Numb. 19

In the treatise
Sanhedrim.
Chap. Nig-
mar Hadin.

Esay. 53.

vppon him the iniquities of vs all. Being misintreated and smitten, he opened not his mouth, As a Lamb was he led to be slayne, & yet hild his peace as a sheepe before the shearer. He was lifted vp from prison and iudgement, and yet who is he that can reckon vp his generation? He was plucked vp from the liuing vpon earth, and couered with woundes for the sinne of my people. His graue was giuen him with the wicked, and with the Riche in his death, Although he neuer committed vnrighteousnes, nor any guile was found in his mouth, yet was it the Lordes will to breake him with sorrow, that when he had giuen his life in sacrifice for sin, he might see a longlasting seede. Which deuice of the Lord shall prosper in his hand, and with the labour and trauel of his Soule shall he get great Riches. My righteous seruant (sayeth the Lord) shall with the knowledge of him make many men righteous, and take their sinnes vpon himselfe. I will giue him a portion among the great ones, and he shall diuide the spoile with the mightie ones, because he yelded his soule vnto death, & did muster himself among the transgressors, & tooke vpon him the sinnes of many, and prayed for the offenders. Who seeth not in this text, both the apprehension and the sorowes and the woundes, and the death of Iesus? yea & his meekenesse, Lowelines, and innocencie? His apprehension, turning to our deliuerance, his sorowes, to our toy, his woundes to our health, his death, to our life, his righteousness to our inrighteousing, & his punishment, to our obteynment of grace? And when we read, He was abhorred of men, and we made none account of him, do we not see men spitting in his face? Also when we reade these wordes, We took him to be wounded of God, do we not heare the Iewes saying to him, If thou be Christ the chosen of God, saue thy self? Againe when hee is outragiously delt withall and yet hee openeth not his mouth, do we not note his innocent holding of his peace? Finally, whereas hee was numbered among the transgressors, and yet prayed for them, notwithstanding that hee bare the sinnes of other men: what is it els but the crucifying of Iesus betwene the two theetes, and the very speech of the repentant theefe which sayde, As for vs, wee receiue worthely according to our deedes; but as for this man, what euill hath he done? Yea & the very prayer which Iesus made vpon the Crosse, saying, Lord forgiue them, for they knowe not what they do? Now, that the sayde text was vnderstood of Christ by the old Rabbines, the Iewes cannot denye. For Ionathas the Chaldeae Paraphrast the sonne of Vziel, who liued about that time, expoundeth it of Christ by name. And whereas it is saide, In very deed he bare our infirmities, Ionathas translateth it, He shalbe heard at Gods hand for our faultes and for the loue of him our sinnes shalbe forgiuen. And vpon these wordes, We hid our faces away from him: He sayeth thus,

Treatise San-
hedrim. Cha.
Helec.
Midrasch,
Ruth.
Rabbi Iofes in
the booke Si-
phrei.
R. Iacob & R.
Hamina. Cha.
Helec.

Esay. 53.

Esay. 52.

The fond
shifts of the
Iewes.

as though the countenance of the Godhead had bin withdrawn from him, because he seemed so to our sight, and we considered not what he was in deed. Wherupon Rabbi Vlasa saith thus in the Talmud: Let him come, but let not me see him, and his so saying was for the extreme paynes which he knewe that Christ should indure. And therefore they saye that hee sits bynding vp of his sores at Rome-gate. Also in a certaine place where they inquire of the name of Christ, they say he shall be called Whight, as one covered with sores of Leprosie, & they adde, according to this saying of Esay: In very deed he bare our infirmities and tooke our sinnes vpon him. And we tooke him as a Leaper, and as one wounded and cast downe of God. Neuerthelesse, that the Iewes (notwithstanding the euidentnesse of this Prophecie) should not for all that beleue, the Prophet himselfe doeth prophesie in the same Chapter. For afoze he enter into the matter of Christes passion and death, he maketh this peface, saying: Who hath beleued at the hearing of vs for to whome hath the Lords arme bene discovered? And on the contrarie parte hee sayeth to the Gentyles: Many men shall wonder for the Loue of him, and kinges shall shut their mouthes before him. They that haue not bene told of him shal see him, and they that haue not heard of him shal thinke aduisedly on him. Whpon this so shere a text, let vs here the inuentions of persons that haue inbattled themselves against their owne Saluation. To turne this text from Iesus Rabbi Selomoh and David Kimbi (afoze whom the sayd wilfulnesse of opinion was not among the Iewes) haue turned away from all the writers of former time, whome (notwithstanding) they confesse to haue vnderstood it of Christ, & they passe not what they say, so they may stand vpon denyal. This text (say they) is not meant of Christ, but of the Iewish people afflicted by the Chaldees, and the Romanes. And this serueth well to shewe what oddes is betwene the iudgment of Reason and of Affection. For I presume so much vpon their vnderstanding, that if they had bene bozne in the time of Ionathas the sonne of Vziel, or at leastwise at any time afoze the comming of Iesus, they would haue bene vtterly of another mind. When if the Prophet speake of the afflicted children of Israel when he saith, He was despised of men, and we hid our faces fro him: Of who I beseech them is that said which followeth without chang of person, namely, In very deed he bare our infirmities, and we tooke him to haue bene wounded of God, What is he was despised, is ment (say they) of the people of Israel. Then that he bare our infirmities must needs (say I) be meant of the people of Israel too. And what can be moze fond, than to say if the people of Israel bare the infirmities of the people of Israel, specially sith it is sayd immediately, And by his stripes are we healed, which sayng putteth an apparant difference between the

Philistia

Affliction and the Patient, betwene the Sufferer and him that is eased by his suffering: Again. What People or what Nation was euer benefited by his sufferings of the Israelites? To what purpose serueth this outcry of the Prophet, Who hath beleued our word, if he haue no further meaning than that the Children of Israel bare their own paines? All of vs (saith the Prophet) hath gone astray like Sheepe. Who be these Sheepe that haue gone astray, but the Israelites, and among them the Prophet himselfe? And vpon him (saith he) hath the Lord cast the sinnes of vs all. If he cast them vpon Israell, what cause of wonder is there in not beleuing it? For who doubteth but that euery man is worthe to beare the blame of his owne fault? But will any man gaine say the Prophet himselfe, who expoundeth his owne meaning so plainly afterward? He was plucked vp out of the land of the liuing (saith he) and couered with wounds for the sinnes of my people. For who seeth not here a manifest countermatching betwene the people that are healed, & the partie that suffereth for the healing of them; betwene Israel whose sores are brought to a scarre, & the partie that beareth away his sores? The Prophet addeth, There was no vnrighteousnes in him, neither was any guile found in his mouth. Surely there is pride in men, yea and euen in these men, and yet I can hardly beleue, but that they would be ashamed to challenge the verifing of this text vpon themselves. And as for the people of Israel that were afflicted by the Chaldees; the Rabbines affirme that their first Temple was destroyed for their Idolatrie, Superstitie, and shedding of guiltlesse blood. And concerning the second Temple which was destroyed by the Romanes, they say the cause thereof was the peoples couetousnesse, their hating of their neighbours without cause, & their selling of the righteous person. And wheras they reply, That the people of Israell suffered so much affliction at one season, as sufficed to discharge their successors that liued afterward in another season: surely besides that it is contrary both to the Justice and to the mercie of God, that glose cannot be verified of any one lyne of the sayd text: but it appeareth by experience, that the afflictions which the people of Israell indured at the hands of the Chaldees, did not discharge them of Antiochus, nor the afflictions laid vpon them by Antiochus, defend the Jewish Church against the Romanes, nor the extreme outrages of the Romanes so satisfie for the sinnes of that people, but that they be more scattered, & more brought in bondage, as well of moe sorts of masters, as of moe sorts of slaerie at this day, than euer they were afore. Lo how one false & fond proposition procureth many sonder solutions.

But let vs here further, how this text is expounded by other of the Prophetes. Seuentie weekes (saith Daniel) are set downe for the ending of disobedience, & for the Sealing vp of sinne, & for the cleansing away

Daniel. 9. v. 24
& 16.

Psa 22. v. 17

of iniquitie and the bringing of righteousnes for ever. As how? For vnto the anoynted Prince (saith he) shalbe seuen weekes and threescore and twoo weekes, after which time the Anoynted shalbe slayne, and nothing shalbe left vnto him, and the Prince of a people to come shall destroy the citie, &c. Here ye see how Christ must dye, and namely for sinne according to this saying of Esay, He hath giuen his life for sinne. And (as I haue shewed already) Iesus was put to death even the very same time. As touching the Circumstances of his death, They pearced my feete and my hands (saith Dauid) and parted my garments among them, and cast lots for my coate. We reade not that Dauid was serued so, but rather Iesus who was Crucified (howbeit that that kind of punishment was not vled among the Iewes, but among the Romanes) and lottes were cast for his Coate: and the Euangelistes alledged this Text to the same purpose, as who would say, it was so vnderstode in their time. And wheras in stead of *Carn*, that is to say, They pearced, the Iewes will needes reade *Caari*, that is to say, As a Lyon: their *Passioeths*, (who haue made a Register of all the Letters of the Scriptures) doe witnesse that in al good Copies it is written *Carn* they pearced. Also the threescore and twelue Interpreters haue translated into Greeke, *ὡς ὁ λέων: καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος*, &c. they haue pearced my hands, &c. And the old Chaldee translator, hath ioyned both those readings in one, thus They haue pearced & thrust through my feete & my hands as a Lyon. They that vnderstand the Traditions of the Indians and Ethiopians, doe witnesse the like: accordingly also as the Iewes themselves doe knowe by their owne readings, and are warned by their *Passioeths*, that that sence is vnperfect. For as for the Chaldee Paraphrase of R. Ioseph the blinde, because he was about a three hundred and fortie yeeres after Iesus, wee admit him not for a Judge: and besides that, he is dubble blinded with a blind mode which he betwixteth every where against vs.

Zacharie. 12

Also the Prophet, Zacharie sayeth, I will powre out the spirit of grace and mercy vpon the house of Dauid and vpon the Inhabiters of Hierusalem, and they shall looke vnto me whom they pearced. He that poureth out this spirit is God, He that is pearced is man, and both the one and the other together is Christ God and Man. And they themselves expound this text in the same sence concerning the *Messias*, that our Euangelists alledge it of Iesus that was stricken into the side with a Speare, which surely had bene a fondnesse in them, (considering how fewe textes they alledge (if they had not bene commonly vnderstood to concerne the *Messias*. And it is all one with this which some of the Rabbiners do say in the Talmud, namely That Christ should be distressed as a woman that laboureth of Child, according as Jeremy saith, that he had greate anguishes to suffer, but that he should indure them willingly to

deliuer

Bereshith
Rabba vpon
Gen. cap. 42.
The booke
Succa: chap.
Halehil.
Iohn. 19. v. 37
The treatise
Sanhedrim
Cap. Helec.
Ieremie 30

deliuer men from sinne. And Rabbi Hadarfan saith that Sathan should be an aduersarie to him and his Disciples, and therefore he applyeth vnto him a part of the third chapter of the lamentations of Ieremie. Also in the booke of Ruth, where it is written Eate thy bread and temper it with vineger: This bread (saith the Commentarie) is the bread of the Anoynted King or Messias, who shalbe broken for mens sinnes, & indure greate torments as it is written in Esay. And the Saint Rabbi saith, that Christ should deliuer mens soules frō hel by his death. Howbeit yet further, whereas it is sayd in Esay we be healed by his death: the auncient Cabalistes vnderstand it of Christ, and say that the Angels (who were y teachers of our forefathers, as Raziel of Adam, Metatron of Moyse and so forth) had taught them that the cleansing awaye of sin should bee done vpon wood. And Rabbi Simeon Ben Iohai the first among them, writeth thus; Wo worth the Murtherers of Israell, for they shall kill Christ. God will send his sonne clothed in mans flesh to wash them, and they will kill him. Also Rabbi Iuda sayeth, That after a long breathing time, God will deliuer his name of twelue letters to Ieremy in writing after this maner, *Iehouah elohim emeth*, that is to say, The euerlasting God is trueth, & that he will wipe out the first Letter of the last word so as there shal remaine *Iehouah elohim meth*, that is to say, The euerlasting God is dead. And peradventure it is there vpon, that Rabbi Iosua the sonne of Leuy sayd, That Israel was not heard in the world, for want of knowing this name: that is to say, for want of praying vnto God by the Mediator Christ who died for vs. **To bee** shor, Philo the Iewe, a very renowned Autho, handling this question, namely when the banished Israelites and Iewes should returne home, saith it should be at the death of a Highpriest. Howbeit finding himselfe graueled at this, that some liue longer than other some, Surely I belecue (sayth he) that this Highpriest shall not be a Man, but the word (the which he prayseth in infinit places) exempt from al sin both willing and vnto willing, who to his father hath God, and to his Mother the wisdom that is without beginning & without end. Wherby it appeareth that he had heard of Christ a Highpriest, who it behoued to be God & Sonne of God, that he myght sanctifie, & likewise man that he might dye. As touching the starting hole which the newe Rabbines seeke, in that (contrarie to the whole course, both of their owne auncient writers and of the Scripture) in steede of one Christ God and Man, they make two Christes, the one the Sonne of Dauid the other the Sonne of Ioseph, saying that this latter (to whom they apply al the foresaid Texts) shalbe slayne in battell, and afterward raysed againe by the Prayers of other: Surely let vs tell them as R. Moyse doth, that none other than only the sonne of Dauid, shal come with authoritie of Christ, howbeit that there

Rabbi Hadarfan vpo Ge. 1: Echarabeth. Chap. 3. Midrash. Ruth. Cap. 2. vers. 14.

Esay. 51 Cabalistes

R. Simeon ben Iohai Mirandulan in his Conclusions. R. Iuda in his booke of Hope

Midrash Tehilim.

Philo the Iew in his booke of the banished. Looke before in the 6. chap.

Obiection.

R. Moyse vpo the Iudges.

Zachary.9.
ver.4.
Daniel.7.
Midrasch Co-
heleth. Cap.1.
ver.9.
Talmud trea-
tise Sanhe-
drim. cap. He-
lec.
Psal. 110.

Of the 6.

Psal. 110.
The booke
Mechiltha.
R. Moyses Ha-
darfan vpon
Genesis. Cap.
22. & 40
R. Isaac vpon
Genesis.
The booke of
Collections.
Iosephus in
his Antiquity
Lib. 18. ca. 4

are two comings of Christ, the one in lowlines as Zacharie saith Poore, Lowely, and Sauourlyke; and the other in maiestie out of the Cloudes of the ayre as is described in Daniell: the one to Redeeme, the other to iudge, as they themselves say vpon these wordes of Ecclesiastes, what is it that hath bene? The same that shalbe: where vpon they inferre, The last Redeemer is reuealed, and he that is hidden shall come yet once againe. To be short, here y^e see, how in the end the stumbling blocke is turned into glorie. For as Christ dyed innocently, so shall he also rise againe & reigne for ever. Yea he shall rise againe: for it is written in the Psalme Thou wilt not suffer thy holy one to see corruption, which saying cannot be meant of Dauid, for he is dead & rotten in his graue, yea & he shalbe raised againe within the third day, for it is written, He wil quicken vs after two days, & in the third day wil he raise vs vp againe. Also he shall goe vp into Heauen, to sit at the right hand of God, for it is written, The Lord hath sayde to my Lorde, sit thou on my right hand. And all these Texts are so expounded by Rabbi Moyses Hadarfan, by Rabbi Hacadosch, by R. Jonathan the Sonne of Vziel and others: and they bee all accomplished in Iesus. For their owne writer Iosephus sayth In, the time of Tiberius there was one Iesus, a wise man (at leastwise if he was to be called a man) who was a worker of great miracles, and a teacher of such as loue the truth, and had a greates trayne as well of Iewes as of Gentyles. Neuerthelesse, being accused vnto Pilate by the cheefe of the Iewes, he was crucified. But yet for all that, those which had loued him from the beginning, ceased not to continue still, For he shewed himself alive vnto them a three dayes after his death as the Prophetes had foretold of him both this and diuers other things, And euen vnto this day doe those continue still which after his name are called Christians. Certesse then let vs conclude as this Iewe both in the self same place, & in his owne wordes, This Iesus was in very deede the Christ. For as for the godly tale, That Christs Disciples stole him out of his Graue, and that for feare they did cast him downe in a Cardyne where he was found afterward: the fondnesse and the fabulousnesse thereof appeareth in this, that whereas because he had sayde in his lifetime, Destroy this Temple, & in three dayes I wil raise it vp againe, And also, there shal none other signe be giuen vnto you but the signe of the Prophet Ionas, & so forth, thereupon Iewes caused Pilate to set a sure guard about his sepulchre: Yet notwithstanding, Pilate, writing afterward to the Emperour Claudius, aduertised him of his resurreiō of Iesus, so as the greter & surer the guard was & Pilate did set, the mo, & the stronger were the witnesss to proue Iewes liars in his behalfe. Also the high Priestess being so enraged against Iesus as they were, would not haue sticke to haue hanged vp the said found Car-
kells

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 out credit; that there is not any likelihoode that they durst take the mat-
 ter in hand. Nay (which moze is) what benefite could they haue had by
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 and vnto the end of the warre be desolations ordained. But he shall sta-
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Daniel. 9.
 Mat. 24. ver. 15.
 The destructi-
 on of Hieru-
 salem.

Iosaphus in
 his Antiq; lib.
 20. cap. 68.
 In the Iewish
 Warres. lib. 5.
 Cap. 9. and lib.
 6. cap. 25. 27.
 28. 47.

like.

Zachary.9.
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Talmud trea-
tise Sanhe-
drim, cap. He-
lec.
Psal.16.

Of the 6.

Psal. 110.
The booke
Mechiltha.
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like.

Daniel. 9.

Mat. 24. ver. 15.

The destruction of Hierusalem.

Iosophus in his Antiq; lib. 20. cap. 68.

In the Iewish Warres. lib. 5. Cap. 8. and lib. 6. cap. 25. 27. 38. 47.

Philo against
Flaccus.
The Talmud
concerning
the destructi-
on of Hieru-
salem.

Iosephus, in
the Warres of
the Iewes. lib.
7. cap. 9. 12. 14.
16.

Iohn. 16.

like doe the Rabbines complaine in their histories, and the more they
speake of them, the more doe they confesse Gods Judgement vpon them
selues. For what else are al these things, but the execution of this their
owne sentence giuen vpon themselves, his blood be vpon vs and vpon
our Children? Insomuch that (as Iosephus reporteth) when Titus saw
the said extremities, he lifted up his eyes to heauen and saide, Lorde
thou knowest that my handes are cleare from all this blood that is shed.
And after ward when vpon the taking of the Citie, he had considered the
force and strength of the place and the people; he said, In very deepe God
hath fought on our side in the taking of this Citie, for otherwise what
power could euer haue wonne it? Also the Temple was burnt downe,
though he did what he could to haue saued it, because (saith Iosephus)
the vneschuable day of the destruction thereof was come. Likewise
the Citie was rased, cast vpon heapes, and made level with the ground,
as if neuer man had dwelt there; and ten hundred thousand men were
put to the sword within it; which thing we reade not to haue bene
done to any other Citie taken by the Romanes. To be short, the signes
that went afoze, and the voice that gaue warning from heauen, and the
opening of the Temple of it own accord, seemed to be forefeelings of Gods
wrath that was to light vpon them. Again, the Fountaine of Silo
which was dzyed by afoze, swelled by to giue water to the Roman
Hoste. Insomuch that their owne Historiographer, beholding so many re-
cordes of Gods wrath, was in maner constrained to come somewhat
nigh the cause thereof, which he affirmeth to be, that the highpriest Ana-
nus had vniustly & hastily caused Iames the brother of Jesus to be stoned
to death, & certayne others with him, to the great griefe of God men, and
of such as loued the Lawe. To the which purpose also may this saying of
the notablest of their Rabbines be applied, That the second Temple
was destroyed for their selling of the Righteous, & for hating him with-
out cause; according to this saying of Jesus concerning them, They haue
hated me without cause.

And whereas some Iewes at this day do say, that they be punished be-
cause some of them receiued this Jesus for Christ; there is no liklihood
of truth in it. For considering that Gods maner is, to saue a whole Ci-
tie for some ten good mens sakes, if they be found in it: hee would much
rather haue saued his owne people for so many mens sakes, being the
chiefe and representing the state of the Realme of Iewrie, which did put
their hands to the accusing of Jesus; and for so great a multitudes sake,
which cried out, Away with him, away with him, crucifie him. And if
God confirmed the Priesthood vnto Phinees, for his zealousnesse in pu-
nishing a simple Israelite: what thinke you your selues to haue deser-
ued, for crucifying (as you beare your selues on hand) an enemy of God,

one

one that named himselfe Christ the Lordes Anoynted, yea and which said he was very God himselfe? Yet notwithstanding in the middes of all these calamities, the Citie and Temple of this Jesus were builded vp, first in Iewrie it selfe, and after ward in the whole world; and according to Daniels Prophecie, the Couenant of Saluation was stablished among all Nations by the preaching of his Apostles; and the Sacrifices of the Iewes were then put downe, and neuer any where renewed againe since that time. And within a while after, the verie Idolatries of the Gentiles, which had possessed the whole world, were likewise dashed also, as we shall see hereafter. Whereof Rabbi Hadarsan writing vpon Daniell seemeth to haue giuen some intling, in that he saith, Halfe a weeke, that is to say, three yeares and a halfe, shal make an end of Sacrificing. And so both R. Iohanan in that he saith, Three yeares and a halfe hath the presence of the Lord cried out vpon Mount Oliuet, saying, Seeke God while he may be found, and call vpon him while he is nere hand. And vpon the Psalmes it is said, That by the space of three yeares and a halfe God would teach his Church in his owne person. Now it is manifestly knowne, that Jesus preached betwene thre and foure yeares about Hierusalem, and that his preaching was pursued and continued after ward by his Apostles.

R. Hadarsan
vpon Daniell.

Midrasch
Thehilim.

So then, we haue in the prophets a Christ the sonne of God, which was to be borne of a Virgin, in the end of the threescore and ten weekes mentioned in Daniell, at Bethleem in Iewrie; whom being foregone by an Elias, it behoued to preach the kingdome of God, to die a reprochfull death to mans Saluation, and to rise againe with glorie; shortly wherupon should followe the destruction of Hierusalem and of the Temple. And at the very selfesame time, we haue in our Gospels and in the stories of the Iewes themselves, one Jesus the sonne of God, borne of the Virgins Marie, at Bethleem in Iewrie, who being foregone by Iohn the Baptist, preached the kingdome of Heauen both in word and dede, was crucified at Hierusalem, beloued on by the Gentiles, and reuenged by the ouerthrowe and destruction of the Temple. And all these circumstances and markes are so peculiar vnto him, that they can by no meanes agree to any other. Wherefore let vs conclude, that this Jesus is the very same Christ that was promised from time to time in the Scriptures, and exhibited in his due time according to our Gospel. For that is the thing which we had to proue in these last two Chapters.

The



The xxxj. Chapter.

An answer to the Obiections which the Iewes alledge against Iesus, why they shoulde not receiue him for the Christ or Messias

Obiection,
that he must
haue beene
knowne.



Iohn.7.ver.48

Luke.3.

Act.5.38.

Talmud. trea-
tise Perkei
auoth.

R. Nehumia.

NOW let vs examine the obiections of the Iewes, and see what they can say against the Testimonie of all the Prophetes, which agreeth fitly to Iesus, and can agree to none but him. First, if Iesus (say they) were the Christ; who shoulde haue knowen and receiued him, rather than the great Synagogue which was at that time? This obiection is very old; for in the Gospel the Pharisees say, Do any of the Pharisees or chiefe Rulers beleue in him, saue onely this rascall people which knowe not the Lawe, who be accursed? Here I might alledge Simeon surnamed the righteous, a Disciple of Hillels, who had serued forty yeares in the Sanctuary, how he acknowledged Iesus for the Saviour of Israell and the light of the Gentiles; in the which Simeon the Iewes themselves confesse that Spirit of GOD to haue sailed, which was wont to inspire the great Synagogue and inspired him still during all his life. Also I coulde alledge Iohn the Baptist, whom they called the great Rabbi Iohanan, who acknowledging Iesus to be the sonne of GOD sent his Disciples vnto him: And likewise Gamaliel, whom in the Actes of the Apostles we reade to haue said, If this Doctrine be of God, it will continue; if not, it wil perish; and in Clement, to haue bene a Disciple of the Apostles; & in their owne booke, to haue bene the Disciple of the said Simeon: And finally S. Paule himselfe, a disciple of the saide Gamaliel, sothly a very great man, and of great fauour and authoritie among them, of whom they cannot in any wise mistrust. To be short, Iosephus reporteth y this Iesus was followed among the Iewes, of al such as loued the trueth, & that as many as loued the Law, did grealy blame Annas the highpriest, for causing y disciples of Iesus to be put to death. Also R. Nehumia the sonne of Hacana hauing recounted the myracles of Iesus) within a litle of whose time he was) saith expressely, I am one of those which haue beleued in him, and haue bene baptized,

and

and haue walked in the right way. Likewise the **S. Rabbi** saith to haue held of Jesus, and if he did not, then is it yet more wonderfull than if he had knowen him, considering that he saith to describe this Jesus by the selfesame circumstances that the very Christ is described by him. But without any standing vpon that point, I say farther to them, That whereas the Synagogue receiued not Jesus for the Messias their so doing is a token that he was the verie Messias in deede: and that their receiuing of Barcozba for the Messias, was a sure prooue that Barcozba was not the Messias. For it is expressely saide by the Prophetes, that when the Messias came vnto them, they should be so blind as not to knowe him, and so vnthankful as to despise him. The stone (saith Dauid) which the builders refused, is become the chiefe corner stone, and that is a maruelous thing in oure eyes. And this saying doth Jesus interpret concerning the kingdome of heauen, which should be taken from the Iewes for their refusing thereof. Also this text is applied to the Messias by R. Jonathan, yea and by R. Selomoh also (as great an enemy to Christ as he is) who writing vpon Micheas saith that Christ (by expresse name) should be borne in Bethleem: and which way so euer they turne themselves, they can gather none other sence of that place. Herupon commeth it that the young babes cry out in y^e Gospel, Hosanna which commeth in the name of the Lord; which is the verse that followeth next after this place of Esay, Tell this people, Heare and vnderstand not, Look and see not, Harden the heart of this people, stoppeth their eares, and close their eyes, least they see with their eyes, and heare with their eares, and vnderstand with their heartes, and turne againe, and I heale them. How long? Euen all their Cities be desolate without inhabitants (saith the Lord) and the houses without any man in them, and the land be a wilderness: Yet shall a Tythe remaine and turne againe, and be made bare as a Turpentine tree and an Oke, whose sap neuertheless shall continue in them. And if ye desire the interpretation hereof, beholde, it is readie at hand in the same Prophet. For going about to describe with what humilitie and simplicitie Christ should come to suffer for vs, (whom these greates Rabbines looked for to haue come in triumph to content their pride and ambition) Who had beleued our preaching (saith he) or to whome is the Lordes arme discovered? What is to say, of so greates a number of Iewes which looke for the Messias, howe fewe shall there be that will beleue him, when they see him come after such fashion as I am to describe him vnto them? But surely (saith he) Those to whom he had neuer bene declared shall see him, and those that neuer heard of him shall consider him. This text (as I haue declared often heretofore) is expounded by the Iewes themselves concerning the Messias, Also Zacharie saith, I wil

There were two Rabbies of the name of Hacadosch both called Sainctes: the one liuing vnder Antiochus, and the other vnder the Emperour Antonine.

Psal. 11. ver. 22.
Esay. 28. ver. 16
Math. 21. ver. 42.
Micheas. 5. ver. 2.

Esay. 6. ver. 53.

pour

powre out the spirit of grace and mercie vpon the house of Dauid, and vpon the inhabitants of Hierusalem, and they shal looke vnto me whom they haue pearced. This Hierusalem (say I) and this house of Dauid whereupon God wil powre out his grace and mercie, are the very same which shal pearce his Anointed and crucifie him, after the same maner that they martired Esay, Ieremie and Zacharie, and tormented all the rest of the Prophets, according whereunto our Lorde Jesus saide vnto them, It is not meete that any Prophet should die elsewhere than at Hierusalem. Now they must needs graunt, that if they were to kill him, they were not to knowe him: for who durst be so presumptuous as to lay his hande wittingly vpon the Lordes Anointed? And those wordes also do they expound to concerne the Messias. As be shewt, Moyses saith: The straunger that is among thee shalbe thy head, and thou shalt be his taile; he shall be aduanced aboue thee, and thou shalt be his vnderling. And Esay saith, Because of the sinne of Iuda, I wil seeke out those which haue not sought for mee, and I will be found of them which haue not enquired for me. I will giue a better place in my Temple to the Gelded men and Straungers, than to the sonnes and daughters of Israell. And it is an ordinarie matter among the Prophets, to vse such speeches as this, Those which are my people, shall no more be my people: and they which were not my people shalbe my people, and such other. And seldome do they speake any word of the calling of the Gentiles, but they match it Immediately with the casting off of the Iewes for their refusing of Christ, like as ye cannot wel make mention of the grafting of a tree with a straunge Impe or Den, but ye must also speake of the cutting off of the boughes to make place for it. As to the same effect do R. Samai and R. Selomoh say, It is said in Ieremie, I will take one out of a Citie, and two out of a Tribe, and make them to enter into Sion, because (adde they) that as of six hundred thousand Israelites, only two (that is to wit, Iosua and Caleb) entered into Chanaan; so shall it be also in the daies of the Messias. And the sonnes of Rabbi Hija affirme. That the Messias shalbe a stone to Rumble at vnto the two houses of Israell, and a snare of the Inhabiters of Hierusalem, and they deliuer it for a great secret. Also R. Iohanan and R. Iacob, say that the Gentiles shal be put in place of the Iewes that haue refused the Lord, as the Horse is put in the place of an Oxe that halteth. And whereas I haue said that Gods spirit should be withdrawn from the Synagogue for their iniquities sake. Rabbi Iudas saith, that when the sonne of Dauid commeth, there shalbe fewe wise men in Israell, and the wisdom of the Scribes shal stinke, and the Schooles of Diuinitie shal become Brothelhouses: which accordeth with this saying of our Lorde Jesus, Of a house of prayer ye haue made my house a denne of theecues. And R. Nehoray saith that

Deut. 8.

Ier. 3. vers. 14.

Talmud.
Treatise Sanhedrim Cap.
Helec.

Talmud.
Trea: Sanhedrim, Ch. Dinai Mammoneth.
R. Iohanan & R. Iacob. chap.
Helec.

mens

mens countenances shall at that time be past shame. And R. Nehemias writteth, that wickednesse shall be multiplied without measure, and there shall be nothing but vntowardnes & Heresie; insomuch that (as saith R. Natronai,) They shall say that the miracles which the messias shall worke, are done by Magicke and by vncleane Spirits. To be short, Ieremie saith, The Shepherdes are become beastes, and haue not sought the Lord. And in another place, They haue made my sheep to go astray, and turned them away to the mountaines. And the Rabbines to confirme the matter, say thus: If our predecessors were the Children of men, we be the Children of Asses; and surely (saith R. Menahem,) the shee Ass of R. Pinchas is wiser than we. But to come backe again to the Prophecie of Esay, The Oxe (saith he) knoweth his owner, and the Ass knoweth his masters Crib, but my people knowe not mee, they haue no vnderstanding. And in very deede whosoever doubteth yet still what spirit gouerned the Teachers of the Iewes from this time forth; let him reade but onely their Talmud, which is such a booke, that God (say they) studieth in it every first fower howers of the day: And when Hierusalem was destroyed, he left himselfe thre cubits space whereon to sit & reade in the Talmud, which yet notwithstanding was not then made. Besides this, they make G D D (in that booke) to bewaile the miseries of Israel, to be angrie at the tombe of a Cocke, to lie, and to commit sinne and so forth; so that if a man might haue looked into the consciences of those Rabbines, I beleue he should haue seene that they made not so good account of G D D as of themselves. As for the Scriptures, they expound not one text of them among a hundred to the purpose, no no; scarcely without blasphemie, saying where they follow or alledge the Rabbines of olde time. The residue are either toys, or olde wines tales, or horrible blasphemies, or things either too fond for Children or too wicked for men, and such as euen the Diuel himselfe would be ashamed of. To be short, I cannot tell how they that wrote that booke could be Iewes; or how the reading of it now should not make them all become Christians.

Yet they reply still and say: What likelihood is there that this Iesus was the Messias, comming so attired as he did? Were not we (at leastwise) worthy to be excused for not knowing him, comming disguised after that maner? Nay, I demaund of you, after what other sort he could or should come, considering that he came to humble himselfe to be crucified for vs: You looked to haue had him princelike, and he was so; promised power: a Warriour, and it was told you he should be beaten and wounded: with a great traine, and he is described alone vpon an Ass: with a company of wines, and there was no mo spoken of but only one: with triumphing and feasting, and ye were informed aforeshaue that

Talmud. Sanhedrim Helce
R. Moyses Haddarlan vpon
the 74 Psalm.

Jeremy. 10. ve.
11. & 30. ver. 6.

Esay 1.
An obiection
concerning
the baseness
of Iesus.

that his bread should be steeped in vinegar, and his Cuppe be full of gall and bitterneſſe. You imagine vnder him, either the Peace of Salomon, or the Conquests of great Alexander: peace to manure Iewrie at your ease, and Warre to reape the riches of the Gentiles. But he came to appeale Gods wrath, and to vanquish the Diuell; and thenceforth to make Iewes and Gentiles equall. Of these two comminges which is most meete, both for Gods glorie, and for his owne? Admit he had the Emperre of Cyrus and Alexander; admit he had al the power and riches of all the Kingdomes that euer were in the world; what were all this but a witnesse of his want, and an abatement of his glorie? As for example; Moyses led six hundred thousand feighting men out of Aegypt, and with the stroke of his rod he passed the red Sea and drowned the Aegyptians therein. Now in whether had Gods glorie more appeared, and the calling of Moyses bene better warranted by his winning of a battell against the Aegyptians with so great a number of men, or by overthrowing them with one stroke of a rod? In reducing the King to reason by force of armes, or in making him to take mercie by an host of fleas and lice? Let vs come now to Christ. He was to subdue the world vnder his obedience. Whether was it more to his glorie & more correspondent to his Godhead, to haue done it by inuesting himselfe in an Emperre, or by ridding himselfe of all worldly meanes, by force of armes, or by his onely word? By conquering men with shew of pomp, or by winning them with suffering reproch at their hand? By triumphing ouer them, or by being crucified by them? By being aloue, or euen by being dead? By killing his enemies, or by yielding vnto them? By overthrowing his foes; or by sending his seruants to suffer whatsoever they would doe vnto them? For who seeth not, that in the victories of Princes, their men be partakers with them of their glorie? And that in battells betwene men, the Horse and the speare haue their part? And that oftentimes the hardnesse and the berie shadowe of the Crestes of their helmetes (as ye would say) do step in for a share? Surely therefore, we may well say, that Iesus could not haue shewed his Godhead better, than in coming like an abject and miserable man; nor his strength better, than in coming in feblenesse; nor his might, than in infirmitie; nor his glorie, than in despisednesse; nor his eternitie, than in dying; nor his rising againe, than in being buried; nor his whole presence, than in going his way hence; nor finally his quickning life, than in conquering the world by the death of his Disciples. For had he come otherwise, man had had the glorie thereof: the stronger he had come, the lesse had bene his victorie: and the more pompe he had pretended outwardly, the lesse had he alwaies vttered his Godhead, and the more excusable had both the Iewes and Gentiles bene in not receiuing him.

To be thought, will ye see that he was the same son of God, which was present with God at the creating of the world? God created the world without matter or stuffe whereof, and without helpe, by his onely word: And Jesus being destitute of all helpe and meane, hath conquered the world with his onely word, even by his owne death, which seemeth to haue bene a cleare dispatch of him? What greater Maiestie or greatnesse can we imagine than this?

Yea but (say they) where be the signes promised by the Prophetes? and specially the euermaking peace which Christ was to bring unto the world, which should turne Swordes into Staffes and Speares into Coulters? To this we may answer, that Jesus was borne vnder the Emperour Augustus, at which time the Histories tel vs, that the Temple of Ianus of Rome was shut vppe, and all the worlde was at peace throughout, as who would say that by that meane God meant to open a free way to the preaching of his Gospel. But let them first of all marke here their owne contrarietie of speech, in that they require of vs here a generall peace, and in other places speake of battles against Gog and Magog, and of the bathing of themselves in the blood of the Gentiles, in so much as they say that their second Messiah the sonne of Ioseph, shall be slaine in battle. Nay, as he is a spirituall King, so be his warres and peace spirituall also. Esay calleth him a man of warre: but of his wars he saith, They shall turne their swordes into Coulters. On the contrarie part he calleth him the Prince of peace: but of such peace whereof it is said; The chastisement of our peace was laid vpon him, and by his stripes are we healed: that is to wit, he was wounded for our misdoings and toorne for our iniquities. To be thought, Micheas saith, He himselfe shall be the peace.ouertheless, to the intent ye should not thinke he meaneth of your manuring of your grounds and of your dwelling of your Vineyards; yet shall not the Assyrian (saith he) cease to come into our Land, & to march in our Palaces. And therefore doth Ieremie wel say, He shall breake the yoke from thy necke, & burst asunder thy bonds; howbeit (as he expoundeth himselfe in another place,) in such sort as thou shalt not serue straunge Gods any more: that is to say, he wil both winne vs victorie and be our victorie himselfe against the Deuil, & also both purchase vs peace and be our peace vnto God, according to this which he saith another where: The Euermaking will be our righteousness. And in tructh, in the booke of Sabbath where these texts are examined, Rabbi Eliezer saith plainelie, That warres shall not cease at the first coming of the Messiah, but onely at his second coming, that is to wit, when he cometh in glorie to iudge the world.

Of the same stamp are the obiections that followe. It is written (say they) that Mount Oliuet shall be split asunder in the middes, and

An obiection that the signes promised by the Prophetes are not come to passe.

Esay. 2.

Esay. 9. & 35.

Micheas. 5. ver. 5.

Ieremie. 30. & 35.

Talmud in the treatise Sabbath.

Zacharie. 14. one vers. 4.

R. Iohanan
in the treat:
Bava Bathra.
Midrasch.
Psal 86.
Zacharie. 4.
Esay. 2. and
Michcas. 4.

R. Selomoh &
R. Abraham
ben Esra vpon
Esay. 2. and
Michcas. 4.
Esay. 11.
Malachie. 3.
Rabbi Moyse
Ben Maimon
vpon Deut.
in the Lawes
concerning
Kinges and
Warres.
Ieremie. 5.

the one halfe fall towards the East and the other halfe towards the West: which thing we see not yet come to passe. Well, they cannot denie but that this text speaketh plainly of the destruction of Hierusalem: and if they will needs followe the letter, they shall see in their owne histories, that when the Romanes besieged the Citie, they made their trenches on that side. Again, it is said, That the Lordes hill shall be aduanced above all hilles; and thereupon they dreame that Hierusalem shall be hoisted by three leagues into the aire. But these people which otherwhiles delight so much in Allegories, ought to vnderstand these, even by the text it selfe. For (saith the Prophet) folke shall say let vs goe vp to Sion and God will there teach vs his waies; The Lawe shall come out of Sion and the word of the Lord from Hierusalem. And I pray you when came they better out, than when the Apostles of Iesus did spread them abroad from Hierusalem through the whole world? And therefore Rabbi Selomoh saith vpon those texts, that the Lord should at that time be magnified in Hierusalem, by a greater signe, than he was in Sinai, Carmel, and Thabor. And Rabbi Abraham the sonne of Ezra saith, that this Aduanced hill is the Messias, who shall be highly aduanced among the Gentiles. Also it is said in Esay; The Woolfe shall feed with the Lambe: and in Malachie, The Angell of the Lord shall make the waies plaine: which things (say they) we see not yet performed, nor many other such like. But yet both Rabbi Moyse Ben Maimon their great teacher of Righteousnesse say; Let it neuer come in thy heade, that in the time of Christ the course of the world shall any whit be chaunged: but when thou readeest in Esay, that the Woolfe shall dwell with the Lambe, call to minde how Ieremie saith, A Woolfe of the wildernes hath wasted them, and a Leopard watcheth at their Cities, to snatch vp them that come out. For the meaning thereof is, that both Iewes and Gentiles shall be conuerted to the true doctrine, and not hurt one another, but feed both together at one Crib, according to this saying of Esay in the verie same place, The Woolfe shall eat Hay with the Oxe. And after that maner (saith he) must we expound all such maner of speeches, which belong to the time of Christ: for they be parabolical and figuratiue. Of the same sort also is the exposition of Rabbi David Kimhi, hotobef that ordinarily he followed the Letter, and the translation of Jonathan himselfe. And as touching the Angell or Ambassado; that should leuell the waies mentioned in the text of Malachie: The meaning thereof (saith Ramban) is that a great Prince shall bee sent afore the Messias come, to prepare the hartes of the Israelites to the battell. But Malachie expoundeth himselfe more fitly in these wordes: He shall turne the hearts of the fathers to their Children: that is to say, he shall exhort Israhell to repentance.

The Objections that insue hereafter haue a little more weight in them. It is written, I will destroy all the Idoles of the earth. Also, I will hungerstarue all the Gods of the Gentiles. And againe, They shall all serue me with one shoulder. Would God that the abuses which are crept into the Christian Church against Christs ordinance, were not so great a Stumblingblocke to the Iewes. Neuerthelesse, let them consider the great number of Gods worshipped by the Assyrians, Persians, Greekes and Romanes, at what time euery Countrey, euery Citie, euery House, and euery person had his peculiar God and his Idols by himselfe; and they shal find that within a little while after the Apostles had preached the doctrine of Iesus to the world, they were all gone, and not so much as any remembrance of them had now remained, but that in publishing the glorie of God, we had also declared their ouerthrowe. Let them reade the Histories of the Heathen and aske of them what is become of their Oracles, I meane the Diuelles which held them in with their Lies and Dreames, and would not be pacified but with the Sacrificing of men, yea and euen of their owne Children: and of all those wickednesses, which had taken roote all the world throughout, can they now shew any print at all? Euen in the time of Tiberius began men to aske these questions, namely what was the cause that Oracles spake not any more; that Devils wrought not as they had done aforesayd; And that their Priests wanted lining? And the Heathen themselves were driuen to answer, that since the time that Iesus had died, and his Disciples had preached abroad, Arte Magicke and the Devils had lost their power. So sodaine, so vniuersall, and so wonderfull to our very enemies was the chaunge in that time; and of so great force was the only name of Iesus in the mouth of those poore men, against Kinges and Emperors, against their Kingdomes and Emppres, and against the vpholders and worshippers both of the Devils and of their Idols.

An obiection
that Idolatrie
should cease.
Esay.2.
Zach.13
Sophony.3.

For vnterseness sake I omit this Obiection following and such other; as that all Nations haue not followed Iesus. For the Prophetes haue tolde vs, that but a remnant shall be saued; and Iesus himselfe saith that Many be called, and fewe chosen. And it sufficeth that the voice of the Gospell hath bene heard ouer all the world, and that the gate of the Church is set open to all Nations. Againe, to come to an issue, they know that the word *Col* [that is to say All] betokeneth not that all men without exception shall follow him, but that all Nations without difference shall be his people. Againe, the seede of Christ (say they) shoulde be euerslasting: but we see not the seede of Iesus to be so. They say verie wel, in that by the word Seede, they meane Christs Disciples; & in their owne language they terme them Sonnes or Children: & thanks be to the Lord, there are Disciples of his Will, euery where through the whole world.

An Obiection
against the al-
teration of
Religio made
by Christ.

But the principal Obiection remaineth yet behinde, and that is this: If Jesus be the Sonne of God, (say they) why chaungeth he the Law of God his father deliuered by Moyses, being (as hath bene said already) both holy and inuolable, which who so doth, how can he be receiued for the Messiah? Surely in this point where they charge Jesus with the changing and abolishing of the Lawe; we be flat contrarie to them; affirming that he did not chaunge it or abolish it, but more planely expounded it & fulfilled it. Nay say they, Circumcision was expressly commanded by God vnto Abraham, and afterward to Moyses: and why then hath Jesus abolished it? In deede that is the thing which doth alwaies deceiue them; namely, that they take the signe for the thing signified, and the shadowe for the substance and trueth of the promises. But we say that Circumcision was a signe or seale of the Couenant, and not the Couenant it selfe, and the best of the Iewes deny it not themselues. And yet Moyses saith: When the Lord shal haue cast thee out of the uttermost partes of the earth, yet will he bring thee home againe into the land which thy fathers possessed, and he wil circumcise thy heart and the heart of thy Children, that thou maist loue the Lord thy God, with all thy heart and with all thy soule, and that thou maiest liue. And in another place he saith: Circumcise the foreskinne of your heartes, and harden not your neckes any more. And when the Prophets rebuke vs, they call vs not simply vncircumcised, but vncircumcised of hearte or of lippes. The which ought to aduertise you that the signe is fleshy, but the thing signified (that is to wit, the couenant) is spirituall; and that it would behoue you to enter into the Narrow of the Law, and not to bite about the barker of it. To be short, the Cabale it self giueth vs to vnderstand that Christ shall cure the venome of the Serpent, make a newe couenant, and take away the necessitie of Circumcision. As touching sacrifices, I haue declared already heretofore that they were signes. It is said that they shal cleanse away the sins of the congregation. How may that be, if we go no further than to the blood of a Lambe, or to the sprinkling of the ashes of a Cowe? And therefore Dauid saith: Thou desirest not Sacrifice for sinne, and therefore will I not giue thee any. And God himselfe saith: I blame thee not for that thou hast giuen me no burnt offerings. Also in Esay: Who required these things of you? As for these sacrifices, these new Moones, these Sabbats, & these solemn feasts, they loth me, they burden me, & I can not wel away with them. Moreover Micheas saith: If thou gauest thousands of thy sheepe, & Riuers of Oyle, yea & thine eldest son, euē the son of thine own body begotten, for thy sin: all this is nothing before the Lord. Nay, (saith Esay) the offering of an Oxe is as the murdering of a mā, & the offering vp of a sheep is as the snatching of a Dog, & the burning of Incense is as the blessing of an Idol.

all

Deut. 30. & 10.
Ieremie. 4.

The Cabale
by the report
of Picus Earle
of Mirandula.

Plal. 49. and 50

Esay. 1. & 58.
& 66.

Micheas. 6.

At which sayings doe vs to vnderstand, that the Sacrifices were not the very thinges themselves but onely signes of thinges, that is to wit, partly of the lustes and affections which we feele in our heartes, and partly of the Salvation which we looke for by the Messias; and that if we passe no further than the bare sacrifices, they be utterly vnprofitable. But Dauid saith: The Sacrifice of the Lord, is a broken and lowly heart. And Esay saith, Wash your selues, scour away the naughtinesse of your hartes, doe right to the fatherlesse and the widowe. Also Micheas saith. Deale vprightly, and shewe mercie. These be the Sacrifices which God requireth at euery of our handes, and which were betokened in the particular Sacrifices, by the Bowels, Kidneys, Liver, and such other partes which were wont to be burned vpon the Altar. And as touching the generall Sacrifices and such as were more solempne, they betokened that vniuersall Sacrifice for the sinne of mankind which God had ordained euerslastingly, that is to wit, the death of the Messias. For that those Sacrifices should haue an ende, namely, the signe by the presence of the thing signified, the figure by the presence of the substance, and the shadowe by the presence of the bodie, we perceine by these wordes of Daniell; From the time that the continuall Sacrifice is taken away, there shall bee a thousande two hundred fowerscore and tenne daies. And that it should be done by the death of Christ, it appeareth by this which he had said afore, After threescore and two weekes Christ shall be killed, and in halfe a weeke he shall cause the sacrifice and Offering to cease; and for the outreaching of abominations, there shall be desolation vnto the ende. And whereas Malachie hauing reprobred Sacrifices very sharply, saith; From the Sunne rising to the Sunne going downe, my name shall be great among the Gentiles, and Incense and pure Oblations shall be offered euerywhere in my name: It cannot be vnderstood of the Sacrifices ordained by the Iewish Lawe, but rather of the abolishing of them, and of all other signes, by the Messias. For if the Gentiles must Sacrifice vnto him according to the Lawe; then must they come to Hierusalem to the Temple there. And if it be so; what Courte will be large enough to holde the Sacrifices? What shall all Hierusalem be but a verie Slaughtehouse and Butcherie? Nay moreouer, the Prophet saith that they shall offer euerywhere; which thing betwixteth an euident change: & a pure or cleane Oblation, which putteth a difference betwene their Offerings, and the bloodie Sacrifices of the Law. And after that the Prophet hath said, My name shall be great among the Gentiles: He addeth immediatly; But ye haue vnhalloved it. Which is as much to say, as that the Gentiles shall be these Priests euery man in his owne place, & they shall not need to come to you Iewes for the matter. To be short, as touching the sacrifices, some of the Rabbines

Daniel. 12.
vers. 11.

Daniel. 9.

Malachy. 1.

Midrash.
Numbers 13.
Marke. 2.

R. Hadarfan
vpon Gen. 42.
2nd 49.

Leuit. 8. & 15.
Deut. 15.

Midrash.

R. David
Kimhi in his
booke of
Rootes. Pro-
uerb. 23.

Ierem. 31. ver.
31. 22. 27.

say, They shall cease, saying the Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving. And as touching the Sabbath; He that bringeth the Commandement from God, (say they) may also breake it: wherunto our Lord Jesus agreeing, saith, The sonne of man is Lord of the Sabbath. And as touching the difference betwene Beastes cleane and uncleane, All Beastes (say they) which are coured vncleane in this age, shall be counted cleane by the vertue of God in the age to come, that is to wit vnder the Messias, as they were to the Children of Noe. And thereof they adde this reason, That Gods inuoyning thereof for a time, was but to trie who they were that would obey his word. The same doth Rabbi Hadarfan affirme, saying; There is not a more expresse Lawe, than that which concerneth the monethly diseale of women; and yet that that cease in the reigne of him: [that is to say, of the Messias.] And it is not for them to alledge here, that concerning the Circumcision, the Sabbath, the feast of Easter, and such others, it is said that they shall be *legnolam*: that is to say by their interpretation, for euer. For we haue learned of them, that the word *legnolam*, signifieth not for euer, but a long time; and a time of long continuance without intermission or breaking of, rather than a continuance of time without end. And in that sense doe we reade it said of Samuell; He shall abide in the presence of the Lord *legnolam* for euer: Upon which place the Commentarie saith, It is an age of the Leuites or a Leuiticall age, that is to say, the continuance of fiftie yeares. Likewise, of the seruant whose care his maister boared through it is said; He shall be thy seruant *legnolam* for euer: in which place the Commentarie saith, Vntil the yeare of Iubile. And therefore their great Grammarian Rabbi Kimhi saith, that *legnolam* signifieth a long time, according to the saying in the Proverbes, The old bound or buttel that hath continued of long time; where he useth the word *legnolam*. The wordes whereby the Hebrews vse commonly to betoken a time without end, are these *gnadnet sach*, and *selah*, and *legnolam vagned*.

But that God ment by the sending of his sonne Christ to make a new Couenant with his people, as farre differing from the first Couenant as the thing figured differeth from the figure, let vs heare Ieremie in his one and thirtieth Chapter. Behold; the day shall come (saith the Lord) that I will make a newe Couenant with the House of Israell, and the House of Dauid; not according to the Couenant that I made with their fathers, when I tooke them by the hande and led them out of the land of Egypt, which Couenant they haue disannulled though I was married vnto them: but the Couenant that I will make with the after those daies (saith the Lord) is this; I wil plant my Law within them & write it in their hearts, and I wil be their God and they shall be my people. Euery man shall not teach his neighbour any more, nor euery man his brother,

saying,

saying, Know the Lord; for they shall know me from the greatest to the least. And I will forgive their vnrightheousnesse, and their sinne will I remember no more. And that this was ment of the comming of the Messias, it appeareth plaine. For he had said afoze, The Lord will create a newe thing vpon the Earth; a woman shall compasse a man about. Also that by the House of Israell he ment all such as should be grafted into the house by the comming of Christ, it appeareth in this, that hauing spoken of the peopling of Israell, he said afoze, I will sowe the house of Israel and the house of Iuda with the seede of Man; and after that maner do the Rab- bines themselves alledge it. And therefore both Iohnathan say vpon Esay, Ye shall drawe waters of gladnesse out of the wellsprings of saluation, that is to say, you shall receiue newe doctrine of gladnesse by the chosen ones of the Righteous, that is to wit, of Christ; of whom the Prophet had said in the Chapter going last afoze, God is my safety, I will be bold and not be afraid. And the Commentary vpon the booke of the Preacher saith The lawe that men learne in this age, is nothing in respect of the lawe of the Messias; nor the miracles that are past, in comparison of his miracles. And in the booke of Blessings it is said, the things that were done in Ae- gypt are but *supplach* that is to say, an Accident or Byworke; but the things that shalbe done in the time of the Messias, shalbe *grikhar* that is to say, the substance thereof. And Rabbi Iohanan in the Tal- mud saith, Wherein soeuer a Prophet biddeth thee transgresse the Law, obey him, sauing in Idolatrie. For all the rest are things that may be chan- ged by a Prophet according to occasion and time.

Yet they reply and say, is God then changeable, to give a lawe that shalbe changed after that fashion? No, say we. For what changea- blenesse is it to promise and performe, to say and to do, to represent and to bring to passe, to begin and to finish? Nay contrariwise, what greater constancie can there be, than to bring to passe in their times, and accord- ing to their circumstances, the thinges which hee had promised to his people? He had said, Circumcise me and all your male Children: This was a signe. And he said also, He shal Circumcise your hearts and the hearts of your posteritie; and that is the very true signification of a signe. Nowe Iesus himselfe was circumcised, & that was because he was borne vnder the Lawe. But yet hath he circumcised our hearts by regenerating vs, which is as much to say as he performed the Law. And why should it be thought strange that circumcision is not retained now that the Gentiles are called. Merely because there is not now any peculiar people, nor con- sequently any peculiar characte to be conected of any one people. As I saye, as a severall marke of covenant betwene God and them. Also God hath said, Take a Cowe for a Siane offering, And againe, Take euery of you a Lambe. But he hath said likewise, The sacrifice that I require is a bro-

Mechilta vps
Exod. 13.
Esay. 12.

Midrash Co-
heleth Chap.
11. 1.

In the treatise
Boracoth. Tal
mud off Hieru-
salem chapter
Meema hai
Korin.
Talmud, trea-
tise Sanhe-
drim.
A reply of the
Iewes.

ken and sorowful heart. The sacrifice that I prepare for you is my Christ, who shalbe led as a Lambe to be slaine for you, and vpon him shall your sinnes be laide. Therefore the Mother of Iesus caried her Sacrifice to the Temple, for her purification; but she caried her Sonne with her also according to this scripture. Every manchild that first openeth the wombe, shalbe holy vnto the Lord; because hee was borne vnder the Lawe. But he was crucified for our sinnes, wherein he accomplished the onely Sacrifice that had bene betokened by so many Sacrifices in the Law, and therefore he made an ende of all sacrificing and offering of oblations, as one that came to fulfill the Ceremonies of the Law, and to let vs free and discharge vs of them.

On the contrarie part, howbeit he with the Lawes which were no signes but matters of substance in deede: It is written. Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God. And Iesus hath said, Thou shalt loue God with all thy heart, and he hath giuen vs an example thereof in himselfe. Thou shalt not make to thy selfe any graven Image saith the Law: and Christ hath ouerthrowen all the Idols of the Heathen. The Lawe saith, Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vaine: yea (saith Iesus) & thou shalt not swear by any manner of thing, no not euen by thine owne head. The Lawe saith, Thou shalt keepe holy the Sabbath day: How be it not to restaine thee from going aboue two miles that day, as the Pharisees taught; but to apply thy selfe all that day throughout, to the minding of the Lawe of thy God, and to the seruing of thy Neighbour in his need. And to the Commandementes of the second Table he saith, Thou shalt honour thy Father and thy Mother; howbeit from thy heart, and not for fashions sake: thou shalt doe the like to all thy Superiours. Thou shalt not kill: yea: and if thou hate, not thy neighbour onely, but also euen thine enemy; thou art a manslayer already. Thou shalt not steale; and if a man will haue thy Cloke from thee, thou shalt let him haue thy Cloke, too. Thou shalt not beare false witness: not onely in law, neither false or hurtful, but also idle. Thou shalt not commit adulterie: No, for if thou do but looke vpon a woman with a lust vnto her, thou hast committed adulterie already. Moreover, so little leaue hast thou to couet any mans goods, that to succor him thou must dispossesse thy self, and sell all that ever thou hast. Finally, Thy God is onely one God, and no more: but thy neighbour is euerie man whom thou meetest, of what Countrie, State, condition, or calling soeuer he or thou be: To hee thou shalt worshippingest thou God? doe it with the inward of thy heart. Dost thou fast? When thou dost it, annoint thy face. Dost thou almes? Let not thy left hand know it; giue of thy neede; & not of thine aboundance. I demaunde now whether the exhibiting of the substance and bodie of the Lawe, in stead of the counterfeite or Portraiture thereof, and the requiring

requiring of the minde in stead of the flesh: be an abolishing or defacing of the Law: whether the stablishing thereof be the disanulling thereof? The clearing and inlightening thereof, be the quenching thereof? or the fulfilling thereof in himselfe, and the spreading thereof ouer all Nations of the Earth, be the breaking thereof? Say moreover, the Law (say the Cabalistes) was ginen to man for the sinne of the Serpent: that is to say (according to our doctrine) not for vs to accomplish, for we cannot attaine thereto, but to shew vnto vs how farre the infection of that venom hath carried vs away from the dutie which God and nature it self required of vs. Which end of the Lawe is greatly inlightened vnto vs by the comming of our Lord Iesus, in that he teacheth vs that the Law is not satisfied with an outward and pharisaicall obedience, that is to wit, (to speake fitly) by hypocrisie, but by the vncorrupt obedience of the heart, yea euen much more by an vnfeined acknowledgment of our disobedience, than by the greatest profession of obedience y a man can shew.

¶ If they vige yet further, why then was not this lesson of yours ginen vs at the beginning: I answer, that euen from the beginning forthon, Moyles and the Prophetes gaue it you, in willing you to circuncise your hearts, to offer by the sacrifice of prayse and obedience, to abstaine from unhallowing the Sabbath day with vnrighteousnes, and such other things. And in speaking to you of the land of Canaan they haue told you lowd enough by all their dwinge, that it behoued you to haue a further reach of mind, namely to the things which (as Esay saith) neither eye hath scene, nor eare heard, nor heart of man conceiued. The seruice then which God required of you is spirituall, and the rewards which wee ought to looke for is spirituall also. But you, like childzen as ye be, thought not but (as the most parte of you doe still at this day) vpon the body and the worlde, whereas God spake to you concerning your Soules and the welfare of them, which lieth in him. Euen so the Scholemaster promisseth his yong Scholer a Marchpaine or some other banketing stuffe to make him to learne, not that vertue shal not like the Child much better, and be a greater reward to him when he hath attained vnto it; but because that if he should talk to him of vertue or of honour at that time, he can no skil of any of them both, & he would be negligent to his lesson, & the more unable to conceine a greater thing. And truly ye would haue said vnto Moyles, Let not God speake vnto vs, but to thee, and yet was he faine to couer his face, because yee could not abide it. To the same purpose doth Esay say, that ye were faine to haue line after line, and precept after precept, and hisping Prophetes to dallye with you like new weaned childzen, that they might make you to vnderstand. Also S. Paul saith in the same sence, that yee were trained by like babes vnder the discipline and tutourship of the Lawe. To be shopt, all Mankind (after

Deu. 30. & 10.
Esay. 56. & 1. & 2.

the manner of one only man) hath his birth, his Childhood, and his youth, and his spirittuall nourishment proportionable to euery age, as well as euery of vs hath by himselfe. Nature ought to be a Lawe vnto vs. And verelie God ment to make vs to seele how soe it is corrupted in vs, and because that in those first ages we did transgreffe it and breake it so many and so sundrie wayes, like yong Scholers, which (to speake rightly) cannot wyte one right letter without a sample: therfore God gaue vs the Lawe wyitten: & there remayneth at least wile so much conscience in vs all, as that none of vs could say but it was most iust. Pererthelesse, it was Gods will that we should trye our strength for a time in the doing thereof, whereby we perceined in the end, that we could not attayne thereto, like as the Child that indureth to follow the Copie of a good Scrutener, & cannot attayne to the fashioning of one letter aright, further forth than his maister guideth his hand. At length came Gods grace brought by Iesus Christ, when our accusation (I meane the accusation of all Mankynd and specially of the Church) was made and concluded both by Nature, & by the Lawe the Interpreters of Nature & that so apparently, as none of vs can denye but that he deserueth very great punishment, nor any of vs saye he deserueth any reward at the hand of the euerlasting God, whose reward being proportionable (if I may so terme it) to the giuer, cannot be but euerlasting. So then, Nature hath made man readie to receiue the Lawe, the Lawe hath made him readie to imbrace grace: and God (as seemed conuenient to his wise prouidence) hath in this last age of the world, caused his grace to be brought and preached vnto vs by his Gospell, euen vnto vs which were as folke standing on the Scaffold readie to be executed, to the intent that such as perish should acknowledge his Justice, and such as are saved should acknowledge his onely grace in Iesus God and Man, the onely Saviour and Redemer of Mankynd. Amen.

The xxxij. Chapter.

That Iesus Christ was and is God, the Sonne of God against the Heathen.



Now then, wee haue Iesus Christ such a one as he was promised vnto vs in the Scriptures, namely God and man, the Mediator of mans saluation, (as sayeth S. Paule manifested in the flesh, crucified by the Iewes, preached to the Gentyles, beliened on in the world, and taken vp into glorie. And soe as much as I haue alreadye proued the truenesse and diuinenesse

of the Scriptures, and that according to them, the Mediatour was to be such a one as Jesus was: here I might make an end of this worke: for the conclusion followeth of it selfe. The Scriptures are of God: In them we haue found Iesus to be the Messias, the Mediator, and the Redeemer of Mankind, therefore it followeth that we ought to receiue him for such a one, & to embrace his doctrine with all our heart. Howbeit to take all cause of doubt fro the Heathen, let vs shew them yet further, that Iesus is God the Sonne of God, without the testimonie of the Scriptures. For it may be, that although they will not beleue Iesus to be the very God by meanes of our Scriptures, yet they will beleue our Scriptures to be of God in verie deede, when they shall see that Iesus is God, whose conuincing hath bene declared so plainly and so long aforesaid in our Scriptures.

But to beginne with all, let vs call to mind this saying of Porphyrius, That Gods providence hath not left mankind without an vniuersall cleansing, and that the same cannot be done but by one of the beginnings, that is to wit, by one of the three Persones or Inbeeings of Gods essence. And likewise these poyntes which I haue proued already, namely, That man is created to lue for ever: That by his corruption he is fallne from Gods fauour into his displeasure, and consequently excluden from that blessednes: That to bring him in fauour againe, a Mediator must step in, who must be man, that he may susteyne the death which mankind hath deserued: and God, that he may triumphe ouer death, and decke vs with his desert. And such a one doe we say the same Iesus is which was Crucified by the Iewes and beloued on among the Gentiles of oldetyme: And God of his grace graunt in our time, to inlighten al those to whome he hath not as yet giuen grace to beleue.

Suerly as the Mediator came for the Gentyles as well as for the Iewes, that is to say for all men: so it should seeme that the Gentyles had some incling thereof reuealed to them from GOD, that they might prepare themselves to receiue him. In the Scripture we reade of a Prophet named Balaam, who prophesied plainly enough of Christ. And some auncient writers say that his Prophecie, and the prophecie of one other named Seth, were kept in the East partes of the world. And Iob who was an Edomite, saith, I am sure that my Redeemer liueth, and shall stand vp last vpon the earth. Also the Sybils, & specially Sybill of Erithia who is so famous aboue the rest, (at least wise if the booke which wee haue vnder their names be theirs) doe tell vs that he should be the sonne of God, be borne of a Virgine, be named Iesus, worke miracles, be crucified by the Iewes, be rayled againe to glorie, come in the end to iudge both the quicke & the dead, & so forth, & that, (which is a greater matter

Prophecies among the Gentyles. Nomb. 23. and 24. Origen in his 13. Homily vpon Genesis. Chrysostom in his 16. Homily vpon the viii of Matthew. Iob 19. 25. The Oracles of the Sybils. Lactantius lib 4 Chap. 6

Suetonius in
the life of
Augustus. cap.
31

Cicero in his
first booke of
Diuination.

Cicero in his
first Epistle to
Lentulus. li. i.
epist.
In the second
booke of their
Oracles.

Virgil Eglog. 4

in such termes, and with such particularities, as it seemeth to be the very Gospel turned into verse, as though God had meant to offer his mysteries more manifestly by them to the Gentiles, than he had done to the Iewes, because the Gentiles had not ben inured to the heauenly doctrine any long time aforehand, & namely to the hope of the Redemer. And as for them which think those bookes to haue bene counterfetted in those Sybils names, suerly they may more easely say it than proue it, but I passe not greatly for that. For (as Suetonius Tranquillus reporteth) the Emperour Augustus made them to be locked vp in two Coffers of gold, at the foot of the Image of Apollo on mount Palatine in Rome, where it was hard for men to haue falsified them. And in the time of Origen, of Clement of Alexandria, and of Iustine the Martyr, which was not long after the preaching of the Apostles, those bookes were abode in the world, as appeareth by the discourses of Celsus the Epicure, who saith in deede that they were counterfett, but he proueth it not. Also the Emperour Constantine in a certeine Oration of his, witnesseth that hee had seen and read them, and referred the Gentiles of his time to them. Well it cannot be denied but that there was at leastwise some such like thing. For Cicero in his booke of Diuination writeth these words, Let vs obserue the bookes of Sybil. We must name vs some King, if we wil liue in safetie. And yet al men know how hateful a thing the name of King was both to all the Romaines and to Cicero himselfe. Also he maketh mention of Sybils Acrosticke, that is to say, of certeine verses of hers whose first letters made the name of that King, of which sort we haue some in the eight booke of the Sybils, whereupon he concludeth, that they had a sound and wel settled mind. Moreover, the Emperour Constantine affirmeth, that Cicero had translated the booke Sybil of Erythra, & that Antonie would haue had it abolished. In these bookes it was said, that as sone as the Romanes had set the King of Aegypt againe in his state, by & by should be bozne the King of the whole world. And therefore Cicero writing to Lentulus who sued to haue that charge, both mention that Oracle vnto him: and the Romanes made adoubt whether they might restore the King of Aegypt or no, by reason of that matter, whereof the Sybils do make some speech in their second booke. Nevertheless when the Romanes had well cannased the case, Gabinius conueyed home Ptolomie King of Aegypt into his Kingdome, and at the same time was Iesus Christ bozne. Virgill who by the fauour of Augustus had accesse to those bookes, made an Eglog (which is but a translation of certeine of the Verses of those Sybils) concerning the happy state which Sybil behighted by Iesus Christ the sonne of God: sauing that Virgill not looking deeply into the matter, applied it wholly to one Salonine, in fauour of Augustus whom he meant to flatter: After which manner the Romanes

Romanes wesselled this famous foresaying of Syria, to the Emperour Vespasian, That out of Iewrie should come the Soueraign of the whole world. But we reade that one Secundian a notable man in y^e time of the Emperour Decian, and one Verian a Painter, & one Marcelline an Orator, became Christians vpon the onely reading and conferring of those Oracles. And therfore the first writers among the Christians, as Iustine, Origen, Clement, and such others, do summon the Heathen to the books of y^e Sybils, because they would not with their good willes haue beloued ours, and also to a former prophesie of one Hystaspes, which spake plainly of the comming of the sonne of God into the world, and of the conspiring of all kingdomes against him and his. And therfore all those bookes were forbidden by the Heathen Emperours, vpon payne of death. But God of his wonderfull prouidence had prouided for the Saluation of the Gentyles, by scattering the Iewish nations with their bookes and prophesies, into all the foure quarters of the world: howbeit that wee read not of any other Linage or Nation to haue bene so scattered with, out losing their tyttles, their bookes, their name, and the very knowledge of their original which prerogative y^e Iewes had, to the intent they should be Preachers of the comming of the Mediator, and witnesses of the antiquitie, truth, and vncorruptnes of the Prophesies, against the effect whereof neuertheless they set themselves with all their power. For what better witnesses I pray you could the Gentiles haue, than the Iewes themselves: namely in that they being the putters of Iesus and of his disciples to death, were readie notwithstanding to ope for the truth & soundnes of the bookes wherein he was foreshewed, foreshold, and foreshpromised vnto them at all times: Furthermore, that this King promised by the Prophetes and the Sybils, should deliuer the Lawe of good lyfe to the whole world, Cicero seemeth to haue had some vnderstanding (howsoeuer he came by it) or els I cannot tell wherto I should apply this godly sentence of his in his third booke of his Comonweale, Soothly the very Lawe in deede (saith he) is right reason, shed into all men, constant, euerlasting, which calleth al men to their duetie by commaunding, and frayeth them from fraud by forbidding, which yet notwithstanding neither biddeth nor forbiddeth, in vaine to the good, nor by bidding or forbidding moueth the bad. From this law may nothing be taken, to it may nothing be put, neither may it be wholly abrogated. Neither Senate nor Pope can discharge vs of this Lawe, neither needeth there any interpreter or expounder thereof to make it plaine. There shall not be one Law at Rome, & another at Athens: one to day, and another tomorrow: But one selfesame Lawe being both euerlasting & vchangeable, shal containe all Nations & at al times: and there shal be but one common maister & commaunder of all, euen God, He is the deuiler, the dis-

Vincent. lib.
11. ca. 50.

Iustine in his
Apologie.
Origen a-
gainst Celsus.
Clement in
strom,

Cicero in his
third booke
of his Com-
mon weale.
Inf. Lactantius
lib. 6. ca. 8.

cusser,

cuffer, and the giner of this Lawe: which who wil not obey shall flee from himselfe as if he disdayned to be a man, which dooing of his must needes be a fore punishment vnto him; though he were sure to scape all other punishments. Who seeth not here, that this Heathen man elpyed, that all Lawes of man are but vanitie, and that he looked that God himselfe should come openly into the sight of the woorld, to giue a good lawe to Mankind: Now, Iesus hath manifestly giuen this Lawe, causing it to be published by his Apostles; and their voyce sounded to the uttermost bounds of the earth. And for profe hereof, what is moze conuenient and meete for man in the iudgment of conscience, than to loue God with al his heart and all his Soule: and his neighbour as himselfe? which yet not withstanding doth moze surmount our abilitie to performe, & moze beloye our corruption, & moze condemne what soeuer is in vs of our owne, than doth the Lawe it selfe vniuersally in al mankind. On the contrarie part, what find we in al the writings of the Heathen, but a Hierling vertue, and a teaching to cloke vice, that is to say Hypocrisie? But as this Law is verily of God, so let vs see whether the byinger thereof be God. And I beseech al woorldly wise men, not to harken vnto me by halues, nor to looke vpon things at a glance, (for I come not to dally with them: but to yeld me both their eares, & to looke wisely, and to bend all their wits aduisedly: for the nerer they looke vnto the matter, and the moze deliberatly they consider of it: the sooner wil they yeld to our doctrine as to the vndoubted trueth, yea & as to very nature it self. Iesus therfore is bozne in the little Countrie of Iewrie subdewed by the Romanes, of poore parents, in a sozie Village, destitute of friends and of all woorldly healpes, and yet was he to be Emperour of the whole woorld, to giue the Law to the whole woorld. Let vs see the proceeding of this Emperour and of his empyre. Amend (sayth he) & beleue the Gospel: for the kingdome of Heauen is at hand. If we consider the maiestie of the Romane Empyre, the eloquence and learning of the great Clerks, & the pryde of the Sophists and Orators of that time, what greater fondnes could there be to all seeming, than to talke after that manner? Who would not haue thought folly both in Christ and in his Apostles for their preaching? But what addeth he? Whosoever wil come into this kingdom, let him forsake goods, father, mother, wife, children, yea & himself too. And let him take vp his Crosse and follow mee. Let him think himselfe happie that he may suffer a thousand miseries for mee, and that in the end he may die for my names sake. What maner of priuiledges are these I beseech you, to draw people into that kingdom? What a hope is it for them that serue him? What are these promises of his, but threatnings? and his persuations, but dissuasions? What say wee to a friend whom we turne from some other man, but thus: eschew that mans company,

The proceeding of the kingdome of Iesus beyond nature and against Nature.

panie, for ye shal haue nothing with him but trauel and trouble: And what worse could the veriest enemies of his doctrine saye, than he himselfe said: Also what a saying of his was this to *St. Paul* a man of reputation among the Pharisees, & greatly imployed afoze in following the world? I will shew thee how great things thou hast to indure for my names sake? And yet not withstanding, what a fodeine change ensued, first apprehending & imprisoning, to be apprehended & imprisoned: from being a Judge, to be whipped & scourged: from stoning of others to death, to offer himselfe from citie to citie to be stoned for the name of Jesus?

Let vs heare on the contrarie part the voyce of a worldly Conquerour. Who so euer wil follow me (sayth Cyrus to the Lacedemonians) if he be a footman, I will make him a Horseman: if he bee a Horsman, I will giue him a Charyot: if he haue a Manor, I will giue him a Towne: if he haue a Towne, I will giue him a Citie: if he haue a Citie, I will giue him a Countrie: and as for Golde, hee shall haue it by weight, and not by tale. What oddes is there betwene the speeches of these two Monarches, and much more betwene their Conquests? And therefore what comparison can there be betwixt the Conquerours themselues? This Cyrus as great an Emperour as he was, could not haue the Lacedemonians to serue him for al his great offers. But Jesus being poore, abiect, and vnregarded, did by his rigorous threats, even after his owne suffering of reprochfull death, and his manacing of the like to his followers, drawe all people and Nations vnto him, and not only Souldoyers, but also Emperours, not only Cities, but also whole Emppires. Cyrus dyed in conquering: and Jesus conquered by dying. The death of Cyrus decayed his owne kingdome, as a bodie without a soule: But the death of Jesus enlarged his kingdome even ouer the Emppires. And how could that haue bene, but that the death of Jesus was the life of al Emppires & all kingdomes? Who seeth not then, in the mightinesse of the one a humane weakenesse: & in the weakenesse of the other, a diuine mightinesse? Wee wonder at the Conquests of Alexander. And why? Because that being but a meane King of Macedonie, he passed into Asia, and conquered it with fortie thousand men & no more. Had he carryed a hundred thousand with him, we would haue had the lesse estimation of his deedes. But how much greater account would we haue made of him, if he had done it with halfe his number? And had he done it with the tenth man, O how we would haue wondered! And if we made a God of him for conquering so: what diuine honour would we thinke sufficient for him now? At lest wise who would not haue thought him, if not a God, yet (at least) assisted with the power & might of God: But had these souldiers overcome their enemies by being beaten at their hands: had they conquered by causing themselves to be killed: had they brought kingdoms

Plutarche in the sayings of the kings of old time.

in obedience by submitting themselves to their Gibbets: had it not been a cryme to haue left them vnworshipped for Gods? For if betwene the able man and the vnable man, the skilfull and the vnskilfull, the difference be that the vnskilfull can do nothing vnlesse he haue very well & abundantly wherewith: but the skilfull can worke much vpon little, and by his cunning overcome the awkenesse of his stiffe: What is the difference betwene the skilfullest man and God, but that the man can of a little make somewhat, whereas God can of nothing & without helpe of any thing make great things, yea and euen one contrary of another & by another? Which is as much to say, as that he is of infinite power, able to fill vp the infinite distance that is betwene contraries, and specially betwene nothing and something. Now, let vs see what Iesus hath done: and let vs bring with vs the same eyes and the same reason, which wee did to the iudging and discerning of the Historie of Alexander. First, our Lord Iesus was bozn destitute of al worldly helps, from ten to tenthousand, and from ten thousand to ten millions, men doe attayne: but who can attayne from nothing, to so huge a thing. He was accompanied by a fewe ignorant Fishermen of grosse wit. And yet is it no smal matter that he could cause them to giue ouer their Trade to follow him. But what instruments were they to make Preachers to the whole world, being rather cleane contrary to such a purpose? and to encourage them, he sayes vnto them: Blessed are ye when ye indure all manner of aduersities for my names sake. This had bin enough to haue driue them away, & yet they follow him. At length, he sendeth them of Ambassage to all Nations: And what was their message? He that taketh not vp his Crosse & followeth me, he is not worthie of me. What is he that would at this day take such a charge vpon him, no though he were well rewarded for his labour? They shall whip you in their Synagogue saith he. Who would undertake to deale in such a case? Spectally vpon such a persuation as this, He that wil saue his life shall lose it? In the end, he dieth. And how? Crucified between two Thieves. Those fewe followers of his are at their wits end. He leueth neither Childzen nor kinsfolke behind him to vphoulde his sillie kingdome. The kingdome of Heauen that he had talked of seemeth to be buried in the earth. What worldly kingdome had not perished in this plight? How long did the throne of Alexander reigne, notwithstanding that it was vphild with the hope of some Childzen, with the policie of great Captaines, with the force of victorious Armies and with the very terrour of his name? In the meane while, those sillie Schepes of Christ came together, and went and Preached to Hierusalem, and afterward to all the world. And what Preached they? That Iesus had bene crucified, and that it behoued them to beleue in him. If hee was a man: what was moze

vaine

daine: If he was a God; what was more absurd? Yet notwithstanding, if they may haue audience, they teach men to suffer for him: if they be shut out, they will rather die than forbear to speake of him: and if they bee accused for it, they preach their crime before their Judges. Malefactors are tormented to make them tell their fault, and these are tormented to make them to conceale it. Those hold their peace, to saue themselves from death; and these die for speaking. Their persecutors crie out, what a miserie is this, that we cannot overcome an old man, or a woman? what a shame is it for vs, to be more wearie of tormenting them, than they be of the torments? Yet notwithstanding, in lesse than fortye yeeres the world is filled full of this doctrine, and the Countreies are conquered to Iesus Christ by those fewe Disciples preaching his bloodshed and shedding their owne, from Hierusalem to Spaine, yea and from Hierusalem to the Indies. And loke by what meanes this kingdome is founded, by the same also is it stablished, and from time to time increased and maintained. What man (if hee knowe how farre man can extend) can attribute these things vnto man? Hee is G D D (saith a wise man) which doth that which no creature can doe: And who euer did such things either afore Iesus or after him? Also Aristotle saith, that of nothing can nothing be made: that in deede is a rule in nature. But what els are these doings of Christ, but a making not only of some thing, but also of the greatest things, of nothing? And who can violate or overcome the lawe of nature, but only he that created nature? Now God spake the word, and it was done: this surpasseth nature. But when Iesus saith, He that dooth not take vp his Crosse and followe me, is not worthie of me; to our fleshly vnderstanding it is as much as if hee should say, Flee from me; and yet men follow him, and seeke him. The word (say I) which were enough to drine vs away, draweth vs vnto him: by disswading, hee perswadeth vs: in turning vs away, he turneth vs to him: in throwing vs downe, he setteth vs vp: and in killing vs, he maketh vs euermore liuing. Who can draw one contrarie out of another, as, the effects of water out of fire, and the effects of fire out of water; but he that made both fire and water? And who can draw persuasion out of disswading; and conuerting out of diuerting; but he that made both the heart of the man that hearkeneth, and the speech of the partie that speaketh? And what is the conquering of the liuing by the dying of himselfe and his; but as ye would say a working of an effect by taking away the cause? What is this subduing of the world by disarming, tying, and deliuering of himselfe; but a taking of a way contrarie to his businesse, and a choosing of instruments most contrarie to his working? And he that doth a thing by instruments contrarie thereto, nay rather by such instruments as are directly hurtfull to it and can no way further it; doth hee not shew that

he could do it by his only word, without other helpe? But let vs see yet more. It is against nature to make something of nothing: Here the Philosophers must stoop. It is against nature to make a thing by speaking the contrarie: Here the Oratores are put to silence. What wilt thou say then, if besides all this, there be an extreame resistance in the thing it selfe: if thou be a Philition, in the Complexion: if thou be a Captaine, in the Conquest: if thou be an Orator, in the willes of men? Alexander did great things with few men. I graunt. But if men had made head against him as they might haue done, in what case had he bene? Let vs see contrariwise what resistance men made both generally and particularly to that Jesus out of the doores. If yee speake of force; he could scarcely preach without perill of death. His Apostles could not open their hippes, but they were by and by whipped, stoned, racked, crucified or burned. The cruellest Emperours, as Caligula, Nero, Domitian, and such others, wrought vpon them the chiefe deedes of their cruelties. If any of those Emperours chaunced to bee more milde, what Justice vied he? Forsooth, If they bee not sedicious, (say they) let them not bee sought. But come they once in Question, wherefore soeuer it bee, let them not escape. I would faine learne what sect of Philosophers in all Greece, would not haue ceased at the least commaundement of a Magistrate. And of what traeth doe we finde any monuments of Conquests ouer all the world; but of the truth of Jesus Christ? If yee haue an eye to pollicie; those that followed him were excluded from all promotions and offices: And what a hell is that to a man of an ambitious nature? Their Children were prohibited to goe to Schoole: and what was that but a cutting vp of the tree by the roote, if it had not growen by grace from Heauen? Also certaine counterfeit Dialogues, forged concerning Pilate and Christ, full of wicked lies and blasphemies, were inioyned to bee read in Schooles, and to be conned of Children by hart, to staine the name of Jesus, and to make it odious and lothsome to all men for euer. And what more pernicious pollicie could the Deuill himselfe haue deuised?

The Iewes worse than all others, (to whom notwithstanding he was promised) were false Traitors to him? and whereas they should haue preached him, they did most eagerly accuse him: in so much that there scarcely came any of his Disciples into any towne, but that they made Hew and crie vpon him to murder him. Nay (which more is) in euery seuerall person there was an inwarde encounter, and an extreame resistance against this word. Yea, [said men within themselves] Shall I beleue in Jesus? An abject man? A crucified God? Shall I beleue his Disciples, the offscourings of the world, and the outcasts of the Iewes? Shall I beleue in him for a two or three daies, to leaue behind him a wet, ched wife, a repprochfull remembrance of my selfe, and the report of a wile

to my posteritie: If the Emperours made so cruell warre against this doctrine both by sword & by their lawes; we may well coniecture what warre every man mainteined against it in himselfe. And if wee have knowne what persecution is, let vs here bethinke vs of the battels betwene the flesh and the spirit; & of the lively and sharp arguments which a man in that case maketh against himselfe. Notwithstanding all this, in the end whole Nations yielded themselves to the word of those men, and even Empires worshipped Jesus Christ crucified. If weakenes wrought this; why did not force get the upper hand? If folly; why did not wisdom triumph over the? If manhood; why did not multitude prevaile? No surely it was Jesus the son of God, who repaired the world by his spirit as God had created it at the first by his word. Cicero could not wonder inough at Romulus, for that (saith he) in a time which was not rude, he had compassed so much as to be called a God. And certesse I marvel at Cicero, that he shewed himselfe so grosse in that behalfe. For if he were called a God, who ever beleued him to be so? And what was Rome at that time, and a long time after, but a rout of ignorant and silly shepherds? But thereby we may deeme, what iudgment he would haue given vpon Jesus. Romulus was called a God; but the Senate beleued it not. The Senate did put the people in feare, and by that meanes made them to say it. But all the whole Empire of Rome could not feare one Disciple from professing of Jesus. What resemblance then is there betwene them two? The same may be said of Alexander as greates an Emperour as he was, when he made men to worship him as God. For even then did his army fall to mutinies, he lost his estimation, he disreined his victories, and his owne household servants were contented to be beaten rather than they would kinde downe to worship him. And as for Caligula, Domitian, Heliogabalus, and others, they were laughed to shorne as long as they lived; and they were not so soone dead, but their Godheads were dragged in the mire like dogs, and men bouchsased them not so much as a Tombe to be buried in. But what say ye to Jesus, who beeing despised all his lifetime, was worshipped as God after his death? Whose Godhead his Disciples preach even vpon the racks, and whom the very Emperours Tiberius, and Antoninus, and Alexander honored in their hearts and worshipped as God in their priuie chambers? And in what time? Surely in the Learnedest time that euer was, and in the full flourishing state of knowledge in all arts, skills, and sciences: when Rhetorick, Logicke, and all Philosophy were at their pride; and at such time as Magick and all manner of curious sciences had their full scope and were at their highest pitch. If he be worshipped for his wisdom; what a number of graue Senators were there at that time? If for Learning and Doctrine; what a number of learned men? If for Riches and parentage; how would those great

men haue yeelded to such an offence? If so; his guiltlesse death, why not others also of so many which preached him and followed him? And why was not Gabinus worshipped so too, being a Citizen of Rome, a man of honour, and vniuersally crucified, in whose behalfe Cicero vttered all the goodly eloquence that hee had? May surely, they saue such a change in the woꝛlde, so soodeine, so great, and so vniuersall; that they could not impute it to any other thing, than to the power and operation of him that ruleth the woꝛlde, whose mightie power they perceined in Iesus.

Records of
the wonder-
full proceed-
ing of
Christs
Kingdome.
Sueton. in Ne-
ro.
Tacitus lib. 5.

What this so sudden turning of Nations to worship a man: of Emperours to reuerence reprocche, and of wise men to haue folly (as saith S. Paule) in admiration, is verie true: I will take none other witness than themselves. We reade in Suetonius and Tacitus, that the name of Christ was knowne in Rome, and throughout all Italy: For they persecuted the Christians afresh contrarie to the custome of the Romanes: in so much that Nero made them to be put to the slaughter, as if they had bin the authoꝛs of the burning of Rome, which he himselfe had caused to be set on fire. And we reade that in the same time, the Senate made certaine decrees, whereby many thousands of Christians, infected with the Jewish superstition, (so; so did they ferme them because they had their originall from the Iewes) were banished into diuers Isles. Which thing the Senate would not haue done, (considering their ordinarie manner of proceeding in cases of Religion) if the hastie increase of that spirituall kingdome had not put them in feare. And within a while after, we see how all the Emperours were amazed at this flocking of people together vnto them, so; counsell how to extinguishe that doctrine: and how fires were kindled against them on all sides: and yet how Nations neuerthelesse were shaken at the voice of the Apostles, and the verie Courts of Princes with their Legions of Souldiers, were made to incline vnto Christ. Sufficient witnesses whereof be the Lawes of that age: wherein it was enacted that the swordgirdle of a Souldier should not be woꝛne of any Christian: that they should not beare any office or haue any charge in the Court, and such other. And Vlpian the Lawyer did himselfe write foure bookes against the Christians. And truly wee read that a great many gaue over their charges, rather then they would forsake the Christian faith. Moreover in the time of Marcus Aurelius, there was a Legion that was called the Legion of Malta, which was altogether of Christians: of which Legion hee witnesseth in a certaine Epistle of his, that being vppon a time brought to vtter distresse by the Marcomanes, this Legion obtained by prayer both Thunder from Heauen against the enemy, and Raine wherewith to refresh the whole Armie, whereupon that Legion was afterwarde called the Thunderer. And therefore saith

Xiphilinus in
the life of M:
Aurelius.
The Epistle of
M. Aurelius in
the Apologie
of Iustin.

Ter-

Tertullian in his Apologie, If as many of vs as be Christians should get vs away into some corner of the world: ye would woonder to see how few people ye should haue remayning to you, and ye should be faine to seeke other Cities to commaund: or rather you to flee away out of hand and to hide your selues: for ye should haue mo enemies than Citizens left ye. We haue filled now whole Cities, Ilands and Castles: Counsellcs, Palaces, and Courtes: Tribes, Legions, and Armies. What warre were wee not able inough to vndertake, if wee listed? And what is it that wee might not bring to passe, dying so manfully and so willingly as wee doe? Nay, the Lawe of our warre teacheth vs to die, and not to kill. Now what kingdome euer had so greate increase, in so short time? But (which is a greater matter) what a thing is it to vanquish by yrelding, to be furthered by retiring, and to conquer by dying? Wee reade of the Emperour Tiberius, that vpon a letter written to him from Pilate reporting the miracles of Iesus, his guiltlesse death, and his rising againe from the dead; he preferred a bill to the Senate with his assent vnto it, to haue had them proclaim Iesus to bee God; and that the Senate refused it, because they themselves were not the authoys thereof: but that Tiberius abode still in his opinion. And theretupon Tertullian saith, Goe looke vpon your Registers and the Acts of your Senate: Also Vespasian the scourge of the Iewes, forbore the Christians: and Traiane moderated the persecution, vpon the report of their innocencie made vnto him by Plinie. Marcus Aurelius hauing felt the helpe of their prayers did the like. Likewise did Antonine, but to another end: namely, because that (as he himselfe writeth in an epistle of his) persecution did stablish the Church of the Christians. To bee short, Alexander the sonne of Mamea, did in his Chappell worship Iesus surnamed Christ, of whome also he tooke his * Poesie, and therefore the Antiochians called him the Archpriest of Syria. And it is reported that for Christs sake, the Emperour Adrian builded many Temples without Images. Finally, the good Emperours of Rome, Vespasian, Adrian, Traiane, Antonine the mecke, and such others, had Christ in estimation and allowed of the Christians. But how farre? Surely as to acknowledge in their hearts that they were good and honest men, and that Iesus had more in him than was of Man. But yet for all this, if they be accused, (say these good Emperours) let them bee punished: if not, let them not be fought. This is a good promise and allowance of their innocencie: but surely it is but a slender relæse for them. Contrariwise, the wicked Emperours Nero, Domitian, Valerian, Commodus, Maximine, Decius, and such others, condemned them, and by their condemning of them did iustifie them. For what did they euer allowe, but euill? But what maner of condemning is this?

Tertullian in his Apologie.

Egeſippus in his Auacephaleosis.

Euseb.

Tertullian in his Apologie. Plinie in his Epistles. Iulius Capitolinus in Adrian and Alexander.

Antonine the Emperour in an Epistle of his to the cities of Asia. Dion in the life of the Emperour Alexander.

* The deuice was this, Do not to another that which thou wouldest not haue done to thy selfe.

kill all, burne all, yea whole Cities, haue no respect of sex, of age, or of qualitie. Scarcely had the Christians any breathingtime, but a new counterbuffe came vpon them againe; they were no sooner from the torture, but they must to it againe. And yet God did so rule all things by his prouidence, to the intent the whole glozie in this mysterie should redound to himselfe, that the milde dealing of the good Emperours did indeede iustifie the trueth, but yet durst they not aduancee or further it: whereas on the contrarie part, the malice of the other sort condemned it and persecuted it to the uttermost, but yet could they not destroy it. To be short, in fewe yeeres there passed ten horrible persecutions vpon that poore Church; and yet in the end the Emperours themselues submitted themselues to the Crosse of Christ, and their Empires sought their welfare there. Therefore we may alwayes come backe to this point, That he, yea only he which first created the world of nothing, when there was not yet any thing to withstand him: is able to recover the world from Satan and to subdue it to himselfe, without the helpe of any thing, euen by instruments repugnant to him, and in despite of the whole worlde bending it selfe against him.

The abolishing of the False Gods & of their Oracles.

Suidas in the life of Augustus.
Nicephorus. lib. 1. Cap. 17.

Iuuenal. Sat. 3.

But what will yee say if hee subdue, not onely men, but also their Gods? not onely the world; but also the soveraignes of the world; I meane the Diuels which at that time held the world vnder their tyrannie? Let vs reade the Histories of the Grækes and Romaines that were afore the coming of Christ; and what shall wee finde in them, but the Pyracles and Oracles of Diuels? What els haue Varro, Cicero, Titus Lilius and such others among the Romaines; or Herodotus, Diodorus, Pausanias and the residue among the Grækes? On the contrarie part we see, that euen euer since Christ was borne and preached (the world hath chaunged his helve. Jesus was borne vnder the Emperour Augustus, and see here what Apollo answereth vnto him.

*An Hebrew Child which daunteth with his power
The blessed Gods, dooth straightly mee commaund
To get me hence to Hell this present howre;
Therefore of mee no Counsell now demand.*

Wherevpon Augustus erected an Altar in the Capitol, with this inscription vpon it: The Altar of the first begotten Sonne of God.

And Cicero saith that the Oracles whose answers he had so diligentlie registred in his booke, did cease in his time: And Iuuenall reporteth the same of the Oracle of Delphos by name, howbeit that he beareth vs on hand, that Kings did put them to silence, who indeede were most inquisitiue to haue them speake. Likewise Strabo saith, that the Priests of Delphos were brought to beggerie by it. But Lucane giues this generall report of all the Gods of the Romanes.

The

*The Gods by whom this Empire stood, abandon euery chone
Their Temples, Shrines, and Sacrifice, and leaue vs now alone.*
Also Celsus the Epicure saith, that the Oracles of Claros, Delphos, and Dodon were striken dumbe. And Iulian the Renegate writing against the Christians, confesseth and witnesseth the same of the Oracles of Aegypt. Psea and Porphyrius himselfe (for I alledge none here but the deadly enemies of Christ) rehearseth these verses of Apollo.

*Alas yee Trenets, moorne with mee: Apollo now is gone,
Gone quite & cleane: the heauenly light compels me to be gone.
Ioue was, Ioue is, and Ioue shall be: O Ioue, now welaway:
The light of all mine Oracles dooth faile mee now for aye.*

And vnto the Priest that asked him the last Oracle, he answered thus.

*Vnhappy Priest, inquire no more of mee
The outtermost and last, concerning the
Diuine Begetter, or the onely deere
Beloued Sonne of that most mightie King.
Nor of his Spirit which upholdeth all
Both Mountaines, Earth, Brookes, Seas, Hell, Aire, & Fire,
Now woe is mee: For sore against my will,
That spirit driues mee from this house of mine:
So that this Chappell where I prophesie,
Shall out of hand be left quite desolate.*

Also being inforced by charmes and Coniurations, hee said againe as it were for a solemne Farewell;

*The Pythonesse shall neuer now her voice henceforth recover.
Long tract of time hath withered her: The soueraigne power aboue her
Hath lokt her vnder silence fast, so as she can no more
Now utter any Prophesie: which greeneth her full sore.
But you according to your wont, such sacrifices still
To Phœbus offer, as are meete for men to God to kill.*

To be short, Plutarke hath made a booke of purpose, intituled why Oracles haue ceased. But in the end hee commeth to this point, That the spirites which had the managing of those Oracles, are mortall, and that by their deaths their Oracles ceased, whereas not withstanding he commonly vpholdeth that all spirites are immortall; but in deede he should haue said that they were shut vp as in a Gaile. Whereupon he rehearseth at length a notable storie of one Epitherfes, who sayling nere the Vrchinyles, heard (and al those that were in the ship with him) a certaine voice coming from one of those Isles, which bad them declare that the great Pan was dead; And he telleth that after this voice followed an vnspokeable sighing, and lamentations without number. Which storie (saith he) was reported to Tiberius then Emperour; who being desirous to know

Eusebius in
his booke of
Preparation
to the Gos-
pell.

Plutarke.

the trueth of the matter, enquired very earnestly the opinions of all the Philosophers, what that great Pan should bee. Nowe let vs marke that this was doone in the reigne of Tiberius, vnder whome Christ was crucified, and that this Pan was one of the cheefe Idolles of the Heathen, as appeareth by this his Oracle in the Bookes of Porphyrius.

*The Golden horned Pan which serues the grizly Bacchus, stalks
Among the Mountaines clad with woods, and keepe his wonted walks.*

Porphyrius a-
gainst the
Christians.

In deede Apollo aunswered vnto Diocletian, that The Righteous made him dumbe: and the Priest told Diocletian, that by the Righteous he meant the Christians. Whereupon Diocletian fell to persecuting them. Also the same Apollo told Julian (who would needes waken him by againe by Coniurations) that hee could say nothing till he had first remoued the bones of Babylas a Martyr of Christs away, which were an impediment to him: which is as much to say, as he could not open his mouth, but to pronounce the sentence of condemnation against himselfe. And therefore, It is no maruell (saith Porphyrius) though our Cities be smitten with the plague, seeing that Esculapius and the rest of the Gods are put so farre from them. For since the time that Iesus hath bene worshipped, wee haue taken no benefite by any of all our Gods. When let this great Philosopher tell me, whether Iesus be a Pan, and they Gods or no? What manner of Gods are those, which thinke alway at the presence of a Pan: and what a man is hee, that maketh Gods to hide their heades? Say further, what a man is he whose Disciple commaundeth their Masters, and whose seruant commaundeth their Gods? Will ye see how it is the name of Iesus whereat they tremble, and which they thinke? Loe here the triall whereto the Christians submit themselves before the Gentiles. Let a man (saith Tertullian) that is possessed in deed with a Deuill, bee brought before your Iudgment seate; and at the commaundement of the meanest Christian, the Spirit shall speake, and confesse himselfe to be an vncleane Spirit. Let one of those folke be brought whom you thinke to be inspired of a God; be it the same God that promiseth you raine, or be it Esculapius that playeth the Physicion among you: If he dare lie before a Christian, or if he confesse not himselfe to be a Deuil; take the Christian to be presumptuous, and let him die for it out of hand. Now, none will speake his owne shame, but rather that which may sound to his honour. Surely they will not tell ye that Iesus is a deceiuer, or of the common stampe of men, or that he was stolne out of his graue, as hath bin reported vnto you: but that he is the power, the wisdom, and the word of God; that hee sitteth in heauen, and that he shall come to iudge vs; and on the contrarie part, that themselves bee Deuilles damned for their naughtinesse, and waiting for his dread-

Tertullian in
his Apologie.

full doome: and that is because that being afraid of Christ in God, and of God in Christ, they yeeld to God and Christ, and to the seruants of God and Christ. If Tertullians saying bee true, what els is this, but that Iesus commaundeth them as slaues, yea euen by his seruants? Or if it be false, how easie had it bene for the Heathen to haue giuen him the foile, by putting the matter in pzoofe? And why did they not put the Christians to shame, in the open face of the world? Say (saith Lactantius) when they offered sacrifice to their Goddes, the presence of a Christian would haue dashed their mysteries: and therupon came by this speech which wee reade in Lucian: If there be any Christian here, let him get him hence. And when they asked any question of their Gods, their speech failed them: and it was as easie for a Christian to daine Apollo out of his Priest or Wythonesse, as to daine a Deuill out of one that was possessed. And Iulian himselfe (as Zosimus bareth not denie) found by pzoofe in his Magicall woakes, how weake his Gods were, and how strong Christ is. Moreover, some curious Princes haue by their Magicians caused Iupiter, Neptune, Vulcane, Mercurie, Apollo, and Saturne himselfe, that is to say, the Devils that decked themselves with their names) to appeare: which thing they could neuer cause Christ to doe, with all the Coniurations that they had: and that is because all those Gods of theirs were Devils, ouer whome god men haue power by commaunding them in the name of God, and euill men by pleasing them. But as for Iesus Christ the verie sonne of God, he stooped not to any creature, but is serued by Angels and god men as by his seruants, and by Devils and wicked men as by his slaues.

Lucian in his Alexander.

Also at the same time that Iesus came, there was scarcely any countrie in the world, where these Devils had not men offered ordinarily vnto them in sacrifice, as wee vnderstand by Porphyrius himselfe, and as I haue declared heretofore. But in the reigne of Tiberius, they were forbidden in Affricke, and the Priests that sacrificed them were hanged by in their halloved Crowns. And vnder the Emperour Adrian all sacrifices and all Idols were abolished almost euery where. And therfore saith S. Austin to the people at Medaure; See how your Temples are partly decayed for want of reparation, and partly shut vp, and partly altered to another vse. To worship your Idols, you haue put the Christians to death; and the Christians by their dying haue cast your Idolles downe to the ground. And in another place he crieth out; where be your Gods, where be your Prophets, where be your Oracles, your Bowelgazings and your Sacrifices? And we read not of any that reproued him of vntruth; notwithstanding that many (and among them one Zosimus) bewaileth the decay of them; and yet doth not any of them step forth for him, to shew any remainder of them. And where as Iulian saith, As our Oracles are ceased, so

S. Austin in an Epistle to the people of Medaure.

also

also be your Prophets: Let him first shewe vpon what cause his Miracles are ceased, which many haue sought and none yet found. As for ours, they had an eye to Christ, and aimed at him as their marke: and now that he is come, the office of the messenger ceaseth in the presence of the master, and the representing of saluation by sacrifices ceaseth, because the Saluation it selfe is come.

Miracles
which could
not proceede
but from God

Jesus therefore hath overcome both the world and the Prince of the world, by a force (in outward shewe) cleane contrarie to all victorie, and by a way contrarie to the end that he intended; that is to wit by his word, which to the sight of the world is folly and feebleness. Let vs see now how in his workes he passeth all the abilitie of all Creatures, according to this saying of his, The works which I doe, doe beare witness of mee. And sothly it is a myracle that so many people haue believed at the preaching of the Apostles: but a farre more wonder that so few folke in these our daies should regard it, though Jesus Christ and his Apostles had neuer wrought other myracle than that, as I haue often said afore. But that they wrought very great myacles besides, I see few of the Heathen that dare denie it; and against the Iewes I haue sufficiently proued it already. Wee haue a Letter of Pylats, wherein he witnesseth that Jesus gaue sight to the blind, cleansed Leapers, healed them that were diseased with the Palsey, deliuered men from deuils, ouerruled the waters, raised the dead, and rose again himselfe after he had bene dead three daies. Also our Diuines of olde time say vnto the Heathen, Read your owne Commentaries, and search your Registers, and you shall finde there the miracles of Iesus. And the Emperour Iulian speaking of him in skorne, saith this. What hath this Iesus done worthe of memorie or of any account in all his life; sauing that he cured a fewe blind and lame men, and deliuered some from Deuills that possessed them, in the Villages of Bethsaida and Bethania? To be short, as well the Turkes as the Iewes confesse and commend his myacles; and the Emperours would neuer haue esteemed of him, if it had not bin for his miracles. Apollo himselfe in his Miracles called him *miraculorum magister*, that is to say, The wise in wonderfull workes. But let vs take Iulian at his word, and his confession will bee enough. But the case that he had done no more but cured the blind, and that hee had cured no more than one. Who is so blind, that in this healing of the blind, seeth not this singular power of God? Is not the eyesight one of the excellentest substances in the world? And what is the restoring of sight, but the restoring of a substance? and what is the restoring thereof, but a newe creating thereof, euen of nothing? And what can make a substance (how small soener it bee) of nothing, but an infinite power? The which who can haue, but the only one God? or who can bee the instrument or disposer thereof,

of, but only he that pleaseth God? To be brieft, is he not without the bounds of nature, which can create a substance? And whence hath hee then that power, but from the maker of nature, at leastwise if he be not the maker himselfe? But our Lord Jesus wrought infinite miracles, as the Iewes that sawe them haue witnessed and doe witnesse still; and not only hee, but also his Apostles; and not onely his Apostles, but also their Disciples. And in deede they haue contriued certaine bookes vnder the name of Jesus, as dedicated by him to Peter and Paule, containing an Arte of working Miracles; by likelihood because they had seene them painted together, howbeit that Paule (as is well knowne) kept not companie with Christ while hee liued in the flesh, but persecuted his Disciples a good while after. And S. Paule saith expressly, that he himselfe came in signes and miracles: wherein if he lied, it was an easie matter to disprove him. Again, Christ wrought some such miracles, as Iulian being vnable to denie, falleth to rayling and railing him, calling him the greatest Magician that euer was in the world. And of Saint Peter, they report that by his Magick hee made the Christian Religion durable for the space of thre hundred thre score and sine yeeres, and that he did it without the priuie and consent of Jesus. Whence rise these great flanders, but of the greatnesse of the works of Christ and his Disciples? And if they had not done both great and manifest miracles; had not the shoytest way beene to haue denied them? But let vs consider of what spirit these contrarieties procede. Jesus (say they) did dedicate a booke to Peter and Paule; and Paule was a persecuter at that time and long time after. Likewise, Peter (say they) stablished Religion without the priuie and consent of Jesus: and how then had he learned it of him? To be short, if there be any such bookes, why doe they not shewe them? If they be good, why should they hide them? If they be euill, why esteeme they him wise? Or if they be effectuell, why doe they not put them in practise? As touching this point, I haue answered the Iewes already. But let vs come to the matter againe. Magicke neuer flourished more in Princes Courts, than in the time of the Apostles. Why did not some bodie step forth to banquish them or to conuict them? Denis & Origen were great Philosophers; and Origen was the disciple of Ammonius, & fellow-disciple to Plotin, that is so greatly allowed and so highly commended among them. Were these men such as would suffer themselves to be led with illusions; or attribute that to Gods special working, which depended vpon nature? Specially Origen who had bin trained vp in Platoes Philosophie, & at that time professed Magicke, as well the natural by the consent of dispositions in things, as the diuinish which they cal Theurgie by entering into fellowship & compact with spirits? Iulian also, (who to confound the miracles of Jesus, did what he could to reuiue Magicke by the helpe

Austin concerning the true Religion

of

In his sixth
booke of the
nature of
things.

of Iamblichus and Maximus) did hee ever cure a blinde man, or make a lame man goe? Nay, what got hee by it, but gaskly feare, such as serued not to heale mens diseases, but to dye himsele out of his wits? As for those which attribute the Myracles wrought by the Christians, to a strong and forcible imagination so vehemently fixed and fast set in the beleefe that Iesus is God, that it doth things wonderfull to our mortall nature: therein they followe the opinion of Auicen, who attributeth but to fantasie or imagination, the operations that seeme to exceede nature. If it bee so, I would faine haue these good Philosophers tell mee, if of so many phantasticall Arabians as haue bent their whole force to imagination all their lines long, they can name me one that hath wrought any miracle: And of them all, who should rather haue done it, than the author of this imagination? Also say they, whether of these hath the greater force: an abilitie that is byed in vs, or a qualitie that doth but come into vs? fire as it is in it selfe, or as it is in a thing that it hath heated? Now, these Philosophers worke (as they thinke) by imagination applyed to naturall things, which imagination is an abilitie byed in man by nature: But the Christians (say they) worke by an imagination or perswasion that they haue concerning Christ, which imagination is not naturall, but cometh from without. Why then did not these Philosophers worke myracles in naturall things, yea and more euident than the myracles of the Christians.

The Prophetes
of Iesus.
Phlegon as
he is alledged
by Eusebius,
Lactantius, &
Origen,

As touching Propheying, which holdeth a very high place among miracles; and is much lesse subject to the wangling of Sophisters; Phlegon the Emperour Adrians Freedman, confesseth in the thirteenth and fourteenth bookes of his Chronicles, (confounding neuerthelesse St. Peter with Christ) that things to come were knowne to Iesus; and he witnesseth though with an ill will, that al the things which he had foretold were come to passe accordingly in euery point. And this kinde of miracles of his cannot be denied, specially at this day. For in our Gospels we read his foretellings, and in the Histories of the Heathen we reade the fulfilling of them. What will rise then of all this? Verily that Iesus hath converted the World by the bare preaching of his Apostles, and by his owne onely word; and that is, of nothing to make great things. This word considered in it selfe, could not but turne men away from him: and that is a drawing of an effect out of his contrarie. The diuels hid themselues away at the voice of his Seruants: and that is a power surmounting the power of man and Angell. He not onely made the Creatures obedient to his beck, but also created new substances of many sorts, and at many times: and this could not be but by a power that was diuine in deed.

But now omitting that such things depend vppon God alone; if the Lord Iesus had wrought by the Prince of the deuils, (as he was stande-
routly

rently reported to haue done, I would he haue preached Innocencie and holinesse of life, reuerence towards God, charitie towards our neighbour, yea and that both in word and deede? For who could euer find fault in his conuersation? And seeing that the Gods of the heathen were diuels (as I haue proued afoze): would he haue ouerthrowne their Idolls, beaten downe their Altars, abolished their Sacrifices, shut vp their Temples, and stopped the mouthes of the diuells themselves? Or if they were Gods, as the heathen reported them to be: were they not goodly Gods, that would flee away for the diuell, and ranke Traitors to the souereigne God, that would forsake their places, and cast away their armour and weapon so cowardly? Or if (as the subtlest and cankeredst sort of them doe say): he diuell thought himselfe more worshipped in Iesus and more serued by his alme, against the glorie of God, than by all the seruices that had gone afoze: (wherein notwithstanding I appeale to their owne consciences whether they speake as they thinke): would God (thinke you) haue giuen his spirit, and committed his power to the diuell or to the diuells instrument, to procure obedience and seruice to the diuell? Specially seeing that our Lord Iesus did such things as surmounted the nature, power and reach of all creatures, and which could not be done but by or from the Creator himselfe? Nay, seeing that God is altogether good; what a blasphemie were it? And seeing he is altogether wise, what an absurditie were it? And seeing he is our father, what a contrarietie were it? And seeing he doeth all things to his owne glorie, how should hee further his enemy, specially an enemy that laboureth by al meanes he can to bereaue him of his glorie? Surely therfore the working of Iesus was from God and for Gods glorie; insomuch that neither he nor any of his Disciples, did euer speake vnto vs of any other thing: and therefore God himselfe reuenged his death, both vpon Herod that had persecuted him, and vpon the Iewes which had betraied him (accordingly as hee had foretold them) and also vpon Pilate which had condemned him: and likewise vpon the Neroes, Domitians, Valerians, Maximies, Diocletians and such others as had persecuted his Disciples; the end of all whome cryeth and proclaimeth with open and loud voice, Take warning at vs to deale iustly and to feare God. Nay further, this Iesus working manifestly by the power of God, telleth vs plainly that he was the sonne of God, that the father was in him; and he in the father, and that both of them were one. Also he did oftentimes of his owne authoritie command nature as Lord thereof, & cause men to worship him as God, euen among the Iewes who abhorred nothing more than a strange God. On the other side the prophets of old time which prophesied of him, wrought miracles also, howbeit by calling vpon the name of God: & likewise the Apostles that preached him, howbeit in his name: & all they refused the honoz that was offered them,

AND

and rent their garments when men honozed them, acknowledging themselves alwaies to be but his seruants and instruments of his glorie. And had he not bin the sonne of God; surely in so saying he had not bin Gods seruant, but his enemy, and a ranke rebell and Traitoz and whatsoeuer worse is if any can be worse, and consequently vnder the extreame wrath of the creatoꝝ as a person puffed vp with passing pride, which is the cause both of mans falling from his state, and of the diuels condemnation at Gods hand. Therefore let vs say that Iesus is the Sonne of God as he himselfe hath told vs, and that we ought to heare him, to yeld vnto him, to follow him; and to worshop him as God, I meane God and man, the onely Mediator of mankind, who died foꝝ our sinnes and rose againe to make vs righteous; to whom be glory foꝝ euer and euer. Amen.



The xxxij. Chapter.

A Solution of the Obiections of the Heathen against Iesus, the Sonne of God.



The witnessse
of the Infidels

Scarcely by those fewe things which the Heathen of old time either liked oꝝ durst speake of Iesus, euen at such time as it was an offence not only to speake well, but also euen not to speake euill of him; we see well that hee did put all the Philosophers to their Clergy; so as they wist not which way to turne them. In his life they could find no blame; of his doctrine they knew not what to say; and as foꝝ his power, they could not denie it foꝝ shame. All the shift they had, was but to say he was a great man, full of godlines and vertue, and wonderfull to all men: but that his Disciples did him wrong to call him God, seeing that neither he noꝝ his Apostles had euer affirmed him so to be. But let those that doubt hereof, reade Saint Iohn, and they shall find in diuers places,

places, that no man hath told vs moze plainly that Iesus was God, than Iesus himfelfe; God (say I) the euerlasting Sonne of God, sent downe from Heauen, equall with the father, and all one with the father. Their fo saying was to auoid the force of this argument of ours when we say, he could not do fuch things but from God: therefore he was not an enemy to God. But he had evidently bin so, if he had conueyed Gods glorie to himfelfe and called himfelfe God not being so in deede: Therefore foloweth that faying he himfelfe said he was God, he is so in deede; and that our worshipping of him, is a worshipping of the very true God. Hereby on it is that the Philosopher Longinian in an epistle of his to S. Austin faileth, that he could not well tell what to deeme of Iesus. And as fo; Plo- tine, he impugneth not so much the Christians, as the Gnostiks and Manichies. And Porphyrius who fell away from Chrift because he had bin re- pproved by the Church, faileth thus; It is a greate matter that the Gods themfelues should witnesse with Iesus, that he was a man of fingular god- lines, and that for the same hee is rewarded with blessed immortalitie: But in this the Christians ouershoote themfelues, that they call him God. And Apollo being asked of one how he might withdraue his wife from Chriftianitie, answered; Thou maieft sooner flie in the aire or write in water, than drawe her away from that. So strong was Chrift in con- uerting men to him, to haue nothing but aduerfite in this life: and so farre fo weak were the Devils to turne them away from him, though they promifed them all manner of good. And heere wee may not forget a fubtile trick of the deuill, worthe to bee noted in many of his Dracles alledged by Porphyrius. Fo; commonly in the winding vp of them, he euer commended the Iewes, as worshippers of the onely G D D, and fo; that they continued deadly enemies to Iesus Chrift, againft whose Godhead they made what resistance they could, howbeit altogether in vaine.

S. Austin in
his Epistles.
Porphyrius in
bookes of the
praises of Phi-
lofophic.

As touching the Turkes, Mahomet faith, That Gods spirit was a helpe and a witnesse to Iesus the Sonne of Marie: That the Soule of God was giuen vnto him: That he is the messenger, the Spirit, and the word of G D D: That his doctrine is perfect: That it inlighteneth the old Testament: and that he came to confirme the same. But that he should be God, and fpecially the Sonne of God, that he denieth: and yet it is not possible that he should be either the Spirit or the Word of God, but he must also bee God, considering that in God there cannot be any thing imagined to be which is not G D D himfelfe: and that in the same doctrine which Mahomet himfelfe doth so greatly allowe, our Lord Ie- fus affirmeth himfelfe to be God, and the Sonne of God. But let vs heare further of the Objections which the Infidels make, why they should not receiue Chrift fo; God.

Alcoran, Azor,
ar, 1.4.11.13.

What

Julians obiections.

Porphyrus acknowledging Ari-
stoxenus.

What so great thing (saith Iulian) hath your Iesus done, that he may be compared with Socrates, Lycurgus, or Alexander? Nay surely may we say, and upon better ground: what haue they all three done and put them together, that is comparable to the doings of an Apostle of Iesus? Socrates (saith Iulian) was an Innocent: but yet an idolater. A teacher and patterne of all vertue: but yet (as his owne Porphyrie reporteth) lecherous and a lover of women: and so cholericke in his anger, that he spared not to say any thing were it neuer so wrong. Yet died he for the truth of the onely God: but he had serued false Gods all his life long, and euen at his death he made bowes still vnto them. And let not Iulian boast here, that his doctrine continued after his death. For the Athenians acquitted him and honoꝛed him anon after: whereas open warre was maintained against the Apostles and their doctrine, by the space of three hundred yeres together. And yet in as great reputation as Socrates was after his death, his Disciple Plato durst scarce be so bold as to speake against the Gods. Such therefore were their examples of good behaviour, as these be. One Cimon was an honest man, but yet giuen to Intest. Aristides was an vncorrupt man, but a robber of the common treasure and ambitious. The Catoes were reformers of disorders in youths, but yet adulterers and murtherers themselues. But as for Iesus and his Apostles, what enemye of theirs was euer so past shame, as to carpe their conuersation? And if the sozeheard men were so farre off from common honestie, euen by record of them that had them in chiefe estimation: how much further off were they from being Gods, yea or from resembling them?

Lycurgus.

In Lycurgus (to Iulians seeming) there was some singularitie. The people were so rude and headstrong that they put out one of his eyes as he was proclaiming his Lawes: and yet notwithstanding those Lawes bare sway in Lacedemon many hundred yeres after. But Iulian must remember also, that the Phraians being next neighbours to Lycurgus, and his confederates and companions in armes, would not admit them; and that the Lacedemonians themselues corrected them while he was yet alive: upon report whereof he died out of hand for pride, greefe, and disheine. But what comparison is there betweene Sparta and the whole world? betwene dying for disoaine to see his Lawes corrected, and dying willingly to correct the Lawes of all the world?

Alexander.

What will he tell vs now of Alexander? He had a great Hoste and power of men: so much the more weaker was he of himselfe. Iesus was despised and full of infirmitie: so much the greater is his mightinesse and honoꝛ. Alexander vanquished the Persians in Battell: how much more commendable had it bene, if hee had done it with a blast of his mouth? If hee had lived, he would haue conquered the whole world: how much

more

more honorable had it bene, if he had triumphed over the world by dying: Alexander increased his kingdome by oppressing, and Jesus by yielding, Alexander by killing, & Jesus by dying. But Alexanders Empire decayed by his death: whereas the kingdome of Jesus was both founded and stablished by the death of himselfe and his. The difference therfore betwixt them is as great, as is betwixt him that dyeth, & him that quickeneth: or betwixt him that of all maketh a thing of nothing, and him which of nothing maketh all things. To be short, if ye looke for vertue man that excelled in vertue, was in olde time a wonder. The Philosophers themselves (sayeth Cornelius Nepos) condemned themselves in their owne teachings. But after the time that Jesus was once preached, what a number of men, women, and euen children, in Towne and Countrey, yea and in Wilderneses, taught vertue to the world by their example: If ye require righteousness: what were the first Christians but teachers of equitie, of incorruptnesse, and of brightness. Yea what enemye of theirs doe we finde, that once openeth his mouth to accuse them: If ye sake the despising of death; indeede they make a great doe of one Zeno an Eleaz, for spitting out his Tongue at a Tyrant, least he might confesse what the Tyrant demanded: & likewise of one Leena a woman of Athens, that indured all manner of torments without uttering one word. If this be so great a matter: what a thing is it, that in one age, ye shall haue whole millions of all sexes, of all ages, of all states, degrees and conditions, go willingly and joyfully to death: insomuch that the Historiographer Arrianus, makes a general rule of it, That all Christians made in effect no account of death: not to conceale any fault of theirs, as those others did, who had leuer to haue suffered torments than to haue dyed: but for professing the thing openly before all people, which they had learned of God, as folke that would haue thought themselves unworthy to liue, if they had held their peace. To be short, what Disciples, what Subjects, what Souldiers had Socrates, Lycurgus, or Alexander in all their life, that came any thing nigh this? These (I say) which were taught, ruled, and trayned up by Jesus euen after he was departed hence, & by his Apostles which were rude, ignorant, & weake as long as he was couersant with them, yea & euen at the very time of his death?

Besides this notable alteration, I saye also that at that time the seruing of Idols ceased in all places at once. Are they (thinke you) so void of wit as to say, that the ceasing thereof in so many places, in so notable maner, and in so great geyntainings, happened by chaunce? And must it not be that those Gods were made in greete haste, which had perished by so suddain chaunce? No say they it came to passe by a Constellation (that is to say, I wote not what a making together) of the Starres in the Skye. Let vs examine this Astrologie a little. They suppose (it is

The objections of the Astrologers.

¶ n.

a common

Bardesanes
the Syrian,
Euseb. præpar.
li. 6. ca. 18.

a common opinion) that according to the diuersitie of Images in the Skye, there are also diuers Religions and diuers Gods in diuers Nations: and therfore they diuide the world into seauen Clymates, and vnto enery Clymate they allot a fenerall Planet to haue the rule of it. But how wil they answer to Bardesanes the Syrian, whos as they themselves cannot deny) was the wisest of al the Chaldees? Ye parte the world (saith he) into seauen Clymates, euery Clymate to bee gouerned by a Planet, and what a number of Nations are vnder euery Clymate? In euery Nation, what a number of Shyres? In euery Shyre what a sorte of Townes? All which do differ both in Lawes, in Gods, & in Religions: and that not onely according to the number of the twelue Signes, or of the sixe and thirtie faces onely, but in infinite sortes. In India vnder one selfe same Clymat some eate mans flesh, and some eate no flesh at all: some worship Idols, and other some admit none at all. Againe, the Magusians (carie them whither soeuer ye will) are giuen to Incest after the custome of their Mothercountry Persia from whence they descend. And the Iewes being dispersed ouer all the world, alter not their Religion nor their manner of life wheresoeuer ye bestowe them. To be short, a Nation departing out of one Clymate, carrieth newe Goddes and newe Lawes into another Clymate, and yet the Clymate neither troubleth nor hindereth the doing thereof. What vertue haue the Clymates or the Signes ouer Lawes and Religions: the differences wherof are made by Forrests, Riuers & Mountaynes, which are the bounds of Iurisdicions, rather than by them? and which they are brought into againe euen in dispite of them, by men, by custome, & by conquest? And in god soth, wherof cometh it that in the Countries where Venus, Mercurie, & Saturne were worshipped in old time: the Gods are now abolished quite and cleane, & yet the signes are still in the same places where they were afoze? And wherof cometh it that the Jewish Law being banished and vtterly rooted out of their owne Countrie, continueth vnder all Clymates still? How happeneth it that the Religion of Mahomer is now, where the Christian Religion was in time past: & the Christian is now, where sometime were the bluddy Altars of Saturne and Mars, & in some places many and contrarie Religions together?

Albunazer.

Roger Bacon.

For the saluing of this absurditie, they runne into another. Not the Clymates in very darde (say they) do make the differences in Religio, but the greates Coniunctions of the Planets: and yet euen about this poynt they be at greates oddes among themselves. For some say that the great Coniunctions of Iupiter and Saturne and none other, do dispose of Religion. Others say that properly Iupiter betokeneth Religion, and that after as hee is accompanied, so bringeth he forth the diuersities of them: as for example, accompanied with Saturne, the Jewish: with Mars, the Chaldees

Chaldee: with the Sunne, the Aegyptian: with Venus, the Mahometan: with Mercurie, the Christian: and with Luna, the Antichristian: & that there cannot be above five of them. If I should aske both of them a reason, or an experience of their saying, I doubt which of the would be most grabeled. But because I will shew my selfe more indifferent, I require first that they agree among themselves, to tell me which is a great Coniunction, which is a meane one, and which is a small one: for as yet they varie vpon that point. And likewise whether the ninth house or the seventh house is the house of Religion. Herewithall I would haue them to set me down the beginnings of the great Coniunctions, that they might iump with the original springings vp of Religions, & with the chaunges of them: which thing they haue not hitherto done. Thirdly, if Religion depend vpon y Coniunction of y Planets: let them tell me whether vpon the ceasing of those Coniunctions, the Religion shall not cease also, or at least wise anon after, as light sayeth by the going away of the Sunne: and where vpon it cometh then that the Christian, the Jewish, & the Heathen Religions haue continued so many hundred yeres, seeing that there was neuer any Astrologer that once dreamed that a Coniunction should last so long? Fourthly, what great Coniunction byed the doctrine of Iesus Christ, seeing there was neuer any change in Religion, so great, so vniuersall, so spædie, nor so dureable: and yet euen by their owne confession, there was not at that time nor nere about that time, any Coniunction either great or smal that could be perceined. To be short, if only Iupiter & Saturne be the authours of such change, which of them maketh the difference in Religions? If Iupiter make the diuersities of them according as he is accompanied, how happeneth it that there be so many & so sundry sorts of Religions, seeing it was sayde afore that there can be no more than five? Again, what great Coniunction was there at the chaunge of Religion made by Mahomet? or at the change that was made afterward by the Arabians or Saracens in Affricke? And when of two Countries, yea & euen of two Cities that haue but a Riuer betwixt them, the one sticketh stoutly and wilfully to the old Religion and the other embraceth the newe: what Coniunction may be the cause of such disunction?

But to come to particulars, I aske of them concerning the chaunge of Religion y was brought vp in the time of Iesus, whether they giue their iudgment thereof by the first byising and originall of Idolatrie, which was to saye at that time as a Clew of yarne that is wound out to the end: or by the Originall of the Christian Religion, which was to succede and to smoulder the other, by the force and operation of some greates Coniunction then fresh and lustie to thrust it forth againe as touching the originall beginning or first byising, be it of that Religion which

came by, or of that which went downe: whence do they take it? from the first publishing thereof, as they iudge of a Citie by the laying of the first stone, or from the birth of the founder or inioynier thereof by Lawe, as if a man should iudge of the prosperitie & luckinesse of a Citie or house by the natiuitie or birth of the Paistermason, or of the owner or founder that causeth it to be builded? But if Idolatrie was to decay at that time, by reason that the force of the Coniunction that caused it was then outworne, did all sortes of Idolatrie being so many in number, spring all of one selfe same Coniunction, and therefore must needs all fayle at once? Who can tel when the force of a Coniunctiō shal vanish away, but he y knoweth the first instant of the beginning therof? And where haue they euer marked or found out, eyther the very instant or any time neare the instant wherein Idolatrie was first borne, which being so dyuerly shap-
ped, and of so sundry sortes, must needs (by their owne opinion) depend vpon many great Coniunctions? Or where haue they call the natiuitie of the first founder thereof, who certainly must needs be mo than one? Or if they iudge it by the first vprising of the Christian Religion: if it depend vpon a greate Coniunction, let them shewe vs one that time: or if it procede from the natiuitie of the setter vp thereof by Lawe, let them tell vs where they haue red it. For they wil not deny, but that the birth-
time of Iesus about the casting whereof so many Astrologers haue bewrayed their owne folly, is vncerteine & without ground. To be short, eyther the springing vp of Religion is as vpon some great Coniunction, and at that time there was none such to be marked: or els at the springing vp therof, by the preaching of Iesus, some great Coniunctiō match-
ing therewithall, did giue force vnto it, but none such was sene about that time neither: or finally both the vprising and the force thereof depended vpon the birthtime of Iesus: and that is moze vncerteine and lesse knowne vnto vs than both the other. But that the birth of one man should ouerrule so many natures and so many Nations, what Astrologie wil permit: seeing y some one or other of euery Nation, might be borne in the selfesame instant as wel as he? And y such a natiuitie should ouer-
rule, not onely the Nations, but also the Gods or rather binells of the Nations, what theologie or what Astrologie will graunt: seeing that by the iudgment of the best Astrologers, the Starres infoze not the mind of man, and much lesse the separated minds (as they terme them,) that is to say Spirits, & that euen by their owne diuinitie, men ought to honor, and obey the Gods? Finally, what order is this, that the Starres should haue dominion ouer a man, and by the same man triumph ouer all the Gods? But the vanitie of these contemplations or rather gassings, is plainly betwailed by the effect therof. For by their supposed Coniunc-
tions they gaue their iudgment that the Christian Religion should not
continue

continue aboute thre hundred and threescore yeres or thereabouts : and then did it manifest it self more and more to the ouerthrow of al manner of vngodlynes and superstition. Albumazar extended it afterward to the thousand fourehundred and sixtith yere, and yet, God be thanked, it listeth it self vp againe & shineth forth still more and more. On the other side, Abraham a Iew prophesied that in the yere of our Lord a thousand fourehundred threescore and foure, the Iewish Religion should get the vpper hand, the which was neuer more oppressed than at that time. This serueth to shewe that their iudiciall Astrologie is so vaine & fond that although ye graunted them all their suppositions (whereof in very dede they can make no p[ro]ofe) yet they would confute theselues by the course of the times, and also by their owne consents. Neuerthelesse I would not haue any man thinke, that my speaking hereof is because I haue not matter wherewith to aduantage my self in their Astrologie. For I could alledge here, how they say that Iesus in his natiuitie, had for his ascendent, the signe of Virgo in her first face, as they terme it, in which place of the Heauen, Albumazar the Arabian saith that the Indians and Egyptians haue marked a virgin bearing two eares of Cozne in hir hand, and a Child sucking on her breast, whom a certeine Nation (saith he) call Iesus, & that the Starre which the Greekes and Latines in their languages cal an Eare of Cozne, is called by the Arabians, The signe of the foode that sustaineth, as if ye would say, The substantiall bread or food: And that vpon the Starre which the wise men saw in the East in the time of the Emperour Augustus: the Astrologers deliuered matter enough: But in these earnest matters, I am loth to alledge any thing which is not substantiall, or which I take not to be so.

After Astrologie, Magicke biddeth vs battell. I sayde that Iesus in his miracles, surmounted the abilitie of all Creatures. Hereupon they set against vs Simon the Sorcerer, Apollonius of Thyane, Apuleius of Medaure, and such others: And sothly all these do yeld vs so much the greater recozd of ymiracles of Iesus, in that for to diminish the estimation of them, they haue had recourse to false miracles. & giuen credit to such as were workers of them. Simon therefore repo[re]ted himselfe to be a God, to haue giuen the Law to Moyse vpon Mount Sinay, to haue appeared afterward in the person of Christ, & finally to haue shed out the giftes of tongues vpon the Apostles in the person of the holy Ghost: wherein he confesseth aforehand the mightinesse of Christes name, and that hee would haue men beleue that hee was Christ and beautifie himselfe with his works. To this end doth hee apply the grounds of Magicke, wherby he maketh y people to wonder at him. Now Iesus had bin crucified. but vnto this man the Romanes did set vp a standing Image vpon the Bridge of Tybris with this tytle, To Simon the holy God, The Di-

The Obie-
ctions of the
magicians.

Simon Magus

Iosephus in
his 1. booke
of the Iewish
warre, ca. 1.

sciples of Iesus suffered, and taught men to suffer, and were extreamply persecuted of all Iudges. Contrariwise, he & his followers were much made of among the greatest personages. But hee did yet moze: for he taught his Disciples that Idolatrie is an indifferent thing, & that men should not neede to suffer for his Doctrine, and what could be moze desirable and moze enticing than this gaine? Yet notwithstanding, in the end both he and his Lady Selene were quite shaken off at all mens hands, and all the cunning he had could not make him to take footing againe in the world, neither hath the remembrance of him had any continuance here, but to the glorie of the Lord Iesus, & to his own shame. And what els doth this giue vs to vnderstand, but that it is in vaine for Princes to cherish a wicked word, whē Heauen is bent against it: & that they labour in vaine to plucke vp the good hearb, which God intendeth to prosper: They make greafe bygges of one Apollonius of Thyanic. How selue at leastwise among our learned men haue not heard of him? This man did call vp the Ghost of Achilles, that is to say, a diuell. What a number of Sorcerers can do as much as that? He asketh him whether he had not a Tombe? Whether Polixena were killed for his sake or no? Whether the things which the Poets report of him be true? What god hap should come vnto the world: and what god fortune was to befall to the Necromācer himself? He take a Lucksigne at the sight of a Lyonesse and what a Superstition was that? He woze Kings made by the constellations of Planets: and what a vanitie was that? When a Plague was begonne, he gaue warning of it: & when it grew strong, he stonke away. He fetched a yong wench to life again, but yet his counterfeit Evangelist Philostratus durst not auowe that she was starke dead. What is there in all these, that is eyther god or great? But now come we to the point. Iesus dyed for the saluation of the world, and Apollonius to dyne a certaine disease out of a Citie, caused a stranger to be stoned to death as he passed by in the open Marketstead. The Disciples of Iesus were slayne in all Cities, and Apollonius had images set vp vnto him, and was worshipped in many Temples for a God. The sayd Disciples did in the end overthrow both the Temples, the Idols and his Images too: Contrarywise, Apollonius liued til he sawe himselfe bereft of all honoꝝ, and his Images consumed into smoke: neither did the same of him ouerlive him thre daies, insomuch that even the booke which he had wꝛitten of his consultations with the Demils in the den of Trophonius, rotted and perished together with the Ceremonies of the same Cause. What are the myzacles of this Apollonius, but pꝛoofes of the Godhead of Iesus: For seeing that hauing attained to the bittermost that man and nature could come vnto, he banished away so some euen of himselfe: and Iesus euen in despite of man, & of the world, & of nature, went through & gate.

Apollonius of
Thyanic.

Philostratus
in the life of
Apollonius.

Dion in Au-
relian.

and the
life of
Apollonius

gave the upper hand of him & of al others: how could this haue come to passe, if the working of Iesus had not bene by a higher power than the power of the world, of man, and of nature?

Apuleius of Medaure hath shewed sufficiently in his books, y^e he knew all the trickes of Magick: but what was he the better for them? He was of an honorable house: but did he euer attaine to the least degree of dignitie? Some will say perchance, that he made no reckoning of it: what shal we say then to his pleading against the men of Choa (fro whence neuertheles he had married his wife) for that they would not receiue an Image of him? But the Emperour Vespasian (saist thou) cured a blind man at Alexandria: and those (saist thou Tacitus) do beare witness of it, which had no gaine by saying it. And why then beleeue ye not the myracles of Iesus, witnessed by so many men which are content to forgoe all y^e euer they haue, yea & their liues also, for saying it? And had Vespasian don so: who knoweth not the baingloriousnes of the Romanes? And how wel would it haue matched with this Oracle applyed vnto him by his flatterers: namely, That the Monarke of the whole world should come out of Iewrie: & also with this other, That to be saued, it behoued them to haue a King? And as small a myracle as it was, what a countenance would it haue caried, being upheld by so many Legiōs, soothed by so many learned flatterers, maintained by y^e state of the Emperre, & confirmed by so many bargers on? For as for Antinous y^e Emperour Adrians son, whom the Emperour endowed with Temples & Sacrifices: to what purpose serued he, but to shew that it was not in the power of the great Emperour of the world, to make folk beleeue a man to be a God, what paine or cost soeuer he put himself vnto? Yea (say they) but to beleeue y^e myracles of Iesus, we would see myracles still. The time hath been that they were sene, the time hath been that they were beleeued, & time hath altered y^e course of them. What a number of things do we beleeue which we see not? And what reason or what benefit should lead vs to the beleeuing of any other rather than of them? But we should be the moze assured of them. As much might the former ages haue said, & as much may y^e ages say that are to come: so should it behoue myracles to be wrought to all men & at all times. And were it once so, then should myracles be no myracles, for so much as in truth they haue not that name, but of the rare & seldome sight of them. The Sunne giueth light daily to the world: he maketh the day, the yere, & the seasons of the yere. Trees hauing borne flowers & fruit become bare, & after ward shoot out their buds & flourish againe. The Wine turneth the moisture of y^e Earth into wine: the graine of Cozne turneth it into eares of Cozne: and the Phippen or kernal of an Apple, into an Appletree. And infinite men receiue shape and birth euery houre. All these are verie great myracles, and G D D and none

Apuleius

Vespasian.
Tacitus lib.
20

Antinous.

Obiection.

ether is the doer of them, nature teacheth it thee, and thou canst not deny it. But forasmuch as thou seest them every day, thou regardest them not, and yet the least of them would make thee to wonder, if it were rare. To succour thine infirmitie, the Sunne forgoeth his light, a dye sicke flourisheth, water is turned into wine, and the dead are raysed to lyfe: & all this is to shew vnto thee, that the same power which wrought in creating things at the beginning, worketh now still whensoever it listeth: and that if the effects liue, the cause of them is not dead. And if thou shouldest see every day some miracle in the Sunne, in Plants, and in man, surely in lesse than a hundred yeres miracles would be changed into nature with thee, and the helpes of thine infirmitie would turne thee to vnbelaef, and to make the world beleue again, God should be faine to create a new world for the world. An example whereof may be the people of Israel, who hauing their meate, their drinke, their trayning by, and their gouernment altogether of miracle, did no lesse than forty yeres turne them all into nature, and like folke accustomed continually to phisick, which turne their medicines into nourishment of their bodies, they abused the stayes of their faith, by turning them into occasions of distrust & vnbelaef. Now, God created nature, and hath giuen it a Lawe, which Law he wil haue it to follow. Neuerthelesse, sometimes for our infirmities sake he interrupteth it, to the intent to make vs to knowe he is Lord of nature. But if he should do it at our appoyntment, then should we be the Lords both of nature & of him, & if he should do it in all cases, we would make a rule of it, and we would make booke and calculations of it no lesse than of the Eclipses of the Sunne or of the Moone, or rather than of the motions of the eighth Sphere, and we would impute al those interruptions and changes, to the nature of nature it selfe. Wherefore it is both moze conuenient for his glorie and moze behoufull to our saluation, that nature should still followe hir nature, and that miracles should continue myracles still, that is to say, that they would be rare, as necessarie helpes to the infirmities of our nature, I meane not of one man, or of one age, but of al mankind, or at leastwise of al the Church together, which is but as one commonweale and one man.

Mahomet.

Yet remaineth Mahomet, and he seemeth to be a iolly fellowe: for he made a greate parte of the world to beleue in him. He was an Arabian, and toke wages of the Empero^r Heraclius to serue him in his warres anon after the declining of the Emper^r: and in a mutinie among the Arabian Souldiers, he was chosen by them to be their commander, as we see diuers times in the hands of the Spanyards. Whether he were a good man or no, let the people of Mecha (who worship him at this day) iudge, which condemned him to death for his Robberies and murders. And he himself in his Alcoran confesseth himself to be a sinner, an Idolater.

ter, an adulterer, giuen to Lecherie, and subiect to women; and that in such wordes as I am ashamed to repeate. But he hath enlarged his Em-
pyre by his successors, and laid his Lawe vpon many Nations. What
maruell is that? For why? Auenge your selues (saith he) with all your
hearts; take as many wines as ye be able to keepe; Spare not euen na-
ture it self. What is he (though he were y rankest Warlet in the world)
that might not leuie men of that price, considering the corruption that is
in mankind? He reigned as a Lord say they; but yet by worldly means,
yea and utterly vnbescoming a man. If ye enquire of his doctrine, (say
they) it is holy, conforable to the old and new Testament, and admit-
ted of God. But as good as ye make it, yet may ye not examine it nor
dispute of it vpon paine of death. And what man of iudgement woulde
not haue some suspicion of the person (though he were very honest,))
which should say, Behold ye be payed, and in god money; but ye may
not looke vpon it by dailight? If ye looke for his miracles; In deed God
sent Moyse and Christ with miracles; but Mahomet comes with his
naked sword to make men beleue, and as for other miracle he workes
none. And therefore all his Alcoran is nothing else but kill the Infidels,
revenge your selues, he that kils most shall haue greatest share in para-
dise, & he that feighteth lastlie shall be damned in hell. Howe farre is this
geare off from suffering, & both from conquering and continuing by suffe-
rance? What wickednesse might not be stablished by that way of
his? Notwithstanding, to allure the Iewes he exalteth Moyse and re-
taineth Circumcision: and to the intent he might not estrange the Chri-
stians, he saith that Christ is the Spirit, Word, and power of God, and
that Mahomet is Christs servant, sent to serue him, and prophesied of
by him afore. Again to please the Heretikes called Nestorians, he affir-
meth that yet for all this, Christ is not very God, nor the Sonne of God,
but that he hath in deede the Soule of God. Thus doe ignorance and vio-
lence in him incounter one another, the one to choke the trueth, and the
other to inforce the falshood. What practises, what wiles, what coun-
ter sayings, what inforcements, what armies, what cruelties vseth he
not to perswade men? And yet what hath he wonne by all this, but to
be a Prophet without prophesying, a Lawmaker without miracles, and
(euen among his owne Bishops) a man without God, or Religion?
What man of discretion would read his Alcoran twice, except it were
for some great gaine, or by manifest compulsion, considering the absur-
dities, toys, contrarieties, dreames, and frantike denices that are in it,
besides the wicked things, wherof I wil not speake? Farre off therefore
is he from furnishing forth of a martyre, that wil die either for the pre-
aching therof, or for not recanting it. To be short, Mahomets miracle is,
to waste and spoyle the world by warre; Christs is to bring the world in
order

Alcoran. Azor-
ar. 2. 3. 6. &c.

order by his suffering for it. Mahomet was assisted by a sort of Cutthroats like himselfe; Christ was followed by infinite folke dying and suffering aduersitie for his sake. The workes of Mahomet were such as every man can do; and doeth daily: the workes of Christ are such as neuer any man did, nor durst undertake to do but he himselfe. Surely therefore we may well conclude, without wearying the reader any longer about these vanities; That Mahomet was a man, and wrought but as man and by man, and therefore is to be examined as a man: and that Iesus Christ wrought by God and was (as he hath told vs) the sonne of God, and therefore let vs heare him and beleue him as God.

An obiection
against Chri-
stes Incarna-
tion.

At this worde, beholde, they step by againe and say; a man to be God? What an absurditie is that? Howe is it possible? Say rather seeing it is conuenient and agreeable both to Gods glory and to mans saluation, as I haue proued afoze: why should it be vnpossible? God created man by his wisdom, which wisdom is his son. Now, what is more meete than that he should repaire man by him againe? Also it was a man that sinned, and in that man & by that man did all his offspring sin likewise. Now what is more rightfull, than to repaire him by man: Man rebelled against his father: who could appeale this offence but God himselfe? and who could better pacifie the father, than his owne welbeloued sonne? Man (say I) rebelled through extreme pride, vpon desire to be equall with God. Now what thing is there which ought to humble man so much, as to see his creator submit himselfe beneath man for the fault of man? Or which ought so much to make him to consider his sinne and to be sorie for it, as to consider the infinite greatnesse of his transgression, the exceeding greatnesse of his sin, & of his punishment due for the same? And if thou vye me still, with how is it possible? I answer it is possible; because God listeth it, and euen in mans vnderstanding it containeth no contrarietie to say it. Also it is possible for we see it is so; and so many Prooves cannot be wiped away by a bare question. It seemeth possible enough to thee Iulian when thou listest: for thou sayest that Esculapius the son of Iupiter toke humane flesh to come down vnto the earth: and thine owne Philosopher Amelius both vnder hand approoue, that Gods eternal word toke flesh & clothed himself with the nature of man, alledging the very words of S. Iohn for the matter. To be short, thou hast a spirit vntied to thy body; thou canst not denie it, & yet thou seest it not. And if thou wert lesse than man, thou wouldest also denie it to be in man: and yet for al that, what fellowship is there betwene a beeste & a spirit? And what may seeme more against reason, than that a spirit which occupieth no place, should not only be lodged, but also imprisoned in a place? But he which made both the one and the other of nothing can do what he thinketh good with both of them. And seeing that to glorifie man, he

vouchsafed

boughtsaled to take him vp into heauen and to ioyne him vnto him, (Plo-
tin saies so, and therefore thou wilt willingly beare it and allowe of it :)
why should he be lesse able to come downe if he list, & to vnite and ioyne
himselfe to man vpon earth, if he list to humble himselfe?

But why did God send his deare Sonne into the world rather in that
time than in any other? Why sent he him not sooner or later? These are
questions for maisters to vse to their seruants, & not for silly Creatures to
vse vnto God, who by his onely power made vs to be bozne, & by his on-
ly grace hath begotten vs newe againe. But (as I haue said afoze to the
Iewes,) man liued for a time without the Lawe, to make him to learne
that he was not a law to himselfe: and a certaine time vnder the law
to make him finde by p[ro]ofe that he was not able to perfoyme it, and af-
terward grace was offered vnto him, as vpon a scaffold where he saue
nothing but death: and so the knowing of nature corrupted made man
the moze able to receiue the lawe; and the law made him the moze rea-
die to embrace Gods grace. Mozeouer it is a wonderfull confirmation to
vs, when we consider that from the beginning of the World vnto his
comming, we haue alwaies had Prophets from time to time, agreeing
in one minde and one voice, as Herald and Trumpet to euery one of
them, to publish & p[ro]claime the maiesty of this King, which was to come
into the world. For had he come anon after the Creation of the world,
this cōfirmation of ours had bene greatly abated, because they that were
the first had bene surprisid by his comming vnlooked for, and those that
haue come after should haue bene in danger to forget it or to make the
lesse account of it, as though his cōming had not belonged to them; wher-
as now all of vs are partakers both of ioy and of Gods admonitions;
both afoze the law, for he was p[ro]mised to them; and vnder the lawe,
for they likewise heard the Trumpets, and also in the time that he came,
for he himselfe spake to them; and finally in our time, for his returne
draweth nigh. Neuerthelesse, it was his will to come in the time when
learning did most flourish, & when the greatest Emperie was in the che-
rest pride, to the ende that all worldly wisdom should acknowledge it
selfe to be foolishnesse, and all strength and power acknowledge it selfe
to be weakenesse before him.

Now, therfore let vs all concluds, as wel Iewes as Gentiles, that Je-
sus Christ is the eternall sonne of God, the Redemer, and Mediator of
mankinde. And let no question or obiection withhold vs from it. Iewes;
for he is such a one as he was p[ro]mised to the bozne in Bethelē of a Vir-
gin of the Tribe of Iuda, at such time as the kingdom was gone from the
house of Iuda, humbled beneath all, exalted aboue all, put to reprochfull
death for our sinnes, and raised againe with gloze to make vs righteous.
Gentiles; for he did works which could not p[ro]ceede but from God; he
created

Why Iesus
came at the
same time
that he did.

created thinges of nothing, & due one contrarie out of another, surmounted the nature of man, and overcame the nature of Angels: his doing of which things (being not possible to be done but by God,) declared him to be very God. And both together; for all of vs desire eternall life, al of vs know the corruption of our nature, all of vs perceiue what Gods Justice requireth, al of vs finde that we haue neede of his mercie, and al of vs see that betwene his Justice and his mercie, none can (by reason) step in to be the Mediator; but God, & to be the Sacrificer, but man, euen Iesus Christ, borne of the virgin, and the sonne of God. And seeing it hath pleased the father to giue vs his son, let vs embrace him; and seeing he hath sent him to bring glad tidings to our Soules, let vs heare him. Finally let vs hearken to the rule and doctrine which he hath left vs, that we may indeuour to liue vnto him in all godlinesse, considering that he hath vouchsafed of his vnspeakeable Loue, to suffer here beneath, and to die for vs.



The xxxiiij. Chapter.

That the Gospell in verie trueth containeth the doctrine of Iesus the Sonne of God.



Now, as for our Lord Iesus Christ himself (for I thinke I may now so call him without offence to the Iewes, or scoone of the Gentiles) he hath not left vs any of his owne life or doctrine written by himselfe. For soothly had he written it himselfe, we would haue conceived some suspicion thereof. Again, had he set downe those high things in a high stile; the common sorte would not haue vnderstood them: and had he uttered them in a simple stile, they would haue concluded (for so farre as they had vnderstood,) that it had bene

bene but the word of a Man, and not the word of God himselfe; as we see
it is a very common fondnesse in the world, to esteeme more of the bookes
that are darke by reason of their ouerhigh stile, than of those which stope
as low as they can to the capacitie of the readers, to instruct them. But
his life and his doctrine be recorded by his Apostles and Disciples as-
sisted by his spirit, from whom we haue the Gospels, the Actes, and the
Epistles, all which together we call the newe Couenant or the newe
Testament. And whether this testament ought to be of authoritie a-
mong vs or no; I reposit me to the iudgement of all the world. For the
writers thereof liued in the same time that the things were done, and
saue the doing of them. And although that at the time of their writing,
they were farre asunder; yet agree they both in the Historie and in the
Doctrine; and loke what they wrote, the same did they preach and pub-
lish openly euerywhere, euen while those were alieue which could wit-
nesse thereof, yea euen while their enemies liued which would haue bin
very glad to haue taken them with an vntrueth: and in the end they sig-
ned it with their blood, and sealed it with their death in al places of the
earth: which thing we read not to haue bene done for any other writing
or Testament whatsoeuer, though it came from neuer so great a State
or Monarke, how authentically so euer men laboured to make it. If we
looke vpon the authoys, their writing is not to flatter some Prince, as
some doe. For had Iesus bene but a Man, what could haue bene gained
by flattering him when he was crucified? Again, they were none such
as made their gain of writing. And such would Cornelius Tacitus haue
men to beleue. Nay rather, they gaue ouer the world, and gaue their
owne liues for the things which they wrote. If ye haue an eye to the
stile, it is native, simple, plaine; preaching Christs Godhead without
concealing his infirmitie, and confessing his infirmitie without gran-
ting away his Godhead. The weaknesse, the curiousnesse, and the am-
bitiousnes of the Apostles, that is to wit of the writers themselves, are
registered diligently there. Of bragging, of boasting, of vanitie, or of the
praise of Iesus himselfe, there is not one word. Peter slept aside, and de-
nied his Maister three times: and Marke his Disciple (who wrote the
Gospel vnder him) hath set it downe in writing. Iohn and Iames the
Sonne of Zebedie desired to sit, the one on the right hand and the other
on the left hand of Iesus in his kingdome; and who urged them to tell
such tales out of Schoole, which might seme to abate their owne cre-
dite and authoritie? Also Iesus himselfe was wearie, and thirstie,
and wept: these are infirmitie of man: yet do they preach him to be
God: and lie vpon it. Might they not haue concealed these things with-
out prejudice of the truth: yes to our saining, & euen with advancement
thereof; at leastwise if they had not written in the behalfe of the truth

The sinceritie
of the writers
of the Newe
Testament.

it selfe, and that they had not bene sure that his mightnesse offered it self in infirmities. To be short, they set downe the particularities of time, place, and person, day, Citie, and house. The more particularly that they declare things, the more easie was it to haue discovered their vntruths, and to haue conuincd them. For they spake not in Iewry of things done in the Indies, but at the gates of Hierusalem, in Bethanie, in Bethsaida, and in Hierusalem it self, in such a streete, at such a gate, by such a poole, and so forth. The witnesses were then aloue, the blind saw, and the dead walked vp and down among them. Had the Apostles lied, how easie had it bene to haue disproued them? What weapons gaue they to their enemies to haue overcome themselves withall? & yet for all this, how happened it that of so many Pharisees enraged against them, which take exception so precisely to the healing of a man vpon the Sabbath day, and to this saying of Christs misundersode, Destroy this Temple and in three daies I wil raise it vp againe; and of so many men which were ready both to doe euill and to say euill; none of them al stode vp to gainsay them? Where was the zeale of Gods house become at that time, than at the which there were neuer mo zealous persons to be sene? At leastwise how happeneth it that in that huge heape of nine or ten volumes of the Talmud, they bring not forth their exceptions and gainsayings, ne set vs downe some Countergospell? Seeing then that hatred picketh out proofes and testimonies where none are; and yet notwithstanding, the extreme hatred of the Pharisees findeth none, no not even in the time and place where the things were done, and when their owne authoritie was strongest and at the highest pitch: what may we conclude thereon, but the infallible trueth of the Historie of the Gospell?

The Starre
that led the
Wise men.

Plinie.lib.2.
cap.25.

Neuerthelesse, let vs yet satisfy vnbelieuers, by prouing the thinges vnto them which they esteeme to be most vncredible in the Historie of our Lord Jesus Christ. When Jesus was bozne in Bethlem, a Star (saith the Gospell) was marked by the wise men in the East, the which they followed, and it guided them to the place where Jesus was. Some perhaps will flatly denie this Star to haue bene. Let any man iudge, how little credit to himselfe and authoritie to Christ, the Euangelist could haue purchased by beginning with a lie which all men could haue disproued, specially seeing he taketh the Scribes, and Pharisees themselves to witnesse thereof. But we reade that the very same time, (Augustus hauing then the chiefe charge of the Games kept in the hono: of his mother Venus) at Rome there was sene a Blasting Starre or Comet (that is the name which they giue to all extraordinary Starres) where of the Priestes of that Colledge gaue their iudgement; that for the singular markes which it had, it betokened not warre, plague, or famine, as other ordinarie Comets do; but the saluation of mankind to be at hand

hand. And vnto this Comet (because of the rarenesse thereof) there was an Image set vp in the Citie, And that onely Comet (saith Plinie) is worshipped ouer al the Worlde. Whereunto relieth this verse of Virgill in his fourth Eclogue, made to flatter Augustus by applying vnto him the appearing of that Starre; Beholde howe noble Casars Starre steppes forth with stately pace. After which manner he worshipped vnto Augustus, al the happinesse which Sibyl promised by the birth of the Redemer. Also Cheremon a Stoike Philosopher, iudged the same Starre to betoken welfare and happinesse; and thereupon perceiuing his Gods to be weakened, he traueled into Iewry with certain Astrologers, to seeke the true God. And Chalcidius the Platonist saith expressly that the Chaldees had obserued that it betokened the Honorable coming of God downe vnto vs, to bring grace to mortall men. Here the Astrologers had matter whereupon to exercise their Contemplations. For this Starre appeared in December, when the Sunne was in Sagittarius, in which signe (say they) both Iupiter, the Sunne, and Venus were met altogether; al which thre (by their principles) betoken a most righteous, a most mightie, and a most mercifull King, but yet poore, by reason of the Sunne which was come in betwixt them. How should he be mightie, if poore? Fruitfull also, because of Iupiter in the Angel of the ascendent; but yet barren and Childlesse by reason of the Mone which was in the first face of Virgo. Of these their Contrarieties we might, according to their arte, gather some profit. But I will let these curiosities alone to such as delight in them. But in verie deed, this Star appearing in December without rates, and being healthful, was not an ordinarie Comet, but a very Starre in deed. The like whereof we haue seene our selues in the same season of the yeare, in the yeares of our Lord a thousand six hundred threescore and twelue, the signification whereof God will reueale vnto vs when he sees time. Now had the former Star bene one of the ordinarie Starres that are fixed in the firmament; what a miracle was it that it shoulde leaue his place and charge, not to reigne ouer Iesus, but to serue him? And if it were newly then created; by whom could it be created, but by the Creator; and for whom, but for himselfe? And whereas Iulian the Renegade not being able to denie the trueth of the Historie, and the cunning of the wise men by the guiding thereof, woulde beare men on hand that it was the Starre named Asaph, which the Aegyptians haue marked to be seene but once at euery foure hundred yeares: besides that we reade not of any like to haue bene seene in al the former ages; it hath not bene seene any moe in the six hundred yeares which are passed since that time. Now by this inquirie of the wise men, Herod was moued to kil al the children about Bethlem, which were two yeares old & vnder, meaning among them to haue

Origen against
Cellius.

Marsilius Fi-
cinus in his
treatise of the
Starre that led
the Wise men;

Macrobius in
his Saturnals.
Borne of a
Virgin.
Clement in
his Recogni-
tions.
Petrus Come-
stor.

Iosephus lib.
18. cap 7.

The Eclips.
Math. 27.
vers. 45.
Mark. 15.
verse. 33.
Phlegon Tral-
lian in the 13.
booke of his
Chronicles.
Origé against
Cellus.
Suidas.
Tertullian in
his Apologie.

haue killed the Childe whom the Starre betokened : in doing whereof bycause a Sonne of his owne was killed with the rest ; we reade in Macrobius, that the Emperour Augustus hearing thereof gaue him this taunt, I had leuer be Herods Swine than his Sonne.

Againe, that Christ should be bozne of a Virgin, they thinke it very strange. I haue discussed this point already against the Iewes. God had foretold it ; and what could then let him to bring it to passe ? For who can doubt of his power, when he is sure of his will ? But this was so true, that Simon Magus to the intent he might not seeme inferior to Christ in any thing, Preached to his owne Disciples, that he himselfe was the sonne of a virgin, which thing Iesus Christ neuer preached of himselfe. And we read that the same day that Christ was bozne, the Temple of Peace fell downe at Rome ; at the laying of the foundation whereof, Apollo told the Romanes it should stand till a Virgin did beare a Child ; whereupon they thought it should haue continued for euer. And as touching Simeon, who hauing Iesus in his armes acknowledged him to be the Saviour of the world, I haue declared what the Iewes say of him. And as for Iohn the Baptist our Lords forerunner, the Historie of his godly life and doctrine and of his death also, is set downe after the same manner in Iosephus, that it is in our Euangelists. If wee consider Christs workes, all the whole course of his life was nothing but miracles, the which I haue proued true long agoe. And this onely point, namely that they be described and set forth with so many circumstances, wherunto neuer any man hath yet presumed to take exceptions, both sufficiently giue credit to the matter ; and therefore let vs passe vnto his death.

From the sixth howre (saith our Euangelistes) vnto the ninth howre there was darknesse ouer all the Lande : that is to say, at high none and euen in the chiefe of the day. If they doubt hereof, Phlegon Trallian the Emperour Adrians Freedman, the diligentest of all Chyonicklers, noteth that in the fourth yeare of the two hundred & tenth Olympiade, there was the greatest Eclipse of the Sonne that euer was scene, and therewithall a very strange Earthquake. And that was the very 18. yeare of Tiberius, in the which yeare Christ suffered his passion. And Eusebius saith he had read the like in the Commentaries of the Gentiles. Also Lucian a Priest of Antioche cried out to such as tormented him : Search your owne Chronicles, and you shall finde that in the time of Pilate the light failed in the chiefe of the day, and the Sunne was put to flight as long as Christ was a suffering. And Tertullian in his Apologie doth summon them to the same bookes. Now, that it was no naturall Eclipse, it appeareth plaine : For the Sonne was then so farre of from Coniunction with the Moone, that it was euen full against it, according

according to the Lawe of the Passouer, which was to be kept the 14. day of the Moone. And if they take exceptions to the Epistles of Den- nis of Arcopagus, wherein he describeth the spectacle of this won- der at length; Esculus the Astrologian a man of small Religion saith, that at that time the Sunne was in the first degree of Aries, & the Moone was newly entered into Libra. Others say, that the Moone was in Vir- go and the Sunne in Pisces, which cometh all to one in effect: and therfore that there could be no natural Eclipse by reason of this opposi- tion. To be short, some say it was vniuersal ouer al the world; and then was it a speciall worke of God, for the order of Nature can doe no such thing in the world. Othersome say it was peculiar to the onely Land of Iewrie; and then is Gods speciall working yet more manifest: for it is (as ye would say) a pointing at the cause of the Eclipse with his finger; namely, the suffering of the Saniour of the world. And as little also could that Eclipse be by the order of Nature, as the other. For who but onely G D D could dimme the sight and light of the Sunne in such sort without a Coniunction thereof with the Moone, that it should giue light to al places sauing onely Iewrie, as who would say, he shold out Iewrie from all the rest of the world? And as touching the Earthquake that ac- companied it, the foresaid Phlegon speaketh thereof, ioining it to the E-
clipse as our Euangelistes doe. But these cases are so rare and vnsene, not in some one age, but in the whole course of the world, that seeing they be reported to haue bene in one selfesame yeare; and both together; they cannot be vnderstood of any other than those which our Euangelists and Authoys speak of. To be short, the Veile or Courtaine of the Tem- ple did rend a sunder. For the beleuing or discrediting of this point, there needed no more but to goe to the place and see whether it were so or no. And Iosephus speaking of the foretokens of the destruction of the Iewes, reporteth the like thing.

The Earth-
quake.

Behold, Iesus is now dead: but the third day he riseth againe as he himselfe had told afozehand. If he had said as Mahomet said, about an eight hundred yeares hence I will come see you againe; he had taken a god terme for trial of his lie. But when he said I wil come againe with- in these thre daies; his deceit (if he had meant any) would soon haue bene discovered. Here they cry out and cannot admit the story to be true. And yet notwithstanding when they reade that one Erus an Armenian, that one Aristus, or that one Thespius rose againe to life; they thinke no euill of Plaro, Herodotus, or Plutarke for reporting it. How vni- different are these people, which will needes both beleue and be beleued of all men without witness and vnrquested; and yet no witness can suffice to make them beleue their owne saluation? Women sawe Christ, men touched him, the vnbelaueurs felt him with their fingers;

The Rising a-
gain of Iesus
from the dead

he did eate and drinke and was conuersant among them, diuers times and many daies; and yet all this they stoutly denie. But Pilate witnessed it; and the Apostles being earst astonished at it, did after ward preach it, publish it, and signe it with their blond. He whom the Chambermaid had made amazed, & who had denied him three times in one howze when he was alive; both preach & publish him euen in Hierusalem, before the Magistrates, and before the Priestes; and no threates can make him hold his peace. If Christ rotted in his graue: what hope of benefit was to be had of his dead carkeffe? Nay if he liued not in Peter; who bzged Peter to preach him? And if he spake not in him; who would haue beleued him? Who (say I) would haue beleued it, at least wise so farre as to preach and publish it, and to signe and scale it with their blond, vpon his reposit, and also after that he was gone? Verily, the very slanderers themselves giue light vnto this truth. For therupō it is that y Iewes haue fained, that his body was stolne away: for they found it not there: But Pilate proueth them liars expressely. And thereupon also did some of the Gentiles surmise, that they had crucified a Ghost or Spozne in steade of him: which thing the Iewes vphold to be very false, who toke offence at his death, as which they knew to be a matter of trueth, in respect wherof they cal him stil the crucified. But he liued then, & liueth stil for euer and euer. And therefore as he had promised his Disciples afoze his death, So Luke saith that he sent them the holy Ghost in fierie Tongues within a few daies after his rising againe: wherby they receiued the gift of Tongues or Languages, yea & that in such wise, that the same gift came down vpon many others by their laying of their hands vpon them. This is one of y things which they wil not beleue, as who would say it were not as easie for God to giue one man the vnderstanding of many Languages, as it was to diuide one language into so many whē he was displeased. But if it be a bzag, as they surmise: to what end was it? and what might haue bene moze easily disproued? The Magistrate had them in his hand: why did he not examine them before the people? Hierusalem was as the Muttering place of all the East: and where then might they haue bene disproued and made to relent if? Nay, the effect that followed vpon it confirmed it. For the Apostles, being but Fishers, and Publicanes, and at the beginning ignorant persons, men which ordinarily knew no moze than their owne mother tongue, and that but grossly; did after ward write booke, and trauel ouer the whole world, preaching in all places. Consider what liking either the Iewes or the Gentiles would haue had of such folke, to haue made them their spokesmen to the people. And yet the disciples did it so effectually, that in lesse than forty yeares, the whole world that was inhabited, was replenished with the name and doctrine of Iesus. How could that haue bene done, if they had not had an extraordinary

The coming
downe of the
holy Ghost,

rie skil of the Languages: & wthby the hystorie thereof was so true and so commonly knowne, that Simon Magus to countenance himselfe with-
all, reported himselfe to be the same that came downe vpon the Apostles
in fire tongues, vnder pretence that by the helpe of the Demill, he coun-
terfained after a sort the gift of tongues.

And as for some searchers and sifters of wordes, it is not for them to cary
at the Hebrew phrased which they find in our Euangelists; seeing that
in Horace or in Virgil they count Greek phrased for an elegancie. For to
the intent they may perceiue that it is done to expresse Christs matters
the more pitifully, and to represent them the more nêrely: let them reade
S. Paul, & there they shall find so faire a Greek tongue, so full of pitiful wordes
so full of excellent and chosen phrased, and so peculiar to the Greek
tongue it self, that the best learned do confesse he had the very ground of
it, and alledge him for an example of eloquence. Let vs come to the hysto-
rie of him. This S. Paule a Disciple of Gamalielles, was sent with
Commission to persecute the Christians. In his way (saith Luke) a light
shone about him, and being smitten to the ground, he heard this voice,
Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? To be short, of a lewe he became
a Christian: and of a Persecuter, a Martyr. And if thou beleeuest not
S. Luke, S. Paule himselfe toucheth his owne hystorie in diuers places.
What hath vnbelaefe to bying against this, saue onely peradventure a
bare denial, according to comon custome? If Peter saue it: he is but a Fi-
ther man say they. If Paul hard it: he is an orator. So then belike, if God
offer thee his grace in an earthen vessell, thou mislikest of it: and if hee
offer it thee in a vessell of some value, thou suspectest it: either the one is
beguiled, or the other beguileth thee, saist thou. What wilt thou haue
God to do to make thee to beleue him? Examine this case well. Paule is
in the way so grow great, he is in good reputation with the Magistrate
and the Priestes, and suddenly he changeth his Copie out of one extremi-
tie into an other, to be skorned, scourged, cudgelled, stoned, & put to death.
But the case that neither S. Luke nor S. Paule did tel thee the cause ther
of. What maist thou imagine, but that it was a very great & forcible
cause, that was able to change a mans heart so sodainly & so strangely:
Is it not daily seene (wilt thou say) that men are sone changed and vpon
light causes? Yes, soles are. But he debateth the matter, he vrgeth his
arguments, and he diueth his conclusions to an ende. The best learned
of his enemies find fault with his misapplying (as they tearme it) of
hys skil, & yet commend his writings. Yea, and he knoweth that vnto
thee his preaching will seme folly, and yet that (as much folly as it is)
it is the very wisdom of God; and that by following it he shall haue
nothing but aduersitie, and yet so; all that, he doth not giue it ouer.
Now shall hee be wise, that counteth himselfe a foole? or rather which of
the

Actes. 9. & 12.

1 Cor. 15. 8.

2 Cor. 12. 2.

The Conuer-
sion of Saint
Paule.

the wiser sort is not ravished at his sayings and doings? But if he be wise, learned, and welladvised as thou seest he is; what followeth but that his change proceedeth of some cause? And seeing the change was great; the cause must needs be great also: and seeing it was extreme and against nature; surely it must needs proceede of a supernatural and soueraigne cause. Merely the reason that leadeeth thee to this generall conclusion, ought to lead thee to the speciall also: that is to wit, that it was a very great and supernaturall cause that moued him: namely, the same which Saint Luke rehearseth, and which he himselfe confirmeth in many places, for the which he esteemeth himself right happy to endure the miserie which he caused and procured vnto others, and in the end after a thousand hurts and a thousand deaths, he willingly spent his life.

The death of
Herodes A-
grippa.
Actes. 12.
Iosephus in
his antiquiti-
lib. 19. cap. 7.

Also the death of Herod striken by the Angel for not giuing glory vnto God, is reported vnto vs much more amply by Iosephus, than by St. Luke. Herod (saith he) made shewes in Caesarea, and the second day of the solemnitie, he came into the Theatre being full, clad in robe of cloth of Siluer, which by the striking of the Sunne beames vpon it, made it the more stately. Then began certaine Clawbackes to call him God, and to pray him to bee gracious vnto them. But forasmuch as he did not refuse that flatterie, he sawe an Owle sitting vpon his head; and by and by he was taken with so straunge tormentes, that within fewe daies after he died, acknowledging Gods iudgement vpon him, and preaching thereof to his flatterers. This Historie is set out more at large by Iosephus, which in effect is all one with that which is written by St. Luke, who saith that the people cried out, It is the voice of God, and not of a man: and that thereupon an Angell of God strake him, and he was eaten with wormes, and so died. These be the thinges which they finde scarce credible in the historie of our Euangelistes: which yet notwithstanding are confirmed by the Histories of the Iewes and Gentiles, who report the thinges with wordes full of admiration, which our Euangelistes set downe simply after their owne manner. And seeing that in these thinges, which exceede nature, they be sounde true; what likelihood is there that they shoulde not also deliuer vs Christs doctrine truely; specially being (as I haue shewed afoze) miraculously assisted with the power of his Spirit according to his promises, and moreover hauing witnessed the sinceritie of their writings, by suffering so many tormentes, and in the ende death: Seeing then that the newe Testament containeth the trueneth of the doctrine of Iesus, and proceeded from the spirit of Iesus, whom I haue shewed to be the Sonne of God; what remaineth for vs, but to embrace the scriptures as the word of life & Soule health, & as the wil of the Father declared vnto vs by his Son, and to liue therafter, and to die for the same, considering that by the same

same we shall be raysed one day to glorie, & reigne with him for euer:

But forasmuch as we make mention of rising againe from the dead: that is yet one scruple moze that remaineth. What likelihood is there of that (say they,) seeing that our bodies rotte, & wormes deuour vs, yea our bodies do turne into wormes, and a number of other chaunges doe passe ouer them? This is a continuall stumbling alwaies at one stone, namely to stand gassing at Gods power who can doe all things, when ye should rather rest vpon his will: He will doe it: for he hath knit the body and Soule together to be partakers of good and of euill together, and he hath giuen one Law to them both together, so as they must suffer together and ioy together, yea and suffer on for another and one by another in this life: & what Justice then were it to separate them in another life? He wil doe it: for he made the whole man: who if he were but soule alone, were no man at all. He will do it: for to the intent to saue man, his Sonne hath taken the flesh of man vnto him. Now to saue the Soule, it had bin enough for him to haue taken but a Soule: but he that made the whole man, will also saue the whole man. To be short: he will do it for he hath said it: & he wil do it for he hath done it already. He hath said it by his Sonne, and he hath also done it in his Sonne, and his Sonne adorneeth vs with his victorie, & he will surely adorne vs with his glorie. Loke vpon the graine that is cast into the ground, if it rotte not, it springeth not vp, if it spring not vp, it yeldeth no fayson. Again, of one graine, come many Eares of Corne, of a kernell, a goodlie Tree, of a thing of nothing (as yee would say) a perfect lining Creature. Which of all these things resembleth the thing that commeth therof, eyther in substance, or in shape, or in quantitie, or in qualitie? To be short, what strangenesse is there in this? Of a handfull of Earth God made thee, and all the Earth of nothing, and of a handfull will he make thee new againe: This body of thine which in time past was not, is of his making, this body which one day shall cease to be, he wil one day make new againe. Verily this doctrine was comon to al true Iewes, & among al the Teachers of the Law, who had gathered it out of the old Testament, (as we reade in Iosephus and in the Acts of the Apostles) for they agree fully with S. Paule in that behalfe. And in the Talmud there are infinite places therof: Also the Alcorane (which is borrowed of their Rabbines) is full of this Doctrine. And as concerning the Heathen of old time, Zoroastres said, that one day there shall be a generall rising againe of all the dead. Theopompus a Disciple of Aristotles doth the like; & no man in old time (saith Aenzas of Gaza) did once gainsay them. The Stoicks held opinion, that after a certain time there should be an vniuersall burning of the World, (which we call Doomesday,) and that immediately after, all things should be set in their perfect state againe, as they were at the first: and it was the

An obiection against the rising againe of the Dead.

Talmud. cap. Helec. treatise Sanhedrin. Aenzas Gaza concerning Immortalitie. Seneca in his 75. Epistle, & in his booke of Questions. lib. 3. cap. 26. 27. 28. &c. Ouid in his Metamorphosis lib. 1.

Lucane the
Nephew of
Seneca. lib. 7.
Lucretius. lib. 7.
Lactantius' out
of Chrysippus
lib. 7. cap. 22.
Austin of the
Citie of God.
lib. 22. cap. 27.
Haly vpon the
first Apote-
lisme of Pro-
lomie.
Nicolaus O-
refinus con-
cerning Pro-
portions.
The Acrostiks
of Sybill.
Lactantius.
lib. 7.

Misdrafeh.
Psalme. 118.
Esay. 45.
Psalme 149. &c

The conclu-
sion of the
whole Booke.

opinion of Chrysippus in his booke of Providence translated by Lucane the Stoick, which new state Varro calleth Palingenecian, that is to say, a Regeneration, Rebegetting, or New birth. Plato saith expressly that mens Soules shall returne into their bodies. The astrologers follo- wing Albumazar, should that when the starres come home againe e- uery one into his first place, al things shalbe set againe in their first ori- ginal state, both men, beastes, Trees & al other Creatures: which opinion euen Arithmetick alone sheweth to be absurd in Astrologie, & the best learned men reiect it. Neuertheles it be wraich our beaflines, which do attribute such power to the starres, to defeat the maker of them thereof.

As touching the iudgment which the Sonne of God shall giue after the saide Resurrection, although the same were not foretold by the Pro- phets of old time, and by so many verses of the Sybils, and finally by the mouth of Iesus and his Apostles: surely Gods giuing of his Lawe, not to the outward man but to the inward, nor to our deedes onely but also to our thoughts, sheweth sufficiently without other prooe, that there is another Judge than the Magistrates of this world to iudge vs, & ano- ther Iudgment than their iudgement to be looked for, as whose iudgment here pprocedeth but to the outward deede and by ppoles of witnesses, and therefore cannot in any wise pearce into the hart, to discern what is within. Neither would our owne consciences common vs so often as they do, if we were not to appeare before other than men. For with it is y^e Soule that chiefly receiueth the comandement & chiefly breaketh it: it is the Soule that must come to examination and tryal: which cannot be done in this world, wherein there is but a shadowe of Justice, & whose Lawes and Judges extend no further than the outter side. And therefore we see that the auncient Rabbines speake very often of this Generall Iudgment, & (which moze is) do attribute it to the Mellias, saying: Feare not God for your Iudge: For your Iudge is your own fellow citize, your owne kinsman, and your owne brother. All the auncient Gentyles haue spoken so of this iudgement, which they say shall bee giuen in another life, in the field of truth, whereupon shall followe eyther endlesse life or endlesse death as I haue shewed afoze. Yea and it seemeth that by the leading of their auncient Oracles (which were a kynd of Cabale) they passed yet further for they called their great and soueraine God by the name of Iupiter, and gaue the iudging of mens Soules to his Sonne Minos, the King and Lawgiuer, and not vnto Apollo, Mercurie or any other: as who should say, they meant that the Judge of the Worlde should be the Sonne of God, and yet therewithall a righteous man that is to say, the Mediator, God and man.

I hope I haue now shewed the truenesse and substantialnesse of the Christian Religion, and the banitie & wickednes of al other Religions.

Of the which Christian Religion, the Primitive Church, for a Badge & comfort to the Christians, hath made a *Somme* which we call the *Creede* of the Apostles. For wee beleue in God the Father Almighty maker of Heauen and Earth, &c. To beleue in him, is to trust in him, to trust in him, is to hope for all good things at his hand: but vaine were our hope, if it reached no further than to this present world. Now I haue declared heretofore that there is but onely one God, that the same God created the world for man, and man for his owne glorie, and both of them of nothing: That he guydeth them by his Providence, the one according to nature, which is a steady and sure settled Lawe prescribed by him to the World; and in the other according to wit and will which hee hath giuen him, so that which way so euer man take, he frameth him alwaies to his holy wil, so such end as he hath appoynted: that man is immortall and created to leade an endlesse life: that in that life is the soueraigne welfare of god, which alonely can content mans will, and satisfie his wit; and therefore that he must tend, and indeuer thither with all his heart, and bend all the powers of his wit to that end: And to be short, that the means for man to attaine therunto, is to serue the true God with al his hart, with al his soule, & with all his strength, that is to say, to bow al his thoughts, words & deeds to the glorie of God. But I sayd also that man is faine from his originall, through the pride and disobedience of the first man, whereupon hath followed frowardnes in his will, and ignorance in his wit: Ignorance making him unable to discern his owne welfare, and frowardnes turning him away from it, yea euen when it is shewed him, & making him blind, the so attayne to it, and finally causing him to abuse his abilities and powers, to all euill, and so consequently plunging him in the gulle of all vnserie, both according to his owne defect, & according to the Justice of God: Whereupon it insueth that man is frowne in himself, vnlesse God recover him by his mercie; blind, except God iolyghten him again; utterly lame to the doing of any good, & to the atteynement of any good, vntil Gods grace do relaxe him. And therefore I sayde, that he hath left vs a Religion for a guide, a Religion that turneth vs from all Creatures, as which are but vanitie; and conuerteth vs to him the only Creator of Heauen and Earth: & that the same is the Religion of the Israelites, & that in all other places there was nothing but the seruice of Diuels, & Idolatrie. That the Religion of Israell had the keeping and custodie of his worde, his Reuelations, and his promises, giuing vs his Lawe for a Rule to liue by. Whereby it conuicteth vs of our naughtinesse, and inuiteth vs to call to God for grace. That the old Testament is the Law of Moyse & the Prophets, which I haue proued to haue proceeded from God, & to haue ben inspired by him: that in the end hauing condemned vs, he offereth vs, his grace:

Chapt. 1. 2. 3. 4.
7. 8. 9. 10. 11.
12. 13.

Chapt. 14. and
15.
Chapt. 18. 19

Chapt. 20

Chapt. 6. 7.
20

Chapt. 20

Chapt. 22. 23.
23

Chapt. 24. 25.
26.

Lucane : Chap. 17. 18.

Nephev

Seneca

Lucre

Lacta

of C.

lib.

Aust.

Cit.

Chap. 29. 30.

31. 32. 33.

Chap. 32. 6

Chap. 34.

grace, and hauing giuen iudgment vpon vs, he sendeth vs pardone, and
 readeth vs of a Surety that is able to pay our debts: that this Surety
 is the Messias promised to the Iewes for the saluatiō of the whole world,
 the Mediator of mankind, God and man, exhibited to the world in his
 due time, to be the Saviour of the Iewes, and the light of the Gentyls,
 euen Iesus Christ the Sonne of God, in whome we beleue according to
 this parcell of the Crede. And in Iesus Christ his Sonne our Lord, con-
 ceuyed by the Holy Ghost, borne of the Virgin Marie, crucified, Dead,
 & risen againe: and so forth. At which poynts we haue proued against
 both Iewes and Gentyles, against the Iewes by the Scriptures, and
 against the Gentyles by reason, which they themselves say they take
 for their gurdy: and by their own Records. Our Crede addeth, I beleue
 in the holy Ghost. And I also haue shewed how there be thre Inbeings
 in one Essence or Being, acknowledged by the Iewes and anowed by the
 Gentyles, namely the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, which are
 termed by them, the One, the Word, & the Loue, in the name of whome
 wee be Baptized. And finally wee beleue, that God by the desert of his
 sonne in the power of his holy Spirit, mainteyneth his Church spred
 ouer the whole world, knitteth vs in one Communion of fellowship
 together, pardoneth our sinnes and will one day raise vs vp againe,
 to make vs intoy euerlasting life, To that end hath the Father crea-
 ted vs, the Sonne redeemed vs, the holy Ghost inspired vs. And therfore
 let vs loke vp with sighes, and with sighes trauel vp towards the king-
 dome whose king is the Trinitie, whose Lawe is Charitie, and
 whose measure is eternitie. And vnto him, who hath granted
 me both to begin and to end this worke (whom I be-
 seche with all my hearte to blesse if to his glo-
 rie, and to the saluation and wellfare
 of those that are his) be ho-
 nour glozie and prayse
 for euer and euer.

Amen.

FINIS.

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